

*J. W. W. W. W.*

A  
DISSERTATION  
Upon the EPISTLES of  
PHALARIS.  
WITH  
An ANSWER  
TO THE  
OBJECTIONS  
Of the HONOURABLE  
*Charles Boyle, Esquire.*

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BY  
RICHARD BENTLEY, D.D.  
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Chaplain in Ordinary to Her MAJESTY.

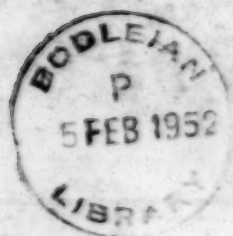
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To which may be added,  
A Chronological Account of the Life of *Pythagoras*,  
and other famous Men, his Contemporaries:  
By the Right Reverend Father in God, *William*  
Lord Bishop of *Worcester*.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed by *J. H.* for *Henry and George Mortlock* at the  
*Phoenix* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, M DCC XIII.





# THE PREFACE.

**I**N the former Edition of this Dissertation, A. D. MDCXCVII, I thought my self oblig'd, to take notice of a certain Passage in a Preface to Phalaris's Epistles, publish'd at Oxford two years before. Which I did in these words :

" The late Editors of Phalaris have told  
" the World in their Preface, That among  
" other Specimens of their diligence, they \* collated the  
" King's Manuscript, as far as  
" the XL Epistle; and would  
" have done so throughout, but  
" that the Library-keeper out  
" of his singular Humanity  
" denied them the further use it. This was  
" meant as a lash for me, who had the Honour then and since to serve His Majesty  
" in that Office. I must own, 'twas very well  
" resolv'd of them, to make the Preface and  
" the Book all of a piece: for they have acted in this Calumny both the injustice of  
" the Tyrant, and the forgery of the Sophist.

\* Collatas etiam curavi usque ad Ep. 40. cum MS<sup>to</sup> in Bibliotheca Regia, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari sua humanitate negavit.

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“ For my own part, I should never have  
 “ honour’d it with a Refutation in Print, but  
 “ have given it that neglect, that is due to  
 “ Weak Detraction; had I not been engag’d  
 “ to my Friend to write a Censure upon  
 “ Phalaris; where to omit to take notice of  
 “ that Slander, would be tacitly to own it.  
 “ The true Story is thus: A Bookseller came  
 “ to me, in the name of the Editors, to beg  
 “ the use of the Manuscript. It was not  
 “ then in my custody: but as soon as I had  
 “ the power of it, I went voluntarily and of-  
 “ fer’d it him, bidding him tell the Collator  
 “ not to lose any time; for I was shortly to  
 “ go out of Town for two Months. ’Twas de-  
 “ liver’d, us’d, and return’d. Not a word  
 “ said by the Bearer, nor the least suspicion  
 “ in Me, that they had not finish’d the Col-  
 “ lation. For I speak from Experiment,  
 “ they had more Days to compare it in, than  
 “ they needed to have Hours. ’Tis a very  
 “ little Book, and the Writing as legible as  
 “ Print. Well; the Collation, it seems was  
 “ sent defective to Oxon; and the blame,  
 “ I suppose, laid upon Me. I return’d a-  
 “ gain to the Library some Months before  
 “ the Edition was finish’d: No application  
 “ was made for further use of the Manu-  
 “ script. Thence I went for a whole Fort-  
 “ night to Oxon, where the Book was then  
 “ printing; conversed in the very College,  
 “ where



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“ where the Editors resided. Not the least  
“ whisper there of the Manuscript. After a  
“ few days, out comes the new Edition, with  
“ this Sting in the Mouth of it. 'Twas a  
“ surprize indeed, to read there, that our  
“ Manuscript was not perused. Could not  
“ they have ask'd for it again then, after  
“ my return? 'Twas neither singular, nor  
“ common Humanity, not to enquire into  
“ the Truth of the thing, before they ven-  
“ tur'd to Print, which is Sword in the  
“ Hand of a Child. But there's a reason  
“ for every thing; and the Mystery was  
“ soon reveal'd. For, it seems, I had the  
“ hard hap, in some private conversation,  
“ to say, the Epistles were a spurious piece,  
“ and unworthy of a new Edition. Hinc  
“ illæ Lacrymæ. This was a thing deeply  
“ resented; and to have spoken to Me a-  
“ bout the Manuscript, had been to lose a  
“ plausible occasion of taking Revenge.

This I then thought was sufficient to vindicate my self from that little Aspersiō. But I am now constrain'd by the worse usage, that I have since met with from the same Quarter, to give an account of some Particulars; which then I omitted, partly out of an unwillingness to trouble the Publick with complaints about private and personal injuries, but chiefly out of a tenderness for the Honour of the Editor.

The first time I saw his new Phalaris,

*was in the Hands of a person of Honour, to whom it had been presented; and the rest of the Impression was not yet publish'd. This encourag'd me to write the very same Evening to Mr. Boyle at Oxford, and to give him a true information of the whole matter; expecting that upon the receipt of my Letter he would put a stop to the publication of his Book, till he had alter'd that Passage, and printed the Page anew; which he might have done in one Day, and at the charge of Five Shillings. I did not expressly desire him to take out that Passage, and reprint the whole Leaf; That I thought was too low a submission. But I said enough to make any Person of common Justice and Ingenuity have own'd me thanks for preventing him from doing a very ill Action.*

*I am sorry I have not the Letter it self to produce on this occasion: but I neither took any Copy of it; nor was I carefull to keep the Gentleman's Letter, which I receiv'd in answer. I had no apprehension at that time, that the Business could have been blown to this Hight. But the Gentleman, it seems, had something at that time in his view, and was more carefull to keep My Letter, a part of which he has thus publish'd: Mr. Bennet desir'd me to lend him the Manuscript Phalaris to be collated; because a Young Gentleman, Mr. Boyle of*  
*Christ-*

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*Christ-church*, was going to publish it. I told him, That a Gentleman of that Name and Family, to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an Honour for, might command any service, that lay in my Power. *These be acknowledgements to be civil expressions: and I dare trust my Memory so far, as to aver that all the rest were of the same strain.* Nay, as the Examiner has given us this Fragment of my Letter, because he thought he saw a Fault in't, which I shall answer anon: so if there had been any thing else in that Letter, either in the Words or the Matter, that he could but have cavill'd at; without doubt he would have favour'd us with more of it: for we may easily see his Good Will to me, both from his Preface and his Examination.

Ibid. &  
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But what return did he make me for my expressions of great Civility? After a delay of two Posts; on purpose, as one may justly suspect, that the Book might be vended (as it was) and spread abroad in the mean time; I receiv'd an answer to this effect: That what I had said in my own behalf, might be true; but that Mr. Bennet had represented the thing quite otherwise: If he had had my account before, he should have consider'd of it: and now that the Book was made public, he would not interpose, but that I might do my

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self right in what method I pleas'd. *This was the import of his Answer, as I very well remember: there was not the least hint, that he had or would stop the publication of his Book, till the matter was farther examin'd.*

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*The Gentleman himself, in his late Treatise, has been pleas'd to give some account of the same Letter; and he represents his expression thus: That if the matter appear'd as I had told it, he meant to give me satisfaction as publickly as he had injur'd me. But I am sorry that his Civility comes three years too late. Less than this would have pass'd with me for good satisfaction. But it was not, that He would give me satisfaction, but that I had his free leave to take it: which was in answer to a Paragraph of my Letter, that perhaps I might think my self oblig'd to make a public vindication. And this, as I take it, was so far from being a just Satisfaction, that it was plainly a Defiance, and an addition to the Affront.*

*The Gentleman and I here differ a little about the Expression in his Answer; but I suppose the very Circumstances will plainly discover, whose account is the truer. For what probability is there, that He should promise such fair satisfaction; and yet let the Book be publish'd when it was in his power to stop it? If he had writ me word  
the*

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the very next Post, that he had stopp'd the Books in the Printing-House, and would suffer no more to go abroad till the matter was fairly examin'd: this had been just and civil. And then if he had found himself misinform'd by his Bookseller, he might have cut out the Leaf, and printed a new one; which in all respects had been the fairest, and cheapest, and quickest Satisfaction.

Several persons have been so far misinform'd by false reports of this Story; that they think, the Editor himself desir'd the MS, either by Letter to Me, or by a personal Visit. I heartily wish it had been so; for then all this Dispute had been prevented. But the Gentleman was not pleas'd to honour me with his Commands. If he had favour'd me with one Line, or had sent his desire by any Scholar; I would not only have lent the Book: but, have collated it myself for him. But it was both our misfortunes, that he committed the whole affair to the Care or rather Negligence of his Bookseller: and the first application Himself made to me, was by that complement in his printed Preface.

I am surpriz'd, to see an Honourable Person think he has fully justified himself for abusing me, by reasons that he has found out, since the time of the Abuse. For even  
take

take his own account ; and when he printed that Preface, he had heard nothing but on one side. And was that like a man of his Character to put a public Affront upon me, upon the bare complaint of a Bookseller, who was the party suspected of the Fault ? What ? never to enquire at all, whether he had not misinform'd him ? when there was such reason to suppose, that he might lay the blame upon Me, to excuse his own Negligence ? when he had such opportunities of asking me, either directly, or by some common Friends ? Turn it over on every side, and the whole conduct of it is so very extraordinary ; that one cannot but suspect there were some secret reasons for this usage, that are not yet brought above-board. Be it as it will ; 'tis in vain to hope to justify that Calumny in his Preface, by such testimonies as he knew nothing of, when he ventur'd to print it. He is fallen under his own reproof, That he wrote his Preface first, and finds reasons for it afterwards.

When his Phalaris came first abroad, 'twas the opinion of my Friends, who were soon satisfied that the thing was a Calumny, That it was the duty of my Place, as Keeper of the Royal Library, to defend the Honour of it against such an Insult. But yet out of a natural aversion to all quarrels and broils, and out of regard to the Editor himself, I resolv'd

to



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*to take no notice of it, but to let the matter drop.*

*Thus it rested for two Tears; and should have done so for ever; had not some Accidents fallen out, which made it necessary for me to give a public account of it. I had formerly made a promise to my worthy Friend Mr. Wotton, to give him a Paper of some Reasons, why I thought Phalaris's Epistles supposititious, and the present Æsopian Fables not to be Æsop's own. And upon such an occasion, I was plainly obliged to speak of that Calumny: for my silence would have been interpreted as good as a Confession. Especially considering with what industrious Malice the false Story had been spread all over England; for as it's generally practis'd, they thought one Act of Injustice was to be supported and justified by doing many more.*

*The Gentleman is pleased to insinuate, p. 4. 24. that all this is pure Fiction; and that I writ that Dissertation out of revenge, and purely for an occasion of telling the Story: the very contrary of which is true; for I was unwilling to meddle in that Dissertation, because I should be necessitated to give an account of that Story: as it will plainly appear from Mr. Wotton's own Testimony, which I have by me under his hand.*

I Do declare, that in the Year 1694, when my *Discourse about Ancient and Modern Learning* was first put to the Press, Dr. Bentley at my desire undertook to write a Dissertation about *Phalaris* and *Æsop*, to be added to my Book. But being called away into the Country, he could not at that time be as good as his word. Afterwards when the Second Edition of my Book was in the Press, I renew'd my request to him, and challeng'd his Promise. He desir'd me to excuse him; because now the case was alter'd, and he could not write that Dissertation without giving a Censure of the late Edition at *Oxford*. But I did not think that a sufficient reason, why I should lose that Treatise to the World, by receding from the Right and Power that he had given me to demand it.

*W. Wotton.*

*The Reader will please to observe, that Mr. Wotton's Discourse was first printed 1694; and Phalaris the Year after. A plain argument, that the Examiner is quite out in his reckoning; when he pretends, that I first engag'd in that Dissertation, purely to fall foul on his Book. I was so far from harbouring such vengeance in my heart,*  
*that*

*that if the Editor or any body from him, had but given me leave to say in his Name, That he had been misinform'd; all this Story, and all the Errors of his Edition had slept quiet in their obscurity.*

*About Nine months after my Dissertation was printed, the Editor of Phalaris oblig'd the World with a Second Piece, call'd Dr. Bentley's Dissertations examin'd. He has begun that elaborate Work with stating an account of this Story in opposition to what I had said of it: and That he does upon the Credit of Testimonies of the Bookseller and the Collator, and of a Third Informant, who overheard some Discourse of mine. I will give a clear and full Answer to every part of their Depositions; and I question not but to make it plain, that the Examiner has been impos'd on, not only by the Author of Phalaris's Letters, but by others that are every way of lower Qualifications than He.*

*The Bookseller avers, That he was employ'd by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, and by Him only, to borrow the MS. of Phalaris from Dr. Bentley. And after about NINE Months Sollicitation says he, it was deliver'd into my Custody, without any time limited for the Return of it. I now perceive, I had more reason, than I was then aware of, when I said in my Dissertation, That a Falshood about Time was the*

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*the truest and surest method of detecting Impostures. And Mr. B. I hope, will allow that a Chronological Argument will be a good Proof against his Bookseller; though he will not admit it against his Book. The Bookseller, we see, is positive, that I did not lend him the MS. till after about NINE Months Sollicitation. And Mr. B. himself repeats it, That there was about NINE Months Sollicitation us'd to procure it: and in another place he affirms, That the Bookseller gave him Liberty to assure the World, that he was ready to justify it with his OATH, when it should be duly requir'd of him. Now if, instead of these NINE Months, I make it appear beyond Contradiction, That from my very first Admission to the Office of Library Keeper, to the Time that the Bookseller not only had, but return'd the MS, there was but ONE single Month; I humbly conceive, the World will be satisfied, that not the Word only, but the very OATH of this Witness is little to be regarded.*

*The Royal Patent, which Constitutes me Keeper of His MAJESTY'S Libraries (which may be seen not only in my own Hands, but in the Patent Office) bears date the XIITH day of April, M DC XCIV. The Words are, In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Testibus*

Testibus Nobis Ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Duodecimo Die Aprilis, Anno Regni Nostri Sexto. *Now I may appeal to any Body, that has ever been concern'd in a Patent; if by reason of the Delays that necessarily attend a thing of that nature, it may not fairly be suppos'd that the remaining part of that Month expir'd, before all could be finish'd. I find in a Book of my private Accounts, that I took the Patent out of the Patent-Office the XVIIIth day of that Month: and the several Offices to be attended after that, before I could have admission to the Library, may be allow'd to take up the rest of the Month. But I shall prove the thing directly by Two Witnesses, beyond all Exception, the Worthy Masters of St. Paul's and St. James's Schools, who gave me this Account under their own Hands.*

**S**OME time after the Death of Mr. *Justell*, late Library-keeper to His Majesty, we were desir'd by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, in pursuance of a Command from the Late Queen of Blessed Memory, to take a Catalogue of the Royal Library at *St. James's*. We began it in *October 1693*, finish'd, and had it transcrib'd, and presented to Her Majesty by the *Easter* Following, during all which  
time

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time we had the Key of the said Library constantly in our keeping, as also some Weeks longer. And then as we were directed, we deliver'd it up to Sir *John Lowther*, now the Right Honourable the Lord *Lonsdale*, who was at that time Vice-Chamberlain to His Majesty.

*Jo. Postlethwayt.*

*Rich. Wright.*

*It is plain then from the Date of a Public Record, join'd with Mr. Postlethwayt's and Mr. Wright's Testimonies, that I had not actual Custody of the Royal Library before May. For in that Year Easter fell upon April the viii<sup>th</sup>. And it is depos'd here, that the Key of the Library was not deliver'd to the Vice-Chamberlain, from whose hands I was to receive it, till some Weeks after Easter. And in the same May I deliver'd the MS to the Bookseller; for, as I had said before, as soon as I had it in my power, I went voluntarily to the Bookseller and offer'd it him. The Bookseller has not yet thought fit to deny, that the Book was deliver'd to him in May; and to save him from the Temptation of denying it hereafter, I will prove by another Record, that the Book was used and restor'd to me again, and lodg'd in His Majesty's Library before the end of that Month.*



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*Month. For the Reason why I insisted to have the MS speedily return'd, was because I was oblig'd to make a Journey to Worcester to keep my Residence there as Prebendary of that Church: and that I was at Worcester by the First of June following; the following Certificate will prove, the Original of which I have by me.*

**I**T appears by the Chantor's Rolls kept to note the Presence of the Dean and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, that Dr: Richard Bentley Prebendary of the said Cathedral Church was present at Prayers in the Quire there on the First day of June in the Year 1694, and continued his Attendance there till September the 26th following, not absenting more than Two Days at any one time all the while. Witness my Hand this 25th Day of May, 1698.

*Andrew Trebeck, Chantor.*

We have seen and examin'd the Chantors Rolls above mention'd, and do find them, as He hath above certified; and we did see him sign this Certificate,

*Jo. Price, Chancellour.  
Ch. Moore, Pub. Not. Reg.  
Tho. Oliver, Pub. Notary.*



*I must crave leave to observe to the Reader ; that the Residence Roll for the Month of May, though diligently sought for, could not be found. But if it ever happen to come to light, I make no doubt, but it will appear by it, that I was present at Worcester some part of that May. For it's great odds, that the First Day of my being there would not fall upon the First of June. The last note of Time, before I took my Journey, that I can now find among all my Papers, is the xvth Day of May. And I find a Letter to me out of Surry, Dated May the xth, that then wishes me a good Journey. All which makes me believe, that I left London upon Monday May the xxist, and that the MS was return'd to me the Saturday Night before.*

*But not to insist upon that ; I suppose it's sufficiently manifest from His Majesty's Patent, Mr. Poslethwayts and Mr. Wright's Testimonies, and the Residence Rolls of the Church of Worcester, That the MS was deliver'd, us'd, and return'd within the space of ONE Month after I had the custody of the Library. So that the Deposition of the Bookseller, That he could not obtain the MS till after about NINE Months Sollicitation, is demonstrated to be a notorious Falshood: and since he has farther declar'd that it was in his Intention a Perjury ; he has Pillouried himself*

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*himself for't in Print, as long as that Book shall last.*

*I have been inform'd by several good Hands, that when the Starters of this Calumny heard, how I could disprove from the very Date of the Patent, this Story of NINE Months Sollicitation; they betook themselves to this Refuge, That though the Patent was not finish'd till about May, yet I had the Power and Trust of the Library for NINE months before. But besides the folly of this Evasion, which is visible at first view (for how could I demand the Key of the Library, before I had a Right to it?) Mr. Postlethwayt and Mr. Wright give a direct Evidence, that they had the Key constantly in their Keeping all the time from October to May; so that I had not the MS in my Power,\* till the very time that I lent it. Nay the very Warrant, where His Majesty first nominated me to that Employment, was but taken out of the Secretary's Office Decemb. XXIII, 1693. There were but FIVE months therefore in all from the first Rumour of my being Library Keeper to the Time that they had the MS. And the Bookseller even by this account was plainly guilty of an intended Perjury; when he was ready to Swear, that he us'd about NINE Months Sollicitation. But suppose it were true, that NINE months had elaps'd*

a 2

*from*

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*from the Date of the Warrant to my admission to the Library: yet what an honest and ingenuous Narrative is here of Nine Months SOLLICITATION? That word carries this accusation in't, that I could have lent them the Book if I pleas'd: which appears now to be a mere Calumny and Slander, since it lays that to my Charge, which was not in my Power.*

*By his talking of SOLLICITATION one would be apt to imagine, that he had worn the very Streets with frequent Journeys to solicit for the MS. I had said in my former account, that a Bookteller CAME to me in the Name of the Editors: which is a word of more Concession, than the Pains he was at deserv'd. For to the best of my Memory, he never ask'd me for the MS. but at his own Shop, or as I casually met him. Neither can I call to mind, that either He or his Apprentice came once to my Lodgings or to the Library for't; till the time that he sent for't by my appointment, and receiv'd it.*

*I had said, That I order'd him to tell the Collator, not to lose any time, for I was shortly to go out of Town for two Months. Now this was to be denied by the Bookfeller, or else his whole Deposition had signified nothing; for the Blame would still lie at his own Door. He resolutely affirms*



*affirms therefore, That no time was limit-* P. 6.  
*ed for the return of it. What can be done*  
*in this Case? here are two contrary affirma-*  
*tions; and the matter being done in private,*  
*neither of us have any Witnesses. I might*  
*plead, as Æmilius Scaurus did against one*  
*Varius of Sucro. Varius Sucronensis ait,* Val. Max.  
*Æmilius Scaurus negat. utri creditis,* 3, 7.  
*Quirites? I hope, upon an account my*  
*Credit will go further than this Bookseller's,*  
*especially after his manifest Falshood, in his*  
*Story of the Nine Months.*

*But let us enquire into the Nature of the*  
*Thing. Is it likely or probable, that I*  
*should put the MS into his Hands, to be*  
*kept as long as He pleas'd? without any in-*  
*timating that after a competent time for*  
*using it he should restore it again? They*  
*must certainly have an odd Opinion of their*  
*Readers, that expect to make such stuff as*  
*this pass upon them for Truth. Besides it*  
*appears upon Record, that I took a Journey*  
*soon after the lending of it: which was not*  
*a sudden and unexpected one: for the time*  
*of my Residence had been fixed six months*  
*before. I must needs know then of my in-*  
*tended Journey, when I lent the MS to the*  
*Bookseller: and 'tis very unlikely that I*  
*should omit to give him notice of it; unless*  
*it be suppos'd, that I had then a private*  
*design to disappoint them of the use of the*  
*MS.*

*But that I had no such design, but on the contrary a true intention and desire to give them full opportunity of using it, I conceive the very circumstances of the affair, besides my own Declaration which I here solemnly make, will put it out of all question. For, I pray, what interest, what passion could I serve by hindring them? I could have no pique against the Editor, whom I had never seen nor heard of before; and who, as soon as I heard of him, both deserv'd and had my respect upon account of his Relation to a Person of glorious Memory. Neither could I envy him the Honour of publishing the MS; or repine that such an opportunity of getting Fame was taken out of my own hands: for I suppose my Dissertation alone is a convincing argument, that I my self had never any design of setting out Phalaris.*

*But I have a better proof still behind of my sincerity in lending the MS: though I cannot produce it, without accusing my self. For its the duty of my Place to let no Book go out of the King's Library without particular Order. This the Learned Dr. Mill and several others know, who having occasion for some Books in the time of my Predecessor, were oblig'd to procure his Majesty's Warrant for them. If it were my design then to keep the Book out of the Editor's hands, what fairer pretense, what readier excuse could*

could be wished, than this? "That I was  
 "ready to serve the Gentleman to the ut-  
 "most of my Power; but it was a Rule with  
 "my Predecessors to let no Book go abroad  
 "without a Royal Warrant. And I durst  
 "not venture to transgress the Rule at my  
 "very first entrance upon my Office. If the  
 "Gentleman would obtain an Order in the  
 "usual method, I would wait upon him the  
 "first moment and deliver the Book. I  
 could have refus'd the MS in this manner,  
 with all the appearance of Civility: but  
 out of a particular desire of obliging the  
 Editor, I ventur'd beyond my Power, and  
 lent the Book privately without any  
 Order. I confess I have justly suffer'd for  
 it since; and the very men I aim'd to ob-  
 lige, were my Enemies, (as they give it out)  
 only on that account. Had I kept my self  
 firm to the Rules of my Office, without strain-  
 ing a point of Courtesie beyond the bounds of  
 my Duty; all their Calumnies had been a-  
 voided. But I hope I shall have caution  
 enough for the future; to know Persons a  
 little better, before I put my self in their  
 Power.

I had said, that I had no suspicion, that  
 the Collation was not finish'd: In oppo-  
 sition to this the Bookseller deposes, that I  
 call'd upon him for the Book upon Satur-  
 day at Noon; and staid while he sent to



the Collator, and word was brought by the Messenger, That it was not collated. *That I call'd then at the Bookseller's Shop, I believe may be true: for having business to dispatch in Paul's Church-yard, and some Friends there to take leave of, before I began my Journey, I took that occasion to call upon this Bookseller, and to mind him of his engagement to restore the Book on Saturday Evening. But that I staid there, till his Messenger return'd from the Collator, I do not remember. But suppose, that I did stay; what then? the Message he says was brought at Noon, that the Book was not then Collated. But the Bookseller well knows; that I did not require the Book, till the Evening, nor was it return'd before. The Collator indeed might be behind hand at Noon, and as I might suppose, want about two or three Pages. But must I needs think him still behind hand at Nine a Clock at Night? That's a sort of Consequence that I am not us'd to make. For if he had not done one page of the Book at Noon; yet he had time more than enough to have finish'd it by the Evening. For, as I said before, it is as legible as Print, being written in a modern Hand, and without Abbreviations; and wants One and Twenty Epistles that are extant in the Printed Copies, which is a seventh part of the whole Book; so that the*  
work

*work of Collating is so much the shorter. I had a mind for the Experiment's sake, to collate the first Forty Epistles, which are all that the Collator has done. And I had finish'd them in an Hour and Eighteen Minutes; though I made no very great haste. And yet I remark'd and set down above Fifty various Lectiōns, though the Editor has taken notice of One only. Now if 40 Epistles can be collated in an Hour and 18 Min. the whole MS, which contains but 127 Epistles, may be collated in Four Hours. The Collator then, had he been diligent, might have finish'd the whole Collation twice over, between Noon and the close of the Evening, when the Book was return'd.*

*As for the Collator, I am utterly a stranger both to his Person and Character: and have nothing to say to him, but that his Testimony is as useless and imperfect as his Collations. Indeed it's hard to conjecture, to what purpose it is produc'd. The sum of it is, That the MS was sent for before he had finish'd; which is confess'd on all Hands. It had been more to the purpose, if he had told us, what he was doing all that time, that the MS was in his Hands. I say, five or six days; the Bookseller says, a few; Mr. Boyle, not nine. By the shortest account, it now appears, as I said before, that he had more Days to compare*

P. 7.

P. 10.

pare it in, than he needed to have Hours. *And how did he spend the last Afternoon, which was more than sufficient to do the whole work in? Whether he undertook it for a Reward, or out of Kindness; the Editor was not very much oblig'd to him.*

*The Bookseller adds further, That I utterly refus'd to leave the MS with him beyond Saturday, though he beg'd but to have it till Sunday Morning, and engag'd to oblige the Collator, to sit up at it all Saturday Night. How false and silly this is, the sagacious Readers must needs see and acknowledge. This was spoken on Saturday at Noon, by the Bookseller's own Confession. And he had then free leave to keep it, and did keep it till the Evening. And the whole Collation was but the work of four Hours, as I have proved by Experiment. And yet he has the Face to tell the World, that he would engage the Collator to sit up all Night to finish it: when the Whole might be done from the beginning to the end twice over before Candle-light. Why I would not have spar'd it till Sunday Morning, suppose I had been ask'd, there might be several good reasons. I was to take Coach for Worcester by Five a Clock on Monday morning: And I could have no leisure on Sunday to put the Book into the Library. The Key too of the outward Door was then*



*in custody of another ; who perhaps might not be met with upon Sunday. Besides, that there was time enough and to spare before Saturday Evening: and what obligation had I to neglect my own Business to humour others in their Laziness?*

But, *he says, I gave him not the least hopes, that if he applied to me upon my return out of the Country, He should have leave to get the Collation perfected. That I gave him not any hopes of it by an express promise, I verily believe. For how could I do that, when I was fully persuaded, they would finish the Collation, before I went into the Country? But what he saw in me, that forbid him to hope it, if there should be occasion, I cannot imagin. He knew, the Reason why I then demanded the Book, was my Journey into the Country. I was to make so long a stay there, that it was not fit to expose the Book all that while to the Hazard of being lost. I told the Bookseller then, that I was to be absent for Two Months: but it appears now upon Record, that I was Four Months at Worcester. And how many Accidents might have happen'd in that time? Should I who was under a Trust, and accountable to God and Man, run such a risk without any Warrant? The Editor and his Witnesses may calumniate as they please: but I wish I could*

*could as well justify my lending the MS out, as my calling it in.*

- P. 6. *The Bookseller concludes ; That I made some Reflections from time to time, when he spoke to me from Mr. B. but considering his Employment, it may not be proper to add an account of them. So that he puts off that piece of work to one Dr. King of the Commons, as the Examiner stiles him. Now what he means by Reflections, or what harm there is in making Reflections, I do not understand. A Great*
- P. 3. *Person, one of the Examiner's Family, made a whole Book of Reflexions, and I never yet heard it was counted a Crime in him. I am as much to seek too for his Meaning, That his Employment makes it not proper for him to add an account of those Reflections. His Employment, as a Bookseller, I think a very reputable one, if He himself be not a Disgrace to't. And if that make it not proper for him to bear false witness against his Neighbour by a pretended account of those Reflexions: methinks the Profession of the Dr. to whom he refers himself, is more improper for that work. The Dr. indeed by his Profession may be enabled to do it with more Cunning, but he would do it with the greater Crime. But let us hear the Dr's Testimony; the Air and Spirit of it is so very extraordinary; the*  
*Virulency*

*Virulency and Insolence so far above the common pitch; that it puts one in mind of Rupilius King, a great Ancestor of the Dr's, commended to Posterity by Horace under this honourable Character,*

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atq; venenum, Horat. Sat.

The Filth and Venom of *Rupilius King.* I, 7.

*And if the Dr. do not inherit the Estate of Rupilius; yet the whole World must allow, that he is Heir of his Virtues; as his own Writings will vouch for him, his Deposition here against me, his Buffoonry upon the Learned Dr. Lister, and some other Monuments of his Learning and his Morals.*

I have endeavour'd, *says the Dr.* as far as I can, to recollect what pass'd between Mr. Bennet and Dr. Bentley concerning a MS of the Epistles of *Phalaris.* I cannot be certain, as to ANY OTHER Particulars, than that among other things, the Dr. said, That if the MS were collated, it would be worth nothing for the future: *Now the Reader may please to take notice, That the Dr. here publickly owns,* That he cannot be certain, as to any other Particulars: *and yet he endeavour'd to recollect,* as far as he could; *and the Scorn, he says,* and Contempt which he has naturally for Pride and Insolence, made him remember that, which otherwise he might have forgot. *Now if the Doctor,*  
even

P. 8.

Ibid.



*even whetted with his Scorn and Contempt, could but call to mind ONE Particular, and if that Particular have nothing at all in't about Mr. B. nor any thing that borders upon Pride and Insolence; what pretense has he for traducing me here, as a proud and insolent man, and an Abuser of Mr. Boyle? If the Dr. as he owns, has but ONE Particular from his Memory, the rest he must have from his Invention. I am oblig'd indeed to the Dr. for he has effectually disprov'd himself in his own Deposition. For he first declares he knows but ONE Particular; and yet presently runs into a Charge, whereof nothing can be made out from that Particular. And would such an Evidence, as this is, pass in Drs. Commons? I am much mistaken, if the Worthy Persons, that preside there, would dismiss such a Witness as this without marks of their Dissatisfaction.*

*To account then for that One Particular that the Dr. is certain of. The Reader must give me leave to tell him a short story. After I was nominated to the Library-keeper's Office (before the Patent was finish'd) I was inform'd, that One Copy of every Book printed in England, which were due to the Royal Library by Act of Parliament, had not of late been brought into the Library according to the said Act. Upon this I made application to the Master of the Stationers*

tioners Company, to whom the Act directed me, and demanded the Copies. The effect whereof was, that I procured near a Thousand Volumes of one sort or other, which are now lodg'd in the Library. While this was transacting, I chanc'd to call upon Mr. Bennet, (whom I had several times oblig'd) and acquainted him with it, not questioning, but he would be very ready to comply, as far as his share went; which was then but very little. But to my surprize he answer'd me very pertly, That he knew not what Right the Parliament had to give away any man's Property; that he hop'd the Company of Stationers would refuse, and try it out at Law; That they were a Body, and had a common Purse; and more to this purpose. Some little time after, calling there again, upon a fresh discourse about the MS Phalaris, which I had formerly promis'd to lend him, as soon as I had power; I ask'd him, Upon what account he could refuse to give the Royal Library its Due settled on it by Act of Parliament; and at the same time expect a Favour out of it, that would make his own Book more vendible, and the MS less valuable? For after the various Lecti<sup>o</sup>ns were once taken and printed, the MS would be like a squeez'd Orange, and little worth for the future. Since therefore he was resolv'd to try the Law a-  
gainst

gainst the Library, he ought in justice to present to it some Book of competent value, to make amends for the damage it would sustain by his using the MS.

*This Discourse I very well remember, and I believe I can bring witness that heard me relate it, long before the Dr's Deposition came abroad; and I take it for certain, that this was the very same Conversation, which Dr. King overheard. 'Tis true, there is some small difference in the account: I said, that the MS would be worth little for the future; and the Dr. says, worth Nothing. But that is no material change, and may be excused in the Dr. who is not over-nice in his Expressions. But do I remember, that the Dr. was present then? no, nor any time else: for I know him not, if I meet him; and perhaps my Pride and Insolence might lie in that, that I did not know a Person of such Known Credit in the World. Allowing then, that this was the free Conference (as the Examiner calls it) which the Dr. overheard, I have a few things to observe in the Narrative that he has made of it.*

*It appears first, that his pert Reflection, which he thought carried such a sting in it, is very silly and insipid. Which I took the more notice of, says he, because I thought a MS good for nothing, unless it were collated.*



collated. *Wondersfull remark, and worthy of such Eves-droppers that are proling after that which does not concern them, and catch at little scraps of other mens Discourses. 'Tis true, Sir, a MS not collated is upon that account worth nothing to the rest of the World: but to the Owner 'tis the better for it, if a Price was to be set on't. And I think, with submission, that a fresh MS newly brought out of Greece, and never yet printed, would sell for more, cæteris paribus, than another already printed. Do you think the Alexandrian MS of as great a value now, since the Edition of the English Polyglot, as when Cyril the Greek Patriarch first presented it to King Charles the First? but what do I talk to him of MSS, who has so little relish and sense of such things, as to declare deliberately, That he does not believe the various Readings of ANY BOOK are so much worth, as that Mr. Boyle should be used so scurvily to obtain them. And this he says, when he is giving Evidence: where all declamings and Rhetorical aggravations above the naked and strict Truth is unlawfull, and borders near upon Perjury. But we must not expect from the Dr. that he should know the worth of Books: for he is better skill'd in the Catalogues of Ales, his \* Humty Dum-ty, Hugmatee, Three-Threads, and the*

P. 8.

\* See his Journey to London.  
rest Lo

b

*rest of that glorious List, than in the Catalogues of MSS.*

*But, pray, what was that scurvy usage that I gave to Mr. Boyle? The Dr. remembers but ONE Particular, and that has no relation to Mr. Boyle. I am almost persuaded, that Mr. Boyle's Name was not once mention'd in that Conversation. For this talk was not had the last time, when I call'd for the MS; but long before, when my Patent was not yet past, and before I had the custody of the Library. But suppose Mr. B. was nam'd then, I am sure it must be with Respect. For how could I use him scurvily in denying him a MS which was not then in my power to give? Before the time of that discourse, I had promis'd that the MS, when I could come at it, should be at Mr. Boyle's service; and in such words, as Mr. Boyle himself owns to be expressions of great civility: That a Gentleman of that Name and Family to which I had so many Obligations, and should always have an honour for, might command any service that lay in my power. That I really used these expressions even the Bookseller himself is my Witness: for if it had not been true, he would never have let it be printed, without contradicting it. Now how is 'it credible, that I should use a man so civilly, and yet so scurvily too? A man must*

*must be dos'd with Humty Dumty, that could talk so inconsistently. And how could I abuse a young Gentleman, whom I had never heard of before, without any provocation, in a public place, and before his own Friends? I dare appeal to any, that ever was acquainted with me, if he think me capable of doing so.*

*All the discourse then, that the Dr. overheard, had relation only to the Bookseller. Mr. Boyle was sure of the MS, which I had promised before. But I had a mind to make the Bookseller sensible of his ill manners, in denying Justice to the King's Library, at the same time that he ask'd Favours. And I do further declare, that I was but in jest, when I told him, That he should give a Book to the Royal Library, to recompense for the use of the MS: and I had no design in't, but to mortifie him a little for his pertness about going to Law. For when the time came, that I could lend him the MS; he had it freely, without giving to the Library the value of a printed Sermon. Tho' I remember, when I once told this Story to a very Great Man; his Answer was, That if I was not in earnest, I ought to have been so.*

*The Bookseller says, His Employment makes it not proper for him to give an account of the Reflections I made, as we*



talk'd about *Phalaris*. But I'll help him out for once, and give an account of One, that I very well remember. The Bookseller once ask'd me privately, that I would do him the favour to tell my opinion, if the new Edition of *Phalaris*, then in the Press, would be a vendible Book: For he had a concern in the Impression, and hop'd it would sell well: such a great Character being given of it in . . . Essays; as made it mightily enquir'd after. I told him, He would be safe enough, since he was concern'd for nothing but the sale of the Book: for the great Names of those that recommended it would get it many Buyers. But however under the Rose, the Book was a spurious piece, and deserv'd not to be spread in the World by another Impression. His Imployment, it seems, could suffer him to betray this Discourse to some concern'd in the Edition, as I was inform'd from a very good hand; and this I meant, when I said in my former Account, that it was my hard hap in some private conversation to say, the *Epistles* were spurious, and unworthy of a new Edition. What influence this might have towards the Civility in the Preface to *Phalaris* I leave others to judge. But I dare say, this was all the Reflection, that I had ever made at that time, to Mr. Boyle's disadvantage. *Si hoc peccare est, fateor.*  
If

*If there be no way of gaining his good opinion, but to believe Phalaris a good writer, I must needs submit to my Fate, that has excluded me from his Friendship.*

*Mr. B. is pleased to observe, That Mr. Bennet is so little interested in this Dispute, that he may intirely be depended on. So very little; that the best part of his Interest and his Trade lay at stake. For is not this the plain state of the Case? Mr. Boyle commits the Affair of collating the King's MS to his Bookseller. The Bookseller by his own neglect having failed in his trust, for fear of losing the Gentleman's Favour and Custom, lays the fault upon Me. This occasion'd a private grudge against me, which terminated in an affront in print. I verily believe that the Bookseller did not think at first, that Mr. Boyle would have carried his resentment so high: otherwise perhaps he would have invented some other excuse of his negligence. But the Business was afterwards past recalling; and he must go on of necessity, being once engag'd in the Cause. The whole of his Trade and Business seem'd to depend upon Mr. B. and his Friends. The Temptation indeed was strong; and I pray God forgive him.*

*Having now, as I humbly conceive, given a full and satisfactory Answer to all the matters of Fact, that the Examiner's*

*Witnesses lay to my Charge; I am very little concern'd at the Inferences he draws from them, or the Satyr and Grimace that he plentifully sprinkles. All these must drop of themselves, and fall down upon the Author of them, when the Foundation that they stood on is taken away. But however I shall take some short notice of every thing he has said, that is not intirely included in the Testimonies of his Witnesses.*

P. 4.

The Dr. says he, seem'd to be satisfy'd and willing to let the Dispute drop, by his not writing to me any further about it, or discoursing Mr. Bennet concerning it, to whom my Letter plainly referr'd him. The Doctor, 'tis true, was willing to let the Dispute drop; but whether either or both of these Reasons ought to have made Mr. B. suppose I was satisfied, I leave it to the Judgment of those that know good Breeding. I had writ him, as himself owns, a very civil Letter, complaining of the fraud of his Bookseller, and representing the matter quite otherwise than he had told it. After a delay of Two Posts, when the Books were spread abroad; in the mean time, I had an Answer giving me leave to take my own Satisfaction, and, as he here says, referring me to discourse with his Bookseller. Now what person of any Courage or Spirit, such as Innocence always gives one, would  
either

P. 19.



*either write again to Mr. B. after this repeated Affront, or go with his finger in his eye to tell his Story to the Bookseller, who was the Principal in the Injury? Mr. B. must sure have an odd cast of his Head, to think that I or any man else would submit to such Indignities. I had done all that became Me in writing him a timely Account of the whole Truth with Expressions of great Civility to him. But when I saw the civility of his Answer, which bid me right my self as I pleas'd, and referr'd me to his Bookseller; I neither thought my Station so little, nor the Editor's so very great, nor the Calumny so terrible, that I should make a second Application after such a repulse. I design'd indeed to drop the Dispute; but not because I either own'd or fear'd, but because I despis'd the Detraction; being conscious that it was false, and well knowing, that if ever I pleas'd, I could make the Authors asham'd on't.*

*Mr. B. has such an affection for Chicanry and Banter, that he cannot abstain from it, when he ought to be most serious. He pretends to draw up a heavy Charge against me; because I say, the Editors of Phalaris: and in another place, They have collated. How came I, says he, to be multiplied at this rate? Well, I will submit to the Chastisement of this great Aristarchus: tho' gh*

*I thought I might have the common liberty of changing Numbers, which is familiar in all the Languages that I know of either Old or New. Who knows not, that οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα, οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλην are often put for Plato and Aristotle alone? As certain of your own POETS have said, says the Apostle : and yet he meant only Aratus. And how often do we say We, and yet speak of our selves only; without thinking we are multiply'd; or doubled like Sofia in Plautus's Amphitryo? I do not question but some Examples of this may be found in his own Book, if the matter was worth the search. I am sure, that in another piece of Grimace he is guilty of the very expression, that he would turn to ridicule. I had said, 'Twas a surprize indeed to find there, that our MS*

P. 21. *was not perused. Our MS, says the Examiner, that is, His Majesty's and mine. He fancies himself to have some Interest in't. 'Tis like the Ego & Rex meus of Cardinal Wolsey. Very smart and witty! so that by the same Rule, when Mr. B. himself says, It will be very hard upon our*

P. 43. *Sicilian Prince; we must interpret it Ego & Phalaris meus, I and my Prince Phalaris. And when he so often says, our*

P. 109. *Critic, meaning his Humble Servant; the*  
 142 *World is to take it, That he has some Dominion over me; which is an Honour I am*  
*not*

not worthy of. And when I my self often say, OUR Editors, and OUR Edition, Mr. B. by this rule may infer, That I claim a Share and a Concern in his Edition of Phalaris: which I should take for a Complement more severe, than any thing he has yet said on me.

There's a certain Temper of Mind, that  
 \* Cicero calls PHALARISM, a Spirit like  
 Phalaris's; and one would be apt to imagin  
 that a Portion of it had descended upon  
 some of his Translators. The Gentleman has  
 given a broad hint more than once in his Book,  
 that if I proceed further against Phalaris,  
 I may draw perhaps a Duel or a Stab upon  
 my self. Which is a generous Threat, especi-  
 ally to a Divine, who neither carries Arms  
 nor Principles fit for that sort of Controversie.  
 'Tis the same kind of Generosity, though in  
 a lower Degree, when he forbids me to  
 meddle with Banter and Ridicule, which  
 even when luckily hit on, are not very  
 suitable to my Character. And yet the  
 sharpest, nay almost the only Arguments that  
 He himself uses, are Banter and Ridicule. So  
 that We Two, as he says, must end this  
 Dispute, but he takes care to allow me none  
 of the Offensive Arms, that himself fights  
 with. These are extraordinary Instances,  
 both of his Candour and his Courage. How-  
 ever I've endeavour'd to take his advice,  
 and

\* Cic. ad  
 Attic. vii,  
 12. Istum  
 quidem,  
 cujus Pha-  
 laris μόν  
 times, om-  
 nia teter-  
 rimefactu-  
 rum puto.

P. 285.

Præf.



P. 68.

*and avoid all Ridicule, where it was possible to avoid it : and if ever that odd Work of his has irresistibly mov'd me to a little Jest and Laughter, I am content that what is the greatest Virtue of His Book should be counted the greatest Fault of Mine.*

*The facetious Examiner seems resolv'd to vye with Phalaris himself in the Science of PHALARISM. For his Revenge is not satisfied with one single Death of his Adversary, but he will kill me over and over again. He has slain me twice, by two several Deaths, one in the First Page of his Book, and another in the Last. In the Title page I die the Death of Milo the Crotonian,*

—— Remember *Milo's End,*  
Wedg'd in that Timber, which he strove  
(to rend.

P. 290.

*The Application of which must be this : That as Milo after his Victories at six several Olympiads was at last conquer'd and destroy'd in wrestling with a Tree ; so I, after I had attain'd to some small Reputation in Letters, am to be quite baffled and run down by wooden Antagonists. But in the End of his Book, he has got me into Phalaris's Bull : and he has the pleasure of fancying that he hears me begin to Bellow. Well ; since it's certain then that I am in  
the*

*the Bull, I have perform'd the part of a Sufferer. For as the Cries of the torment-ed in Old Phalaris's Bull, being convey'd through Pipes lodg'd in the Machine, were turn'd into Music for the Entertainment of the Tyrant: So the Complaints which My Torments express from me, being convey'd to Mr. B. by this Answer, are all dedicated to his Pleasure and Diversion. But yet methinks when he was setting up to be Phalaris Junior, the very Omen of it might have deterr'd him. For as the Old Tyrant himself at last bellow'd in his own Bull; so his Imitators ought to consider, that at long run their own Actions may chance to overtake them.*

*But 'tis not enough for him that I die a Bodily Death, unless my Reputation too die with me. He accuses me of one of the meanest and basest of Actions; That when Sir Edward Sherburn put a MS into my Hands, to get it publish'd by Mr. Grævius; desiring me to let him know from whom he had it, that he might make an honourable mention of him; I conceal'd the kindness of Sir Edward, and took the Honour of it to my self, so that the Book was dedicated to Me, and not one word said of Him. This is both a very black and a very false Accusation, and yet I own I am neither sorry nor surpriz'd to see it in Print.*

*Print.* Not sorry, because I can so fully confute it, that with all ingenuous Readers it will turn to my Applause. Not surpriz'd, because I expected such usage from the Spirit of PHALARISM. I am morally sure, that the very Persons that printed this Story, knew I could give a good Answer to't : for I heard of it by some Common Friends some time before it was printed, who, I question not, gave them an account how I justified my self. But however, it seems, they would not lay aside this Calumny : for as in War sometimes 'tis an useful Stratagem to spread a false Report, though it certainly must be disprov'd in two or three days ; so here it was thought a serviceable falsehood, if it could be credited for a few Months. Besides, that it's the old Rule, to accuse strenuously, and something will stick : and 'tis almost the same thing with Men's Reputations, as with their Lives, He that is prodigal of his own, is Master of another Man's.

I had prepar'd a new Edition of Manilius ; which design being known abroad occasion'd my Acquaintance with Sir Edward Sherburn, who had formerly translated the First Book of that Poet into English Verse, and explain'd it with a large Commentary. He had got together some old and scarce Editions which he courteously lent me ; and be-  
sides



*sides those, he had purchas'd at Antwerp by the means of a Bookseller a whole Box full of Papers of the Famous Gasper Gevartius's, who undertook an Edition of the same Poet, but was prevented by Death. All this Mass of Papers he desir'd me to look over, if perhaps I might find any thing that was useful to the Public. Among the Remains of Gevartius, I found nothing of any moment. But there was one Treatise about Theodorus Mallius written in another hand, but without any name to't, which I thought to be considerable. And by good fortune among a Parcel of Letters, I met with One written in the same Hand with that Treatise, and subscrib'd A. R. and I easily guess'd by the Contents of the Letter, that they meant ALBERTUS RUBENIUS. This gave me a certain discovery of the true Author of that Treatise; and I immediately waited on Sir Edward, and gave him an Account of it; desiring him either to send it to Oxford, to be printed among some Miscellanies; or to Utrecht to the Learned Mr. Grævius; who having printed some Posthumous Works of the same Albertus Rubenius, was the properest Hand to convey This to the World. The latter proposal being embrac'd, I wrote to Holland to Mr. Grævius, giving a Narrative of the whole, and promising in the name of Sir Edward, that if Mr.*  
Grævius

Grævius would undertake the Edition, I would presently send him the Book. Within no long time, I receiv'd an Answer from Mr. Grævius; where among other things, says he, Pray present my Humble Service to that Learned and Noble Gentleman Sir Edward Sherburn; and if he pleases to commit *Rubenius* to my Care, I will immediately put it to the Press, and let the Learned World know to whose Kindness they are oblig'd. I had never heard of his Commentary upon the first Book of *Manilius*: but since you give such a Character of it, I am sure it must needs be Good, and therefore I will purchase it. I shew'd this Letter to Sir Edward, and so the Book was sent to Holland by a safe hand.

The very next Letter that I receiv'd from Mr. Grævius, was accompanied with half a Dozen Printed Copies of *Rubenius*. I was much surprized to see the Book printed so soon; but more, when I saw a Dedication to myself; which was an Honour that I should not have expected, if I had been not only the Discoverer, but the Possessor too of the MS. But it troubled me exceedingly, when I found not the least mention of Sir Edward Sherburn there; and I express'd my concern about it to several Friends. Particularly the Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich, whom I do myself the Honour

*to name here, will bear me witness, how extremely I was concern'd at it, when I presented him one of the Copies. And some time after, when his Lordship sent to Mr. Grævius by my means a Collation of the Philosophical Works of Cicero from a very Ancient and Excellent MS (for as his Lordship has one of the Best Libraries of England, so he is as free in communicating it) I appeal to Mr. Grævius himself, who has yet perhaps that Letter by him, If I did not wish him to take care, not to ascribe that Favour to Me; and not to forget to name his Lordship, as he had formerly forgot Sir Edward Sherburn. Another of the Copies of Rubenius I presented to Sir Edward himself; and both lamented to him and excused Mr. Grævius's over-sight, that he had dedicated that to Me, which was rather due to Sir Edward. As for myself, I had no manner of need to make Apology to Sir Edward, since he had read Mr. Grævius's own Letter, where he voluntarily promis'd to make honourable mention of him; and would certainly have done it, if the multiplicity of his Studies and other Affairs had not quite struck it out of his mind. I might appeal to Sir Edward's own Memory for the truth of all this: but that his exceeding old Age and the Infirmities that attend it make him an incompetent Witness:*  
and



*and upon that account I heartily excuse and forgive him All, that His Weakness has furnish'd to the Malice of some others.*

*The Examiner has represented, as if the Good Word that Mr. Grævius has been pleas'd publicly to give me, was solely bottom'd upon that, which I falsely assum'd to my self, the Publication of Rubenius. 'Tis necessary therefore to give the Reader here as much of that Dedication as concerns Me and that Affair ; that he may see whether such a Stress is laid upon that Favour, as if that belong to another Man, my little Reputation must all drop with it.*

*Viro Cl. Richardo Bentleio S. P. D.  
Joannes Georgius Grævius.*

*Redit ad te, quam mihi dono miseras, Alberti Rubenii commentatio de Theodoro Mallio sane quam docta & polita. Pro qua, cum illam mecum communicare voluisti, non possum non tibi & meo & rei literariæ nomine gratias agere publice. Plurimum igitur tibi debebunt manes Rubenii, si quis manium sensus est, qui tam egregiam ejus diatriben ex tenebris, in quibus, absque te fuisset, perpetuo quasi sepulta jacuisset, in dias luminis auras protraxit. — Nec manes tantum Rubenii, sed omnes humanitatis cultores tibi pro*

pro hoc in se merito devinxisti. Hi nunc tuas curas in *Manilium*, *Hesychium*, aliosq; Scriptores desiderant & expectant cupide. Nam eruditissima illa Epistola, quam subtexuisti *Malalæ Chronicis*, tam multa recondita nos docuit, ut incredibilem expectationem tui ingenii commoverit. Nihil nobis longius est, nihil desideratius, quam ut illa videamus, quorum spem fecisti cum publice omnibus, tum mihi de tuis in *Callimacho* animadversionibus, quarum pulcherrimum Specimen mihi misisti. Hanc ut propediem expleas, Vir Eximie, Deum precor, ut salvus, incolumis, felix ætatem agas, meq; tui studiosissimum amare pergas.

*Now the whole, that Mr. Grævius says here or could say of me in relation to the publishing Rubenius, is this, That himself in Particular, and all the Lovers of Polite Learning, and the very Author Rubenius (if the Dead have any knowledge of what's done here) give me thanks for retrieving the MS. But for the rest of the Dedication, I humbly conceive, the Character he has there given of me has another foundation. I implore here the Reader's Candour, that he would not believe me so vain, as to assume the Commendations, that Mr. Grævius and some other eminent Persons have given me, (to encourage, as I suppose,*

c

my

Hermog.  
p. 429.

*my Beginnings*), as if they really were *deserv'd* by me. But I mention them here on this occasion, to shew that some of the Learnedst Men of the Age have either more Candour or another kind of Judgment, than Mr. B. and his Party. Mr. B. is pleas'd somewhere to send me to Hermogenes's Chapter, Περὶ τῆς ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν, How a man may commend himself, without Envy or Fulsomness. And I find there, that one may safely do it, when Detraction and Calumny make it necessary.

Nay I may freely say, that I deserve almost as well of the Memory of Rubenius; as if all the Honour, which they pretend I rob'd Sir Edward of, had been truly my own. Neither is there one single Word, that Mr. Grævius says of Me with respect to Rubenius, that is not literally true. For it was I that communicated the MS to him; It was I that brought it out of that Darkness, where without Me it might have been buried for ever. For Sir Edward had been Possessor of Gevartius's Papers for several Tears; but he knew no more of that Treatise, and especially who was the Author of it, than if it never had been written. Nay, if I had been such a Plagiary, as Mr. B. would traduce me for, I had it wholly in my Power, not only to rob Sir Edward, but Rubenius Himself of the Honour of that Treatise.  
For



*For Sir Edward entrusted me with the whole Box of Papers, whereof he knew little or nothing, without either Numbering or Weighing them. So that I could easily have kept back that little Treatise without giving him any notice of it, and have publish'd it afterwards as my own Work. And this alone is a sufficient Disproof of this malicious Calumny. For how is it credible, since I was so ingenuous, as to make Discovery of a Paper, which I could have conceal'd as my own; that at the same time I could be so senselessly dishonest, as to seek to rob him of that Little Honour of being Master of another Man's Work many Tears without knowing what it was?*

*When I first met with this Accusation in Print, it seem'd the easiest way of confuting it, To produce Mr. Grævius's Letter; where in answer to mine he had thank'd Sir Edward for the hopes he had given him of the MS, and promis'd to do him right in the publication. So that presently I look'd among my Papers, but to my grief I could not find it by the most diligent search. The next thing was, to produce my own Letter to Mr. Grævius, where I my self had made honourable mention of Sir Edward and his intended kindness. But I had not that Letter in my Power; for I writ that, as I do others, but once over, without keeping any Copy of it. The only reserve then that*

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*I had left, was to write to Mr. Grævius; and to desire a Copy of his Former Letter, if perhaps he had a Transcript of it; or that he would send me either a Copy or the Original of My Letter, if such a Trifle, by good providence, should still be in Being; or at least that he would now do me right by a new Letter, since he could not but remember, when put in mind of it, that I had sent him Rubenius, as Sir Edward Sherburn's Book, and not as my own. And in answer I received a Letter, part of which I here publish without varying a word. And I must own my self oblig'd to Mr. B. that he was pleas'd to start this Calumny so early, while all the Parties are still alive to disprove it.*

Joannes Georgius Grævius, S. P. D.  
 Richardo Benteio,——

Literis tuis, quas Februario superiore dedisti ad me, quamvis nihil iis acceptius & optatius mihi potuit afferri, serius respondeo; non quod immemor fuerim officii, sed quod Epistolam illam, qua nonnulla fragmentis *Callimachi* adjici volebas, quæ ego Proœmio inserui, cum jam omnia cætera typis essent descripta, diu frustra quæsi. Nec enim exputare possum, unde illa, quæ tua regas esse, excerpserim. Itaq; non putabam me ante tibi posse satisfacere,

tisfacere, quam illam inspexissem Epistolam. & num me mei oculi, aut memoria fefellerit, inde cognovissem. Quamvis vero mihi non perierit, qui omnia tua custodio diligentius nigris uvis, nescio tamen in quem se angulum Bibliothecæ abdiderit, ex quo nondum potuit erui. Nunc visa tua novissima Epistola, quam pridie, cum ex itinere menstruo fere domum revertissem, inveni domi meæ; diutius cessandum non duxi. Ad priores, pro quibus tibi *Ἰδαντες* debeo, brevi respondebo. Jam ad has, quas XXIX Aprilis exarasti, hæc habe.

In literis, quas *Londini* in ædibus *Episcopi Wigorniensis* scripseras IV Julii 1692 hæc tu ad me. 'Est apud nos *Edvardus Sherburnus*, Eques Auratus, qui librum ' primum *Manilii* Anglice vertit, & commentario doctissimo auxit. Is abhinc annis aliquot apparatus *Gasp. Gevartii* ad ' *Manilium* ab ejus hærede emit *Antwerpiæ*, ' mihiq; non ita pridem, quem novam ejus ' Scriptoris editionem parare inaudiverat, ' schedas *Gevartianas* perlegendi copiam fecit. Comperi autem virum Clarissimum ' omnem operam in eo posuisse, non qui ' *Manilii* textum corrigeret, vel illustraret, ' sed qui in felicem suam (mea quidem ' sententia) conjecturam de *Theodoro Mallio* ' *Cos.* quem *Astronomici* auctorem esse vo-



'luit,adversus *Barthios & Salmafios & Tri-*  
 'stanos & *Possinos* defenderet. Nihil tamen  
 'in medium profert,quod momenti habeat  
 'quicquam ad opinionem suam stabilien-  
 'dam, præterquam quæ dudum in lucem  
 'ediderat in *Papinianis & Variis Lectionibus*.  
 'Itaq; cum toties repetita crambe mihi  
 'fastidium moveret, mirifice tamen recre-  
 'atus sum aureolis duabus Epistolis, quæ  
 'in isto chartarum fasce latitabant, quæq;  
 'celeberrimum *Grævii* nomen ferebant in-  
 'scriptum. Illud vero me perculisse fateor,  
 'quod ad *Gevartii* sententiam de ætate  
*Manilii* videris accedere. *Et quæ sequun-*  
*tur de hac opinione Gevartii, quam damnas.*  
*Post hæc addis:* Erat autem præterea quod  
 'me Adversaria ista versantem non medi-  
 'ocri voluptate affecit, Dissertatio scilicet  
 'bene longa & perquam erudita de vita  
 ' *Fl. Mallii Theodori Cos.* auctore, ut casu  
 'comperi, *Alberto Rubenio*, cujus *Opuscula*  
 ' *Posthuma* te obstetricante in lucem pro-  
 'dierunt. Hanc meo judicio minime dig-  
 'nam, quæ cum blattis & tineis diutius  
 'conflictetur, curabo tibi mittendam, si  
 'ejus Editionem te procuraturum fore pol-  
 'liceris; & quidem vel una cum aliis qui-  
 'busdam, vel etiam sola non incommode  
 'edi poterit:

Hæc ἀπολαῖς in Epistola tua, ex qui-  
 bus luce meridiana clarius patet, non tu-  
 am,

am, sed meam culpam esse, quod, cum Commentationem *Rubenianam* ederem, non meminerim hujus Epistolæ, & propterea non debitas gratias persolverim Viro Nobilissimo *Edwardo Sherburno* pro communicato cum utroq; nostro hoc *Rubenzii* libello. Ipse aut negligentiam aut oblivionem meam detestor, & culpam deprecor. Meæ responsionis nullum servavi exemplum, æque ut nec aliarum. Illud memini me *Sherburni Manilium*, quem ex tua Epistola cognovi plane mihi ante ignotum, sæpe desiderasse.

Vale, — & tibi persuade, te doctos omnes viros maximi facere, *rumpantur ut ilia Codris*; sed neminem esse qui te majoris faciat, & magis æstimet quam ego te facio.

*After this Letter of Mr. Grævius's I suppose there needs nothing more to silence this sorry Calumny. He has exscrib'd the Words of my own Letter, which in the plainest expressions declare, That the MS was Sir Edward Sherburn's; that he had lent me it to read over; and if Mr. Grævius would promise to publish it, it should be put into his Hands. And though he has no Transcript of that Letter, which he sent me in answer to Mine, where he return'd Sir Edward Thanks, and promis'd to do it publicly; yet he very well remembers it, and*

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*upon the whole avers, That it was His Fault, and not Mine, that Sir Edward was not mention'd; and he asks pardon for the omission, whether it happen'd through Negligence or through Forgetfulness.*

*The first part of Mr. Grævius's Letter relates to another Affair that Mr. B. is not concern'd in: and yet it is not so wide from the present Case, as not to deserve a place here. Mr. Grævius in his Præface to the late Edition of Callimachus has these words: In epigrammate XLIX Benteleianæ συναγωγῆς, versum secundum sic legendum esse postea nobis scripsit celeberrimus Benteleius, Τῶρρζ μόνων ὡρᾶν ἔχει καὶ μαῖς ὁ Κύκλωψ. & sic vertendum,*

*Illic manens capras non dimisit Cyclops. Hoc est, gregem non dimisit ex pascuis suo tempore. Τῶρρζ, Hesych. Τῶρρζ, διὸ δν. Idem Τό ρζ, ὕπερ δν.*

*When I read this passage first, it was a very great surprize, to find a Correction ascribed to Me, as communicated by my own Letter; which I could not remember one Syllable of, and which in every part of it is quite against my own Judgment. As the first word Τῶρρζ is falsely translated Illic; and the Translation is falsely justified out of Hesychius. For Hesychius interprets it διὸ δν, i. e. Quamobrem, and ὕπερ δν i. e. Quod quidem: and what do those two words relate*



to Illic? Then the third word Αἰζῶν seems to be set there as a Doricism for Αἰζῶν. But the Dorians never turn ων into αν in that Declension: for they say τῶν φερῶν, not τῶν φερᾶν. And the Fifth word χα-  
 ρισμαῖς has no fewer than three faults in it; first it should be accented χαρισμασε, and not χαρισμασε: then the Syllable ρ here is made short in the Measure: but it's always long, as appears in Aristophanes and others: then it's translated here dimisit, Dismiss'd; but it truly signifies demisit; he let down by a Rope. Besides all these verbal faults, the whole sentence is flat, and unworthy of Callimachus. I declare therefore that I never wrote this, and I utterly disown the whole. And in the Copies that I presented soon after the publication to some Right Honourable Persons, whom I will not name upon so slight an occasion, they will find my Name in that place blotted out, and the Correction left to its unknown Author.

This mistake of Mr. Grævius's was one of the subjects of that Letter of mine, which he answers here in the first Paragraph of His. He says, He sought a long time for that Letter, where (as he thought) I gave direction to insert this Emendation: but it could no where be found. No wonder indeed, that it was sought in vain;  
 for

*for there was no such Letter written by Me. But Mr. Grævius, as it seems, by a very natural and very pardonable failing had forgot who it was, that had sent him that Correction. He might have a Schedule of it inclos'd in a Letter; and if the Letter and the Schedule were parted, 'twas a very easie mistake to ascribe it to a wrong Author. And I heartily excuse this little oversight in that excellent Person; as I doubt not but he will excuse this freedom that I publicly disclaim that Correction. For as his incomparable Learning will not allow the least suspicion, that the Correction could be his own; so his singular Ingenuity and Candor will allow me the liberty to renounce what is not Mine. But I would crave leave to make two Inferences from this, with relation to the Examiner. First, I humbly conceive, here's a case exactly parallel with that of Sir Edward Sherburn's. And if such a mistake happen'd without my knowledge in the Edition of Callimachus; the same thing might happen in the Edition of Rubenius. And Secondly, we have a singular instance here of Mr. B's great Capacity to be a Censurer of my Writings; who, though he read (as appears from his Book) my Notes on Callimachus, and my Dissertation on Jo. Antiochenus, on purpose to find faults in them, was not able to discover the Mistakes of this Passage, that lay so thick and so open. I*

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*I cannot omit this opportunity of correcting and explaining one of the Epigrams of that Poet;*

Τὴν αἰλὴν \*Εὐδημος, ἐρ' ἧς ἄλα λίθον ἐπέλθων Callim. E-

Χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγεν δανέων, pig. li.

Ὅηκε θεοῖς Σαμῶθραξι· λέγων ἐπὶ τῷδε

(κατ' εὐχὴν,

ὦ λαοί, σωθεῖς ἐξ αἰλὸς ὧδ' ἔδετο.

*Where the MS Reading ἐπέλθων betray'd not only my self, but the most Ingenious and Learned Madam Daciere into a mistake. We took ἄλα here to mean the Sea, and consequently αἰλὴν a Ship: and the Samothracian Gods seem'd to require that Interpretation, for they were suppos'd to deliver from Storms at Sea. But I have since discover'd, that the Epigram has quite another meaning. Αἰλὴν signifies a Salt-seller, and ἄλα Salt. And the first Verse is to be corrected thus:*

Τὴν αἰλὴν Εὐδημος, ἐρ' ἧς ἄλα λίθον ἐπέλθων.

*And the whole to be thus translated:*

Salinum Eudemus, in quo falem tenuem

(comedens

Procellas magnas effugit usurarum,

Donavit Diis Samothracibus; dicens,

(quod hoc ex voto,

O populi, servatus à sale hic posuit.

*Eudemus here in the Epigram, owing a great many Debts, paid them off by living sparingly upon Bread and Salt, the Diet of*  
poor



poor People: and in memory of it he dedicated his Salt-seller to the Samothracian Gods. The Epigram is very ingenious, and the Humour of it lies in the double meaning of ἀλίην and ἄλα and ἄλως, and the likeness of ἐπέδων to ἐπελδών, and of δανέων to ἀνέμων. And the whole is a Parodia. Suidas quotes a part of it, and from him I had the hint of this true and certain Explication. Ἐπέδων, says he, ἐπεδίων, εὐωχέμεθα. Τὴν ἀλίην Εὐδόμεθα, ἐφ' ἧς ἄλα λητὸν ἐπέδων χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγε θύκε θεοῖς Σαμόθρεσσιν. The word δανέων is omitted in Suidas; but there's no question now but it's the true Reading. If Mr. B. when he search'd my Writings to pick holes in them, had but corrected this one Epigram; which none of us, that were concern'd in Callimachus, then understood; he had done himself more true Honour by this single Improvement, as slight as it is, than he has done by his whole Book.

P. 16. But to return to the affair of Sir Edward Sherburn; the Examiner now proceeds to fortifie his Accusation, and secure it against all Exceptions. But Grævius, says he, it may be was in fault, and forgot to do Sir Edward justice. Is it so then? May it be that Mr. Grævius was in fault? Had I not reason to say above, that I was well assur'd the Authors of this Calumny were conscious,

*scious, that the Blame was Mr. Grævius's? And is not this Fencing and Supposing of theirs a plain indication of it? But 'tis hardly to be imagin'd, says he, that Grævius could forget it, had the Dr. told him plainly, that the MS was put into his hands under that express condition. True indeed! if Mr. Grævius had no more business on his Hands, than the Examiner and his Assistant have. But a Man that considers both the great Variety and great Importance of Mr. Grævius's Own Affairs, would not wonder, if he had forgot, not only to mention Sir Edward Sherburn, (whom he had never heard of but once in my Letter;) but to publish the very MS it self. But with the Examiner's good leave, there was no need at all either of intimating it slightly, or telling it plainly to Mr. Grævius. He does not want any Spur to make him own his Obligations. I had no occasion to make either slight or broad Intimations, what Sir Edward expected: for Mr. Grævius had promis'd of his own accord, before the Book was sent him, that he would do Sir Edward justice. 'Tis true, I cannot produce Mr. Grævius's Letter, because I have unfortunately lost it, and He has no Transcript of it. But the Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich, who gives me leave to say this in his Name, remembers very well,*  
*that*

*that I shew'd him the Letter, and that Mr. Grævius there return'd his Thanks to Sir Edward, and promis'd to inform the World who it was that oblig'd it.*

P. 16. But suppose, says he, the omission lay wholly at Grævius's Door, why did not the Dr. send immediately to Sir Edward to excuse it? See here the true Spirit of PHALARISM. 'Tis no matter, whether a thing be true or false, so it make it for their purpose. I did more than send, for I went immediately to Sir Edward to excuse it; which by his carriage then and some time after I thought I had done effectually; and I presented him then with one of the Copies Mr. Grævius had sent me. Nay I am morally sure, it was in that very Book, which I had given him, that he enter'd the Memorandum, which the Examiner produces.

P. 15.

P. 16. And why, says he, did not the Dr. take care to have this Neglect repair'd in the next Holland Journal? A most wonderful expedient! 'Twas a thing indeed of great consequence to the World, to know whose Box it was that had preserv'd the MS. And yet as mean as the Thing was, and as little as the Honour of it was; I had resolv'd and engag'd to Sir Edward to do him that Right in a fitter place, than a Holland Journal. I had then prepar'd a Manilius for the Press, which had been publish'd



*lish'd already, had not the dearness of Paper, and the want of good Types, and some other occasions hinder'd. And I assur'd Sir Edward, that in that Book I would make him amends for Mr. Grævius's omission. For I had occasion there to have thank'd him upon another account, which I will now mention, that I may be quite out of his Debt. Among those Papers I found a Discourse of the Learned Godefridus Wendelinus's about the Age of the Poet Manilius. There were two Copies of it, one by Wendelinus's own hand, and the other by Gevartius's: and Sir Edward was pleas'd to give me one of them; because I purpos'd either to print the whole or give an Extract of it in my Edition of Manilius. I return him here my Acknowledgments for it; but let Manilius come out when it will, the World I believe will excuse me, if I think I have now paid as much as I owe him.*

*The Examiner goes on in the honourable work of false Accusation. A Foreigner, says he, of great Note complain'd how ill the Dr. had used him in a case near resembling Mine: which not yet having his leave for it, I do not think my self at liberty to publish. The short of which is, That some body complain'd of something which Mr. B. will not tell. I must own, when I read such stuff as this set out in the*  
Name

P. 14.

*Name of Mr. B. I am forc'd to suspect, do what I can, that there are more Forgeries than Phalaris's Letters. Mr. B. must forgive me, if I think this Paragraph more becomes the Humty Dumty Author, than a Gentleman of Sense and Honour. If such loose and general Accusations must pass for Evidence, who can be Innocent? When the Examiner is at liberty to publish this Story, I make no question but I shall prove it as false, as his Calumny about Sir Edward. In the mean time he has shown his Proficiency in the noble Science of Detraction, when under pretense of saying Nothing he says more than All. For he insinuates a blind story about something and some body, which the Reader is to guess at, and make as black as he pleases. I remember, a certain Foreigner, whose Name I have now forgot, made the modest and reasonable Demand, that I would give him the Alexandrian MS to his Lodgings to be collated quite through, which would require half a Year's constant labour. It was pretty hard to keep one's Countenance at so senseless a Proposal: however I gave him a civil Answer, why I thought the Favour could not be allow'd him. If this be the Man that complain'd to Mr. B. how ill I had used him, as the Circumstances make it probable: I do not envy Mr. B. the honour of his Acquaintance of Great Note.*

*But*

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But another, *it seems*, applied to Dr. Bentley for a sight of the *Alexandrian MS*, and met with no other Answer, but that the Library was not fit to be seen. *Here's another general Accusation without naming the Person, and upon that account not easie to be disprov'd: but however it has the common Fate of all his Stories and Arguments, That they are false and so may be turn'd upon Himself.* For ever since I came to St. James's, I have constantly kept that *MS* in my own Lodgings, for this very Reason, That Persons might see it, without seeing the Library. I believe there are a Hundred now in England, that have seen the *MS* since I had the Custody of it; and I appeal to all their Memories, if they did not see it in my Lodgings, and not in the Library.

But let us see the Examiner's Comment upon't; A pretty excuse, says he, (*that the Library was not fit to be seen*) for a Library-keeper to make, who had been four Years in that service. That I could not make this excuse for not shewing the *Alexandrian MS*, I suppose, it's already sufficiently clear. But I will own, that I have often said and lamented, That the Library was not fit to be seen. If he thinks this such a reproch to the Library-keeper, he has free liberty to make the best  
d on't.



on't. But upon whom would this Reflection fall, were it really a matter of Reproach? Our keen Examiner should look before him a little; and not blindly throw about his Abuses, without minding whom they will hit. If the Room be too mean, and too little for the Books; if it be much out of Repair; if the Situation be inconvenient; if the Access to it be dishonourable; is the Library-keeper to answer for't? Would he have Me in the Four years of that service to have erected a new Library at my own Charge? But there's nothing really to be blam'd here, but the Examiner's Pertness. For the Expences and Toils of a long War are but too just an Excuse, that the thoughts of a New Library were not part of the Public Cares: but there's no question, but a few years of Peace under His Majesty's most Happy Government will set us above this Reproach.

These, I think, are all the Personal Accusations in the Examiner's Preamble; let us now take a short view of his Complaints against my Book. The first is, That I insinuate there, That the Translation of Phalaris was not his Own; for I said, it was ascribed to him, and his Name was set to the Edition, and the Faults in't were no Disparagement to Him, but to his Teachers; and I call them in the Plural Number Editors, Annotators, and Great Genius's.

These

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*These are all the Passages in my Book, that are or can be brought to make out this Inditement. Now the two first of these Expressions are very far from affirming, that he was not the true Author. For this present Book is ascrib'd to Me, and my Name is set to the Edition, and yet I assure him, 'tis my Own. It must be the Third then of those Phrases, That the Faults were a disparagement to his Teachers, which must imply they were not His. But with humble submission, whether this Inference be His or his Teachers, 'tis a weak one. For he Himself owns, That he was then very young, and not only had a Tutor, but a Director of his Studies; and in that case the Faults might be really his Own, but the Disparagement Theirs that suffer'd them to pass. In his Dedication there he tells the Tutor, that he was \* assisted by him in the Work: and in his Preface here he says, The Director was consulted by him upon ANY Difficulty. After such a public Declaration, the World will still be of my Opinion, That both the Tutor and the Director were accountable for the Faults in Phalaris, though they were really the Pupils. Mr. B indeed in his Preface here seems to excuse the Tutor; for he declares, That excepting the Director, no one had a hand in't; nay scarce a line, says he, was ever*

\* Opus  
tua ope  
adjutum.

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seen by any body else as I know of, till it was finish'd. *But if this be so, how came he to thank the Tutor for assisting the work? Let the Reader please to try, if he can bring these two Passages to meet; for my own part, I have seen so many Contradictions between the Latin Phalaris and the English Examination, that I dare not attempt to reconcile them. But Mr. B. himself offers to do it, when he tells us, that the Tutor might otherwise assist him in the Edition, than by collating MSS, translating the Text, and writing Comments. True; he might so: he might be at some charge of the Printing, and make the Book his worthy New-years-gift to the Scholars of his House. But Mr. B. here answers to a Question, that never was ask'd him. For the Query is not, whether the Tutor was to Translate or Comment; but whether he was not to Revise and Correct.*

*Since it's hard therefore to believe both Passages together, I had rather believe the English one, That the Tutor had no hand in the Version of Phalaris. For the World will own, that he has more Wit, more Learning, and more Judgment, than to let such a Translation go through his Hands. Much less can I think him concern'd in the English Examination, which is the faultiest Book in its kind (which is Critical) that has appear'd upon the Theatre of Learning this*  
Two



*Two Hundred Tears. If my Answer here do not shew it to be so, let not this Character be regarded: but I know already by Experiment, that the best Judges are satisfied I have prov'd it so; and the rest of the World will by degrees follow their Sentiment. I must own therefore, that the deserv'd Reputation of the Tutor acquits him from all Suspicion, that he had a hand in the Examination. There is only one thing, that his Friends want and desire in him, That he would not suffer some under his Discipline, by entering into a kind of Faction in behalf of a very sorry Book, give occasion to a Rumor that nearly concerns His and the whole Societies Honour.*

*As for the Director of Studies, I entirely agree with Mr. B. that he might consult Him upon ANY Difficulty; and yet all the Errors of the Version might pass him, or be made by him. He is of the same size for Learning with the late Editor of the Æsopian Fables. If they can but make a tolerable Copy of Verses with two or three small faults in it, they must presently set up to be Authors; to bring the Nation into contempt abroad, and Themselves into it at home. This Director is He, who has lately set out Ovid's Metamorphoses with a Paraphrase and Notes; which I did but once dip in, and presently*

Oxon.  
Theat.  
1695.

*found these two Instances of his great Sense and Learning. The passages are in the Speech of Ulysses,*

Lib. xiii.  
v. 253.

Cujus equos pretium pro nocte poposce-  
(rat hostis,  
Arma negate mihi, fueritque benigni-  
(or Ajax.

*That is, Dolon was to have Achilles's Horses for being Scout one single Night: I that took and defeated Dolon, demand but Achilles's Armour, which is of far less value than his Horses. If you deny me That, fuerit benignior Ajax, even Ajax himself, as much as he is my Enemy, would reward my services more generously. But the Director thus paraphrases it; FUERITQUE BENIGNIOR AJAX. Sitque melius de vobis meritis Ajax, quam ego. But how comes benignior to signifie melius meritis? He has put such stuff here upon the Poet, as makes him neither talk Latin nor Sense. But let us see another Instance;*

Ibid. v.  
473.

Reppulit Actorides sub imagine tutus A-  
(chillis  
Troas ab arsuris cum defensore carinis.

*Patroclus, says the Poet, being disguis'd in Achilles's Armour, repuls'd the Trojans from*

from our Ships: which otherwise would have been burnt with those that defended them. *Defensore here, by a change of Number familiar among Poets, means Defensoribus, the Græcians, who fought on Ship-board, and by consequence had the Ships been burnt, they also had been burnt with them.* But our Paraphrast tacks the words thus together; TROAS CUM DEFENSORE, Trojanos cum Hectore eorum propugnatores; which is silly and absurd upon all accounts: for why should Hector be call'd the Defender here, when it was he that made the Attack? and why should the words, if the meaning of them was as the Director has given it, be so disjointed from one another? Besides that the whole Thought, as he has made it, is poor and flat; and more becoming his own Poems, than Ovid's. And is not this man now a fit Director of Studies? Is he not a rare Instructor to a young Gentleman of a Noble Family and excellent Parts; who, if he had never fallen into such Hands, would have been thought to have deserv'd to fall into Better?

But to return to Mr. B's Complaints; if neither ascribing, nor setting the Name, nor disparagement to his Teachers imply, that I thought his Book was not writ by Himself? the only words that can be accus'd of implying it, are Editors, Annotators,



- P. . . . and great Genius's, *all in the plural Number.* But I have given my Own Answer already to this point, and now I'll give Mr. B's. He is pleas'd to confess, That the Director was consulted upon ANY Difficulty: so that we have Two at least concern'd in the Edition of Phalaris; unless Mr. B. will wholly exclude Himself. Had I really therefore understood those words in the Plural Acceptation, I had implied nothing, but what Mr. B. admits to be true. But why must my words be stretcht so far, when they may fairly be suppos'd to mean but One person? For even Mr. B. in his Preface
- P. 198. to Phalaris says, QUANTUM SCIMUS, As much as WE know, and NOSTRO LABORE, By OUR Labour; and yet he avers he speaks of none but Himself. And why then might not I mean Him Only by Editors and Annotators? As if it were unusual for the Plural Number to be put for the Singular?
- P. 199.

*I am clear therefore of this Accusation of robbing Mr. B. of the Right he has to his Phalaris. And if the World has generally believ'd, that some body assisted him in't; my Book is not to answer for t. On the contrary, 'twas the Rumour, that had already obtain'd in the World, that made my Words be so interpreted. For I had left the Thing loose and indefinite, neither denying nor affirming*

*firming, that Mr. B. was the Author. And his true Friends took hold of that Handle, which was given out of kindness; and they believ'd it was more for his Honour to renounce the Edition, than to assume it with all its Faults. Mr. B. has been pleas'd to take the other way, and to vindicate it for his Own; and the success that he has had, may be now seen by the event. He has heard more than once from the Press, what the World believes in that matter. And I'm afraid, he has more contributed to that Belief by his Second Performance, than he did by his First. For a man that entitles himself to such a motley heterogeneous Piece, that's not only inconsistent with his First Work, but with it self; that has such variety of Stiles in't, as like one another, as Fustian is to Silk; that is sometimes above and sometimes below it self in the several degrees of Ignorance and Banter; a man, I say, that merrily represents himself to be such a Linsey Woolsey Writer, seems to be of Planudes's Humour: For no body can ever be Silly enough to imagin it, nor can Planudes himself dream of being thus far credited.*

P. 273.

*Mr. B. goes on to accuse me, that I have given him very ill Language; for I call the Story in his Preface, a Calumny, Weak Detraction, Injustice, Forgery, Slander,*

P. 11.

and

and vile Asperſion. *Theſe are the Flowers, he ſays, that I have ſtrew'd throughout every Page almoſt in the Epistle. Now this every Page almoſt ſeems very nearly related to his Booksellers Nine Months; for of CLII Pages, which that Epistle conſiſts of, there are not above a Dozen, that in the leaſt concern Mr. B. or his Edition. But to the reſt of the Inditement I muſt plead Guilty; for I own I then gave thoſe Titles of Honour to his Story, and have repeated ſome of them now: and whether I have miſcall'd it, the World will be judge. But it is not, that I have any love or fondneſs to thoſe Expreſſions: I am more ſorry, that I had occaſion to ſay them, than Mr. B. can be to hear them. But if Mr. B. will do an Ill Thing, he muſt excuſe me if I give it it's True and conſequently an Ill Name. If he give himſelf the Liberty to ſay what he pleaſes, he muſt expect a return of what will not pleaſe Himſelf. The Comic Poet's Rule is the Common Law in thoſe caſes,*

*Si mihi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ  
(non vult audiet.*

P. II.

*But he ſays, I charge him with the Baſeſt Tricks; which if it were true, I confeſs I ſhould be aſham'd of: for were it never ſo much deſerv'd, that Language is too coarſe to be given by me. But if the Reader pleaſes to conſult the Place, he will preſently ſee*



*see a Trick in this Accusation. For my words are nothing but a Translation of Mr. B's. Latin Moribus Nequissimis; and they are not applied to Mr. B. but to one Alcibous in the Epistles, who is represented there as a very great Knave.*

*And By the help, he says, of a Greek Proverb, I call him downright Ass. After I had censur'd a Passage of Mr. B's. Translation, that has no affinity with the Original, This puts me in mind, said I, of the Old Greek Proverb, That Leucon carries one thing, and his Ass quite another. Where the Ass is manifestly spoken of the Sophist, whom I had before represented as an Ass under a Lion's Skin. And if Mr. B. has such a Dearness for his Phalaris, that he'll change places with him there, how can I help it? I can only protest that I put him into Leucon's Place; and if he will needs complement himself out of it, I must leave the two Friends to the Pleasure of their mutual Civilities.*

*But is this Mr. B's way of interpreting Similitudes? Are the Things from whence they are taken to be directly applied to the Persons they are spoken of? If I liken an ill Critic, to a Bungling Tinker, that makes two Holes, while he mends one; must I be charg'd with calling him Tinker? At this rate Homer will call his Heroes, Wolves, Bares, Dogs and*

P. 11.

P. 25.

P. 31.

*and Bulls. And when Horace has this Comparison about Himself,*

Hor. Sat.  
1, 9.

*Demitto auriculas, ut iniquæ mentis*  
(Asellus,

*Mr. B. may tell him, He calls himself down-right Asses. But he must be put in mind of the English Proverb, that Similitudes, even when they are taken from Asses, do not walk upon All Four.*

*I will here crave the Reader's leave, to make one general Apology for any thing, either in my Dissertation or my Defense of it, that may seem too severe. I desire but this Favour or Justice rather, that He would suppose my case to be his Own: and then if he will say sincerely, that he should have answer'd so many Calumnies, with fewer marks of Resentment, I am content to lie under his Censure. But it's a very difficult thing, for a person unconcern'd and out of the reach of Harm, to be a fair Arbitrator there. He will be apt to think the injur'd Party too angry; because he cannot have as great a Passion in seeing the ill usage, as the other has in feeling it. Even Job himself with all his Patience was accused of losing his Temper, by his Companions that had no share in his Sufferings. Besides there's a common fault in Human Nature, which I crave leave to express in Greek, Ἐπιχαίρειναι. There's a secret pleasure, they*

they say, in seeing another man under the risk of a Shipwrack, while one's self is safe on the Shore ; and so we find the World is delighted to see one worried and run down, while themselves are made the Spectators, and entertain'd with the Diversion. 'Twas an excellent saying of Solon's, and worthy of the wisest of the famous Seven ; who when he was ask'd, Πῶς ἥμετε ἀδικοῦν οἱ ἀνδρες ; What would rid the World of Injuries ? If the By-standers, says he, \* would \* Laert. in have the same Resentment with those that Solone. suffer the Wrong ; Ἐὶ ὁμοίως ἀχθόντο τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικήμενοι. If the Reader will but follow that great Man's advice, and have an equal Sense of my ill usage, as if it had fallen upon himself ; I dare then challenge him to think, if he can, that I have used too much Severity.

I do not love the unmanly work of making long complaints of Injuries : which I think is the next fault to deserving them. Much less will I imitate Mr. B. who has rak'd together those few Words of my Dissertation, that had the least air of Resentment, and repeated them six times over. For if I was to enter into the Particulars of His Abuses, I must transcribe his whole Book, which from beginning to end is nothing else but a Rhapsody of Errors and Calumnies.

But



P. 223.

*But there's one Rudeness, that I ought not to omit; because it falls upon others, as much as my self. I am satisfied, says he, how unnatural a Step it is for an Amanuensis to start up Professor of Divinity. I am persuaded, every ingenuous Reader must be offended at his insolence, who could suffer such stuff as this to come out of his Mouth; which is a double affront, both to the whole Order of Bishops, and to a whole University. As if a Person, who in his Youth had been an Amanuensis to a Bishop, was upon that account made unfit to be Doctor of Divinity; as if a whole University, which was pleas'd to confer that Degree upon him, were neither fit Judges of his Merit, nor knew their own Duty.*

*I should never account it any Disgrace to have serv'd the Right Reverend the Bishop of Worcester in any Capacity of a Scholar. But I was never Amanuensis to his Lordship nor to any body else: neither did his Lordship ever make use of any Amanuensis. So little regard has this Examiner either to Decency or Truth. I was first Tutor to his Lordship's Son, and afterwards Chaplain to Himself; and I shall always esteem it both my Honour and my Happiness to have spent XIV Tears of my Life in His Family and Acquaintance, whom even Envy it self will allow to be the Glory of our Church and Nation;*

tion; who by his vast and comprehensive Genius is as Great in All parts of Learning, as the Greatest next himself are in Any. And I have the satisfaction to believe, that this excellent Person has not the worse Opinion either of my Probity or my Learning, for all the Calumnies, that the Examiner has cast upon me.

As for the General Character, that Mr. B. endeavours to fix upon me, That I have no Learning, no Judgment, no Reasoning, no Knowledge in Books, except Index's and Vocabularies, with many other Expressions of the utmost Contempt, that make up the greatest part of his Book, I do not think my self concern'd to answer them. These things shall never make a Dispute between us; He shall be as Great as he thinks Himself; and I as Little as he thinks Me. But then it will ly upon him to dispute with some other Persons, who have been pleas'd to declare publicly such an esteem of Me and my Writings, as does not altogether agree with Mr. B's.

He must commence a Critical War against His Excellency Mr. Ezekiel Spanhemius, who has this Passage concerning me. \* Sed de hoc Philostrati loco meliora forte nos docebit, qui nova versione & luculento commentario eundem auctorem explanandum & illustrandum suscepit, novum idemq;  
jam

\*Spanhem.  
in Julian.  
P. 19.

† Idem in  
Callimach.  
P. 455.

† Ibid.  
P. 605.

jam lucidum litteratæ Britanniaë fidus, Richardus Bentleius. *And in another place,* Talia autem in Hesychium *τοῦ νέου* irrep-  
fisse, & quibus scæde inquinatæ sint etiam-  
num ejus glossæ, & pridem ad eum vidi-  
mus ac passim animadvertimus; & no-  
vissime etiam in eruditissima ad Jo. Millium  
Epistola post Jo. Malalam edita, luculenter  
adductis pluribus eam in rem exemplis ad-  
feruit oriens novum Litteratæ Britanniaë  
fidus, Richardus Bentleius. *And again in  
another place,* † An vero nihil uspiam de  
illa fabella, quanquam ab aliis passim me-  
moretur, à Sophocle sit prolatum, quod  
statuit in Epistola Malalæ addita vir eru-  
ditissimus, & à quo magnum præclaris  
doctrinarum studiis incrementum licet  
augurari. *These perhaps are no vulgar com-  
mendations, which this Great Man has be-  
stow'd on me; and I'll assure Mr. B. that I  
did not procure them by any private services;  
for I have not yet done my self the Honour  
once to write to Mr. Spanhemius. So that all  
that he has said of me, came voluntarily and  
freely from him; and we shall see by the  
Event, if the present Disputes about Phalaris  
will make him repent of it.*

\* Grævii  
Præf. ad  
Callim.

*He must turn his formidable Pen against  
Mr. Grævius, who besides the Dedication  
already cited, has another passage, \* Vide-  
bis hic, Lector studiose Musicarum cupe-  
diarum,*



diarum, & aliud quod tuo palato, simul ac gustaris, sat scio arridebit mirifice. Richardus Bentleius, Potentissimo Regi Gulielmo à bibliotheca, novum, sed splendidissimum Britanniae Lumen, certior à me factus de hac Callimachi Editione, perferri ad nos jussit eruditissimas animadversiones in quædam Hymnorum loca & in Epigrammata, quibus adjecit nova non pauca quæ lucem antea nunquam adspexerant; alia, quæ quidem ante legebantur, sed à nemine fuerant intellecta, clara luce perfudit. *Mr. B. perhaps will object, That the Friendship, which I have with this most Learned Professor, makes him so kind in his Character of me: but the candid part of mankind will rather believe the reverse of it, That my Character was the reason, that he honour'd me with his Friendship.*

*Mr. B. I suppose has no great deference to the Judgments of Mr. Spanheim and Mr. Grævius; for a man that has such a false Opinion of himself, can hardly be suppos'd to have a true one of others. But I must take the freedom to tell him, that I had rather have these short expressions of the esteem of those Great men, than the most studied Panegyrics of Him and all his Party. Neither would I consent that these Passages should be blotted out, to have all his Abuses of me blotted out with them, both those he has*  
e
made

made already, and those he shall make hereafter. For as a Commendation from the Greatest Men is the greatest of Commendations; so a Disparagement from Men of no knowledge in the things they pretend to judge of is the least of Disparagements.

After the Testimonies of these Two Great Men, I will not produce any more; lest I should seem to trust to the Number rather than the Quality of those that speak well of me. I am intirely of his Opinion, who was *Contentus paucis, sed magnis Laudatoribus*. And I will once more borrow the Form of \* Argument, that *Æmilius Scaurus* us'd against *Varius Suetonensis*: Mr. *Spanheim* and Mr. *Grævius* give a high Character of Dr. B's. Learning; Mr. *Boyle* gives the meanest, that malice can furnish him with: *Utri creditis, Quirites?* Whether of the Characters will the Present Age or Posterity believe?

\* See here  
P. xxxi.

See here  
P. lxxv.

The Examiner has given two Descriptions, one of a Pedant, and another of a Good Critic; designing to draw the First as My Picture, and the Latter as his Own. But perhaps if we compare the Pictures with the Originals, he may be forc'd by his Readers to change one of the Places here with Me, as he voluntarily did with the Sophist in the case of *Leucon* and his Ass.

(1) His

## The PREFACE.

lxxxiii

(1) *His first and surest mark of a Pe-* P. 93.  
*dant is to write without observing the*  
*Rules of Civility or common Decency,*  
*and without distinguishing the Chara-*  
*cters of those he writes against. Upon* P. 94.  
*this Article, he accuses two Expressions of*  
*mine, and yet both of them are both civilly*  
*worded, and truly said. Then he mentions*  
*some Course Complements upon Himself,*  
*which I have already accounted for: only*  
*here he says, I compare him with Lucian's*  
*Afs; which, were it true, would be no*  
*Course Complement, but a very obliging*  
*one. For Lucian's Afs was a very intelli-*  
*gent and ingenious Afs, and had more Sense*  
*than any of his Riders: he was no other*  
*than Lucian himself in the shape of an Afs,*  
*and had a better Talent at Kicking and Ban-*  
*tering, than ever the Examiner will have,*  
*though it seems to be his chief one.*  
*Let the Reader too observe by the way,*  
*that Mr. B. in this place has it, Lucian's*  
*Afs; but in another he cites it truly, Leu-*  
*con's Afs: and yet we are told the very same*  
*Hand writ both the Passages.*

*But to bring the Examiner near to the*  
*Picture, if perhaps it may have some little*  
*resemblance to Himself. Has He observ'd*  
*the rules of Civility, in writing the most*  
*scurrilous and virulent Book, that the Age*  
*has yet seen? Has He kept to the measures*



of Decency, in raking up so many Tales and Hearsays, that a man of Honour would scorn to repeat? Has He distinguish'd the Character of Him he wrote against, in abusing and vilifying upon the falsest surmises a Man in Holy Orders, a Doctor in Divinity, a Domestic Servant to one of the Greatest of Kings, and the First that was employ'd to preach the Lecture establish'd by the Great Mr. Boyle, a Relation of the Examiner's? If these be against all Rules of Civility and Decency and Distinction of Characters; then I suppose, his first and surest mark of a Pedant will be thought to hit Himself.

P. 93. — (2) A second mark is to use a Greek or Latin word, when there's an English one, that signifies the very same thing. Now if this be one of his marks, Himself is a Pedant by his own confession: for in this very sentence of his, Signific is a Latin word, and there's an English one, that Means the very same thing. We shall do the Examiner therefore no injury in calling Him Pedant, upon this Article. But if such a general Censure, as this forward Author here passes, had been always fasten'd upon those, that enrich our Language from the Latin and Greek Stores; what a fine condition had our Language been in? 'Tis well known, it has scarce any Words, be-  
sides

*sides Monosyllables, of its native growth; and were all the rest imported and introduc'd by Pedants? At this rate the ignominy of Pedantry will fall upon all the best Writers of our Nation; and upon none more heavily, than the Examiner's great Relation the incomparable Robert Boyle, whose whole Style is full of such Latin words. But when the Examiner is possess'd with a fit of rage against Me, he lays about him without consideration or distinction, never minding whom he hits, whether his own Relation or even Himself. The words in my Book, which he excepts against, are Commentitious, Repudiate, Concede, Aliene, Vernacular, Timid, Negoce, Putid, and Idiom: every one of which were in Print, before I us'd them; and most of them, before I was born. And are they not all regularly form'd, and kept to the true and genuine Sense, that they have in the Original? Why may we not say Negoce from Negotium, as well as Commerce from commercium and Palace from Palatium? Has not the French Nation been before hand with us in espousing it? And have not We Negotiate and Negotiation, words that grow upon the same Root, in the commonest use? And why may not I say Aliene, as well as the Learned Sir Henry Spelman; who us'd it LXXX Year since, and yet was never thought a Pedant? But*

P. 187. *he says, My words will be hiss'd off the Stage as soon as they come on. If so, they would have been hiss'd off long before I had come on. But the Examiner might have remember'd before he had talk'd thus at large, who it was that distinguish'd his Style with Ignore and Recognisce, and other words of that sort, which no body has yet thought fit to follow him in. For his Argument, if it prov'd any thing, would prove perhaps too much; and bring the Glory of his own Family into the tribe of Pedants. Though I must freely declare, I would rather use, not my Own words only, but even These too (if I did it sparingly, and but once or twice at most in CLII Pages) than that single word of the Examiner's Cotemporary, which is a downright Barbarism. For the Latins never use Co for Con, except before a Vowel, as Coequal, Coeternal; but before a Consonant they either retain the N, as Contemporary, Constitution; or melt it into another Letter, as Collection, Comprehension. So that the Examiner's Cotemporary is a word of his own Coposition, for which the Learned World will congratulate him.*

P 166,  
167

P 24. (3.) Another token of a Pedant is the use of Greek and Latin Proverbs. But however I'll run the risk of it once more,  
and



and make bold to use one Proverbial Saying,

Homine imperito nunquam quicquam  
(injustius,  
Qui nisi quod ipse fecit, nihil rectum  
(putat.

*Why forsooth is it more pedantry in Me, to use Latin Proverbs in English Discourse, than in Cicero to use Greek ones in Latin? Nay, do not even Greek Proverbs make as good a figure now in English, as then they did in Latin? If Mr. B. can spare any time from his Phalaris's Epistles to look into Cicero's, he'll find him in every Page among the herd of Pedants. If I had us'd Proverbs in my Sermons against Atheism, or in any solemn Argument, or Occasion; the Examiner's Censure had been more just: But to blame the use of them in an Epistle or a Dissertation, which have been always allow'd to be their proper places, is it self a very ill mixture of Ignorance and Pedantry. For if they cannot be us'd there without Pedantry, they must be banish'd out of all sorts of Writings. So that Aristotle, Theophrastus, Chrysippus, Aristarchus, and some others of the best Wits of old, and among the Moderns the great Erasmus, and the great Scaliger made Collections of Proverbs, merely to serve Pedants. Erasmus's own Writings are full of them; and*

*he will be thought to have had as much Wit and as little of Pedantry, as Mr. B. and his Directors. And the great Treasuries, from whence he collected them, are the Writings of Cato, Plutarch, and Lucian; who among some little men may go for Pedants, but among the wise and sensible part of mankind will pass for men of Wit.*

P 99.  
P 94. (4.) To over-rate the Price of Knowledge is another sign of Pedantry. *And let the World judge between the Examiner and Me, whether of us is most concern'd in this Character of a Pedant. I have never publish'd any thing yet, but at the desire of others. My Sermons in Mr. Boyle's Lecture were requir'd for the Press by the Honourable the Trustees; my Epistle about Jo. Antiochensis was desir'd by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Lichfield; my Notes on Callimachus by Mr. Grævius, and my Dissertation upon Phalaris by Mr. Wotton. The only Book that I have writ upon my own account is this present Answer to Mr. B's Objections: and I assure him, I set no great Price upon't; the Errors that it refutes, are so many, so gross and palpable, that I shall never be very proud of the Victory.*

*But then a man that over-rates the Price of his Performances, acts the very reverse of this. He engages in matters, where*

where he has no concern; he obtrudes his Notions upon the World, though neither his Friends desire him, nor the Business oblige him to meddle. And is not this the picture of the Examiner? He has writ a large Book in behalf of Phalaris's Epistles, which has hitherto been the public Diversion, and will be so too hereafter, but in a different way; and yet he professes, that he was not IN THE LEAST concern'd to vindicate them.

P. 202.

(5.) But an assuming and positive way of delivering one's self, upon Points especially, that are not capable of being perfectly clear'd, is Pedantry. Now to take no notice of the rest of his Book, which is nothing but heaps of Errors deliver'd in the most arrogant and insulting Language, I'm content to be try'd by this very Paragraph of his, which of us two seem to have sat for this picture. He has cited here xv Passages out of my whole Dissertation, which he pretends are deliver'd in an assuming and positive way, and yet, he says, are certainly false. Whereas every one of them are true, and may be perfectly clear'd, except one small mistake about *περὶ δὲ δὲ δὲ*, and that too is deliver'd without any assuming expression. But let us see Mr. B's behaviour; Where the contrary, says he, is MOST CERTAINLY true; as it is, and shall

P. 94.

P. 95.



shall be prov'd to be, in ALL those Instances here referr'd to. *Now if this be not an Assuming and Positive way, what is? And yet in XIV of his XV Instances, he is miserably mistaken.*

P. 95.

(6.) To depart from the common ways of writing, on purpose to shew exactness, is a piece of Affectation, that favours of Pedantry. *Upon which article he accuses my spelling Taurominium; for he says, it's GENERALLY writ Tauromenium, both by Ancients and Moderns. Now if the contrary of this be certainly true, who will then be the Pedant? The Learned Cluverius, who made it his business to search all the Books and MSS, that relate to Sicily; says, \* It's sometimes spelt Tauromenium, and sometimes Tauromenia, but GENERALLY Taurominium. And Mr. B. must write at another rate, than yet he has done; before the World will prefer his Testimony before that of Cluverius.*

\* Cluver.  
Sicil. p. 90.  
Plerumq;  
Tauromi-  
nium.

P. 96.

Mr. B. here goes a little out of his way to do right to . . . against Mr. Wotton, who had taken notice of an absurd usage of Delphos for Delphi. *And because it lies a little in my way, I will do right to Mr. Wotton: for indeed the case is my own; because I too have call'd it Delphi, and rejected the common Error. Mr. B. defends his Delphos upon this only pretense, That it has been*

*been the common custom of our English Writers, five of whom he names there, to call it so. An admirable reason, and worthy to be his own! As if the most palpable Error, that shall happen to obtain and meet with reception, must therefore never be mended? One would think he had borrow'd it from the Popish Priest, who for xxx years together had read Mumpsimus in his Breviary instead of Sumpsimus; and when a Learned Man told him of his blunder, I'll not change, says he, my old Mumpsimus for your new Sumpsimus. 'Tis a known Story, but I'll give it him in the words \* of Sir Richard Pace, who was a man of Business and an Ambassadour too, and upon those accounts will have more Authority with the Examiner. If Mr. B. then will not change his old Delphos for our new Delphi; he shall have leave to keep his Mumpsimus, as long as he pleases. But when he would put it upon us for good English, for that we must beg his pardon. The word is not yet so naturaliz'd in England, but it may and certainly will be sent back again to Barbary its native Countrey. We have in-*

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\* *Paceus: De fructu, qui ex doctrina percipitur. Basil. 1517. p. 80. Quidam indoctus Sacrificus Anglus per annos triginta Mumpsimus legere solitus est loco Sumpsimus; & quum moneretur à docto, ut errorem emendaret, respondit, Se nolle mutare suum antiquum Mumpsimus ipsius novo Sumpsimus.*

\* A& A.  
post xx.  
14, 15.

*stances of other words, that had both longer continuance and more general reception, than he can plead for his Delphos, and yet they were hiss'd off the Stage at last. In the old Editions of the English Bibles in Henry the VIII's time, it was printed \* Asson and Miletum; afterwards under Queen Elizabeth it was chang'd into Asson and Miletum; but in the last review under King James the First it was rectify'd Assos and Miletus. Here's a case that's exactly parallel with this of our Examiner; Miletum and Asson were at first suppos'd to be Nominative Cases; just as Delphos was mistaken to be like Argos, Simos, and Delos. But, we see, upon better information, the words were discarded. Neither the stamp of Royal Authority, nor the universal use in every Parish, nay almost every Family of England, for two or three Generations, could protect them from being exploded. A most certain Argument that the whole Kingdom then believ'd, That Analogy and Reason ought to have a greater force, than Vulgar Error, though establish'd by the longest and commonest custom. In the old Translation of Virgil set out by Phaer and Dr. Thyne, they are call'd the XII Books of Virgil's Æneidos; and the Running Title of every Page is the I, or II, or III Book of Virgil's Æneidos. Without question, that was the*  
*Language*



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*Language in those days all over the Nation. So that if the Examiner's Mumpsimus should pass for an Argument, the Æneidos should be the current Language at this day; and those that call it Æneis must be run down for Pedants. I dare venture to foretell the Examiner, that his Delphos in a few years will be thought as barbarous as Æneidos: and if his Book shall happen to be preserv'd any where, as an useful Common Place-Book for Ridicule, Banter, and all the Topics of Calumny; this very Page about Delphos may perhaps, before he grows an old man, be made an unwelcome Evidence against Himself. I see here, that the Excellent Bishop of Lichfield (who, as appears by his most admirable Dictionary to the great Bishop Wilkins's Real Character, has the largest and nicest knowledge of the English Language, of any man living) calls it Delphi in his Printed, tho' Unpublish'd, Chronology, which I had the honour to see; and so did the Learned Gentleman Mr. Stanley long ago in his Lives of the Philosophers. I do not here disparage those excellent Pens, that have unawares fallen into the common Error; but to defend it against manifest Reason, and to vilify those that would reform it, is a plain instance of a Positive and Pedantic Genius.*

*I must*

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*I must take hold of this occasion to do another piece of Right to Mr. Wotton. For the Examiner says, It's hop'd Mr. W. will publicly declare, that he neither assisted nor approv'd my Dissertation. But I myself can save him half that labour; and therefore here I do aver, that neither Mr. Wotton nor any one else assisted me, either in That work, or in This: so that I alone am accountable for the Errors in them both.*

*Though after such an Instance of Mr. B's Judgment in Language and Style, I might safely despise his pert Censures upon Mine; yet I will crave the Reader's patience, while I answer those Exceptions of his, that at present I can remember. In two or three places of his Book he would ridicule my Expression, FIRST INVENTOR, as if it were mere Nonsense. If it be so, it's a very new sort of it, and perhaps may come off better than some bodies Sense; for it has both good Reason and great Authorities in its behalf. The word FIRST there is no idle and superfluous Epithet, nor borders upon Tautology; for there may truly be a First and a Second and more Inventors of the very same thing. The Chinese invented the use of Guns and Printing; and so did the Europeans, without knowing at that time, that they were us'd in the East: and may we not ask the Question, Whether INVENTED them*  
FIRST,

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FIRST, without danger of nonsense? Terence therefore is not only in danger, but manifestly caught in't, when he says,

Hoc novum est aucupium: ego adeo Ter. Eun.

(hanc PRIMUS INVENI Viam. ii. 2.

and so is Lucretius, when he speaks of his Master,

Qui PRINCEPS vitæ rationem INVENIT Lucret. v.  
(eam, quæ ?

Nunc appellatur Sapientia —

After these two we have no need to name more of the Latins: let us see, if some of the best Wits of Greece are not guilty of the same Nonsense. And among these I find Pindar, as deep in't as any body; \* Τὸν ῥα \* Athen.  
Τέτραπαιδὲς ποτ' ὁ Λέσσιος ΕΥΡΕ ΠΡΩ- 635.

ΤΟΣ ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λύδιον ψαλμὸν; and Herodotus and Plato in the very same condition; where the former says † ΠΡΩΤΟΥΣ † Herod.

Αἰγυπλίης ἀπάντων ἀνδρώπων ΕΞΕΥΡΕΙΝ 11. p. 91.  
τὸν ἐνιαιυτόν; and the latter, \* Τῶν δὲ τῶν \* Plato in  
Θεῶν ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ἀειδόμεντε καὶ λογιζόμεν Phædro.

ΕΥΡΕΙΝ. Or if Printed Books will not satisfy the Examiner, I will give him it in an Inscription, \* Ὑαγνὺς ὁ Φεῦξ ἀνὴρ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ † Marm.  
ΗΥΡΕΝ. And is not Mr. B. now a judicious Arund. 1.

Censurer, to come with his little Cavils against an Expression, which the best writers in the world have so frequently us'd? For besides the passages here produc'd, I dare undertake to bring Fifty more: and among  
the



*the Best of our own Nation, it's one of the commonest Phrases; particularly it's adopted by our English Cicero, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Rochester, in his History of the Royal Society; where Philosophy and Eloquence have renew'd as strict an Acquaintance, as they had in Cicero's Philolophica Seventeen Hundred Tears ago.*

P. 73

*Another happy phrale, which, he says, I have newly minted, is The MEEN of a FACE; which as he takes it, is much the same thing with the Behaviour of a Look, or the Carriage of a Smile. His expression indeed is a little obscure, and his Readers, I find, are not agreed about his Meaning. But the thing he aims at seems to be this, That Meen signifies the Behaviour and the Carriage of the whole Person, and cannot be applied to a single part, the Face. An observation that shews him to be as great a Critic in the Modern Languages, as he is in the Ancient. For Meen does not signifie Behaviour, even when it's spoken of the whole Person, but the Air and Look that results from it. The word Meen is of French Original, and both the English and the Italians borrow'd it of that Nation. So that the Sense of it must be determin'd from the usage of the French. And if those be consulted, they will tell us, that though Mine be often extended to denote the Air of the whole Man,*

*Man, yet it chiefly and originally means the Air of the Face. So Monsieur Pomey in his Dictionary; MINE DU VISAGE, (which is exactly, Meen of the Face) oris species, oris habitus, nativa vultus compositio. And so the late Dictionary by the Academy; MINE, l' air, qui resulte de la conformation exterieure de la personne, & principalment du visage. One would have guess'd by the Examiner's talking* P. 98, 99. *out of Balzac and Bruyere, that he had been too well acquainted with the writings of the French; and yet we see by this instance, he was as raw in that Language as he is in the Greek. But perhaps since his late Journey to Paris he may have brought back with him une mine du Visage, though he did not carry over with him a meen of a Face.*

(7.) *Another mark, he says, of a Pedant, is an Itch of contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds. I must own, that I am sometimes forc'd in my writings to contradict Great Men, by correcting such oversights, as they made through inadvertency or want of information. But then I do it without any diminution to their Character; and if that modesty be observ'd, the contradicting them in this way deserves the highest commendation, and is such a sort of Pedantry, as the Examiner and his Director*

P. 98.

rector will never be accus'd of. But the Instance he charges me with, is my brisk Censure of Grotius and Scaliger, for not knowing the measure of an Anapæstic Verse : and whether I did that upon very slight grounds, this very \* Answer will shew. But let us see the Examiner's words here, if perhaps this last character of a Pedant may not prove to be his own Picture. When 'tis PLAIN, says he, as I shall

\* See here  
p. 132 &c.

P. 98.

SHEW BEFORE I LAY DOWN MY PEN, that the Dr. would never have censur'd 'em, if he had known it himself. What a formidable threat, and what a miserable Performance ! The stuff that he has brought there, is so shamefull and scandalous, so inexcusable in a very School-boy, betrays such ignorance of the commonest rules of Prosodia and Syntax ; that if he has but Learning enough to know when he's confuted (which is not every body's case) he may have the wisdom to take his leave of the Press, as long as he lives for that part of Learning.

But if an Itch of contradicting Great men upon very slight grounds has a relish of Pedantry ; to abuse and revile Great men, and that without any ground at all, must be the very Spirit and Quintessence of it. And we know a late Writer, that in the very entrance of his Work calls Dion Chrysostom,



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softom, as errant a Sophist and Declaimer <sup>P. 26.</sup>  
as ever was, and his Discourse tedious and <sup>P. 28.</sup>  
insipid ; that says, Manilius has no wit in <sup>P. 238.</sup>  
him, and is as unlike to Ovid, as Therfites  
was to Nireus ; that says, Laertius is a  
writer of Dr. B's. own Form, which, as  
He has been pleas'd to use me, is the vilest  
of Characters ; that calls Athenæus rude and  
insolent, and a confident Clown, when the  
sole occasion of it is his own Ignorance. I <sup>P. 238, 9.</sup>  
shall give here a short account of his affront  
upon Athenæus, to shew what a strange  
compound must go to the making up a De-  
fender of Phalaris.

The Examiner accuses Athenæus for call- <sup>Athen.</sup>  
ing Plato, Dog and Lyar. Now the words <sup>P. 216.</sup>  
of Athenæus are, that Antisthenes says the  
same thing of Socrates, That Plato says :  
but yet the matter is not true. *καριζε-  
ται γὰρ ὃ κύνων ἐστὶ πολλὰ τῷ Σωκράτει,*  
for this Cynic too complements Socrates  
in many particulars. Antisthenes was Di-  
ogenes's Master, and the founder of the  
Sect of the Cynics: so that *κύνων* here  
means a Cynic and not a Dog ; and is so  
far from being a reprochful Word, that it  
was adopted by the whole Sect as a name of  
Honour. But the learned and sagacious  
Mr. B. takes *κύνων* for a very Dog, and  
draws in Plato to have a share in the  
name, as well as Antisthenes ; which Athe-

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*næus never dreamt of. And is not this now a just occasion of calling so excellent a writer an insolent and confident Clown? But we have instances of late, that such Qualifications as those are not the properties of Clowns alone.*

*But Mr. B. is not contented with abusing the Ancients; unless he bestow his Civilities upon some of the greatest of the Moderns. P. 225. Salmasius, he says, and Scaliger were all GALL and PRIDE and PEDANTRY; which made the vast Learning they were masters of sit so ill upon them, that the World hated and despised them, at the same time that it was profiting by them. If he pleases, he may add, That they are hated and despised by some who will never be able to profit by them. But are these the*

*Pref. p 3. Expressions that become a Young writer? though in truth they could come from no body but a Young and unfledg'd Writer; that neither knows the Works of those Great Men, nor the History of that Age. Did the World hate and despise Them, who were admir'd and courted by the greatest Princes? who were invited out of their own Country with the solemnity, almost of an Embassy, that they would honour a Potent Republic with their Presence, and accept of a noble Pension without any incumbrance of an Office? who, as appears by the Letters written to them*  
*from*

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*from the best Wits of all the Nations of Europe, were universally esteem'd as the Glory of their Age? 'Tis true, they met with some very unworthy usage, which proceeded not from contempt, but a quite contrary Passion. He must be a young Writer, and a young Reader too; that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean thoughts of Salmasius, as they endeavour to make others have. He that studies to represent one of known and eminent Merit to be a meer Fool and an Idiot, he gives himself the Lye; and betrays, he's either acted with Envy or corrupted by a Faction. But the greatest Persecution these Great Men lay under was upon the account of Religion. They were the ornament of the Reformation, and by their Influence and Example gave such a Spirit of Learning to it, as made it triumph over its Enemies, who would then have ingross'd the reputation of Letters, and confin'd it to their own Party. They were vilify'd therefore and traduc'd by those, who, if they had been of their own Communion, would have almost ador'd them. So that Protestants should be tender and cautious from what hands they receive the Characters of those Great Men. And if a Magisterial Air and too much Heat and Passion appear in their Writings; a candid Reader will forgive it, and say, Sume superbiam Quæsitam meri-*

Horat.

O iii, 30.



## The PREFACE.

tis; he'll impute Some of it to their Temper, but the Most to the ill usage they met with from Envy and Detraction. To hate and despise a man, at the same time they are profiting by him, is an ill mixture of the worst of Human Passions. A little Haughtiness and Warmth, when accompany'd with Merit, will be forgiven by Some, but such black Ingratitude will be hated and despised by All.

P. 98. Mr. B. is pleas'd to bestow his next favour upon Lodovico Castelvetro; whom he calls an Italian PEDANT, famous for his snarling faculty, and contradicting Great Men upon very slight grounds; and he thinks Balzac says very well of him, That he was a public Enemy. But whether some body else will not be infamous for His snarling faculty, we may predict from this very instance. This PEDANT, as our modest Author calls him, was one of the most ingenious and judicious and learned Writers of his Age; and his Books have at this present such a mighty Reputation, that they are sold for their weight in Silver in most Countries of Europe. I will mention but Three Testimonies of him; the famous \* Lilius Giraldus says, He had seen some of his pieces, which fully satisfied him, that he was *Judicio sane quam acerrimo, & eruditione non vulgari.* Henricus Stephanus dedi-  
cated

\* Gyrald.  
ii. Dialog.  
p. 411.

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cated † a Book to him, and, says he, I re-  
 fer the Censure of a piece of Poetry, Sa-  
 gaciæ & emunctæ tuæ nari, Ludovice  
 ἀκρίβειᾳ & πονηρίᾳ. And he has  
 this character given him by || Menagius; || Menag.  
 Ludovicus Castelvetrius in Commentariis ad Laert.  
 illis suis eruditissimis & acutissimis; and  
 again, Omnium optime acutissimus Ca-  
 stelvetrius. I am persuaded our Examiner  
 has never read one line of this Author,  
 whom he abuses thus out of Balzac, a Wri-  
 ter, without undervaluing him, many de-  
 grees inferiour to Castelvetro. I had the  
 fortune some years ago to meet with most of  
 the Pieces of Castelvetro and his Antago-  
 nists; and I find that the sole occasion of  
 all his Troubles in Italy was a Copy of Verses  
 made by Annibal Caro in praise of the  
 House of France. so that the very subject of  
 it was enough to byass the Judgments of Bal-  
 zac and some others of that Nation. These  
 Verses were dispers'd over Italy and France,  
 and receiv'd with mighty applause; and be-  
 ing sent to Castelvetro by a private Friend  
 at Rome, who desir'd his Judgment of them,  
 he return'd him some short Censures, desi-  
 ring they should neither be publish'd, nor  
 shown to any one as His. But by chance they  
 got abroad and were printed, and brought  
 such a violent Faction against him, as made  
 the poor man weary of Italy. The very first  
 Lines of Caro's Verses are f 4 Ve-

† Parthasii  
Epist.

|| Menag.  
ad Laert.

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Venite à l'ombra de' gran Gigli d'oro,  
Care Muse, devote a' miei Giacinti :

*Where the Muses are invited to come under the shadow of Flower-de-luces. Upon which Castelvetro remark'd; That the Muses must be less than Pygmies, if they could be shadow'd by Flower-de-luces which were scarce shelter enough for little Insects. Who can have the folly to deny, that this Censure was just? Quis tam Lucili fautor ineprus Ut neget hoc? And yet this fault, and others as plain as this, were stoutly maintain'd by Caro and his Party. For the advantage of Caro was, That he was Member of an Academy, and a whole College was engag'd for him; and when neither Reason nor Truth was of their side, they confided in their Numbers,*

*Defendit numerus, junctæque umbone  
(phalanges.*

*Their way of refuting Castelvetro, was by*

\* Apologia de gli  
Academici  
di Banchi  
di Roma.

† Tavola  
de la con-  
renenza.  
*Ibid.*

\* Pasquils, Lampoons, Burlesque Dialogues,  
Public Speeches in the Academy, Declamations of School boys, and in the close of all,

† A short Account of Messer Lodovico Castelvetro by way of Index, full of the most virulent Abuses. These were the fair and honourable methods of managing their Controversie: and though their Adversary, while he liv'd, suffer'd much from their malice; yet Posterity has been just to him, and has



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has set an extraordinary value upon all his Performances; while *Theirs* upon this Argument (for in other things they were men of some worth) have nothing that now makes them enquir'd after, but the great Reputation of the man they abuse. And such a man will never be call'd an Italian PEDANT, but by those that copy after his Adversaries in their infamous way of writing.

It's now time to draw towards a Conclusion of this Preface, which I shall do by informing the Reader, That when these Papers were put to the Press, I design'd to have brought into this Volume, The Dissertations about *Æsop* and the rest; but this of *Phalaris* alone taking up more Paper than I expected, I am oblig'd to put off the Others to another opportunity. There are a few things therefore refer'd to in This part, which do not appear here; but they shall be all made out in the Next. I have it already by me, and when I can have leisure to transcribe it for the Press, the Examiner shall have it.

He has been pleas'd to say more than once, Pref. p. 1.  
That I spent two or three years of my Life in writing my First Dissertation; and yet he owns he never once saw my Face: much less can he have any knowledge of the Course of my Studies. But he has a singular way of talking, as he says, at a venture. I drew up that Dissertation in the spare hours of a Few weeks, and  
while

P. 24.

while the Printer was employ'd about one Leaf, the other was a-making. 'Tis now I think about XL weeks, since his Examination came abroad; VIII of which I spent in the Country, where I had no thoughts of Him and his Controversie. And if in the rest of that time I have publish'd This Book, and have the Second ready for publication; I conceive the World will be satisfy'd, that I could not spend three years in the other Book of Nine sheets only. And yet I'll assure him, but for the delays of the Press which I could not remedy, he had had this Answer some months ago. In a small part of the last of those Three years, which he says were all laid out upon Phalaris, I wrote my Notes on Callimachus; and Mr. Grævius perhaps will thank Mr. B. if in Six years time he will send him the like upon any other Author. But suppose his Accusation true; I had rather have spent all that time in discovering Truth, than have spent three days in maintaining an Error.

P. 24. But he says, The whole thing is a very inconsiderable point, which a wise man would grudge the throwing away a weeks thought upon. And I doubt not, but many others, whose Designs and Studies are remote from this kind of Learning, will follow this Censure. To such men as these I must answer; That if the Dispute be quite  
out

out of their way, they have liberty to let it alone; it was not design'd for Them, but for others, that know how to value it; who if the Principal Point about Phalaris were quite dropt, will think the other Heads, that are here occasionally handled, not unworthy of a Scholar. But that the single Point, whether Phalaris be genuine or no, is of no small importance to Learning, the very Learned Mr. Dodwell is a sufficient Evidence; who espousing Phalaris for a true Author, has endeavour'd by that means to make a great Innovation in the ancient Chronology. To undervalue this Dispute about Phalaris, because it does not suit to one's own Studies, is to quarrel with a Circle, because it is not a Square. If the Question be not of Vulgar use, it was writ therefore for a Few: for even the greatest Performances upon the most important Subjects are no entertainment at all to the Many of the world.

\* I will venture here beforehand, and to give this character of Mr. B's performance upon Ælop, that though it is not wholly unworthy of its Author, yet it seems a little below him. The Style of it is something worse, than that of the Defense of Phalaris; and the Learning of it, which he ought to take for a Complement, a great deal worse. If there be One thing which he's said right in his Phalaris, about  $\pi\epsilon\omicron\delta\iota\delta\omega\mu$  and  $\delta\iota\omega\kappa\epsilon$ ;



*I'll pass my word, there will not be One good thing in his Æsop, when I call it to account. His observations there about Babrius's Verses will be found worse than those here about the Anapæsts of Æschylus and Seneca; his accusing me there as a Plagiarist from Nevelettus and Camerarius will appear much more unjust, than what he says here about my pillaging Vizzanius and his own poor Notes; his Grimace there about Socrates will be shewn more impertinent, if possible, than his long Banter here, That*

P. 184, &c. *Dr. B. cannot be the Author of the Dissertation. Which insipid Banter seems rather to have been writ in a Tavern than in a Study; and is not fit to be answer'd by Me. But if another should answer him in his own way, and pretend to prove, that Mr. B. is not the Author of the Examination, from the variety of Styles in't, from its contradictions to his Edition of Phalaris, from it's contradictions to it self, from it's contradictions to Mr. B's character and to his Title of Honourable, and from several other Topics; it would be taken perhaps for no Railery, but too serious a Repartee; or at least might pass for a True Jest, though intended only for a Merry one.*

*Mr. B. has been pleas'd to threaten me*

Pref. p. 6. *with the resentments of a whole Society,*

P. 189. *and a great Body of Learned Men. I must*

*own,*

own, I do not well know what apprehensions to have, of this Threat. For as I have done no Injury to any Society; so I think I have no reason to be afraid of their Resentments. It does not appear to me, that Mr. B. has any Commission to threaten thus in their Name: and if he has not, his making use of their Authority is a sort of Libel upon them, which would represent a Great Body of Learned Men as the Partakers and Patrons of the Faults of his Book. I have a true Honour and great Esteem for that noble and flourishing Society, which is supposed to be meant here; and I should think I did them a great Injury, to suspect they will interpose in Phalaris's behalf. For when a Cause cannot be defended, the Numbers of those that ingage in't make it only the more scandalous.

But since Mr. B. has been so free as to threaten a Reply, even before he sees what I say in my Defence; though I will not prescribe to so great a Genius any method of his Answer, yet I think I may make bold to tell him, what I shall look upon to be No Answer.

(1.) If he pretends, that he did not maintain, that his Phalaris is genuine; but only that my Arguments do not prove him to be otherwise I shall look upon this as a Shuffle, and no Answer at all. For if he suspects whether he's genuine, and yet allows none of my Arguments; the World desires to have his Reasons, why he has that suspicion of him. I observe indeed, that there's one Argument against him, propos'd by Mr. B. which I had not taken Pref. ad notice of; That the Names of those, whom the Phal. Epistles are directed to, seem sometimes to be feign'd on purpose according to the subject of those Epistles. Till Mr. B. shall think fit to give us other grounds of his Suspicion, the World will take

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take the liberty to think, that this is all he has. So that we are to take the measure of his great Judgment by this Scale, That all my Reasons go for Nothing with him, and his own single and substantial one goes for All.

P. 33.

But perhaps he will now be more loyal than ever to his Sicilian Prince, and have no scruples at all about his True Title to the Letters. For he assures the Reader, that his doubts about the Authority of the Epistles, since he read my Dissertation, are much less'n'd, and if I write once more upon that subject, perhaps the point will be clear to him. Agreed and contented on both sides! I have writ once more against them, and Mr. B. for that reason will more firmly believe them. I desire no greater punishment to him for all his ill usage of me, than that he would maintain them to be genuine as long as he lives.

(2.) Or if he comes with more Testimonies of his Bookseller or his Humty Dumty Acquaintance; I shall take those for no Answer. For a man that is once convicted of an intended Perjury is no longer a lawfull Witness: and a man that has declar'd publicly, that his Memory could but serve him for One Particular, can have no benefit in Law allow'd him of strengthening it afterwards either with Three-threads or Four-threads.

(3.) Or if he brings any new Stories and Hear-says about Me, that are foreign to the Business, I shall look upon those as no part of an Answer. For after I have so fully disprov'd his capital Accusations about the King's MS and that of Sir Edward Sherburn, I shall not think my self concern'd at any Calumnies, that he shall start hereafter.

(4.) Or if he thinks fit, or any Friend for him, to reply to me in Latin (for he threatens me with a Latin Book, in the imperious Style of Festus; Hast



Hast thou appeal'd to Foreign Universities? P. 230.  
to Foreign Universities thou shalt go.) I may look perhaps upon that as an Answer, but such a one as will need no Answer from Me. For if I may guess at what's to come, by the present Performance; a Latin Book from any Hand, that has been yet concern'd in the Defense of Phalaris, will carry it's own Answer in it self.

(5.) But if he chuses to reply in English, and meddle once more with the matter of Learning; if he do not mend his hand a little, and bring a Piece with fewer Faults in't than the Last, I shall not take that for an Answer. For my whole Life might be spent at that rate in refuting the merest Trash. And he has clearly the advantage of me in this point; for he may commit more mistakes in Five Weeks time, and in Five Sheets of Paper; than can be thoroughly confuted in Fifty Sheets, and in a whole Year.

Besides this, I may justly expect, that if he proceeds further upon the Subject of Phalaris, he should freely acknowledge those Faults, that I have refuted in his last Work. I have done the like my self; and I here sincerely declare, that I am not conscious of one Error, that he observ'd in my Dissertation, which I do not own in my Answer. I design nothing but a search after Truth, and will never be guilty of that mean dissingenuity, to maintain a Fault that I am convinc'd of. I require therefore the same Candour from him; and if he does not perform it, I shall not reckon it as an Answer. For if he has not either Judgment enough to know when he's confuted, or Sincerity enough to confess it, 'tis to no purpose at all to continue the Controversie.

(6.) But

*(6.) But if he thinks to drop the main Subject  
P. ult. 3d. or but slightly to touch upon't; and to give as he  
Edition. says, a view of the Drs. Picture in Miniature,  
by way of Burlesque and Ridicule and Banter, which  
his Genius is so strongly bent too; I shall look upon  
that to be least of all an Answer; because it's no  
part of the Dispute. For I'll never contest that  
point with him, but allow that he has no ill Talent  
at Farce and Grimace. And if there be neither  
Truth nor Learning nor Judgment in his Book,  
it shall be cried up for those other Accomplishments,  
as much as he pleases.*

*Mr. B. thought fit in his Second Edition to take  
up all his Affronts upon me together, under the Title  
of A short account of Dr. B. by way of Index.  
And in an imperfect imitation of so great an Ex-  
ample I had drawn up an Account, not of Mr.  
B, but of his Performance, by way of Synopsis.  
But when I saw such a multitude of Errors con-  
center'd together, the sight was so deform'd  
and disagreeable, Miseranda vel hosti, that no  
Resentment could prevail with me to return him his  
own Complement.*

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A  
DISSERTATION  
UPON THE  
EPISTLES  
OF  
PHALARIS.

**A**FTER the Honourable Mr. B. has  
 dispatch'd his account of the Mat-  
 ters of Fact relating to Himself and  
 his Bookseller, where, I am sorry to  
 hear him say, *His Honesty was con-*  
*cern'd*; he proceeds to the main part of the  
 Dispute, *which only touches his Learning.* This,  
 he says, will give him no Concern, though it  
 may put him to some Trouble. For he shall en-  
 ter upon't with the Indifference of a Gamester, who  
 B plays

F. 21.  
P. 22, 34



## Dissertation upon Phalaris.

*plays but for a Trifle, which 'tis much the same to him, whether he wins or loses.*

Mr. B. here seems to *enter upon* his work a little untowardly and ominously: for a *Gamester*, they say, who plays with *Indifference* and without any *Concern*, never plays his Game well. Besides, that by this odd comparison of himself to a *Gamester*, he seems to give warning, and he's as good as his word, that he will put the Dice upon his Readers, as often as he can. But what is worst of all, this comparison puts one in mind of a general Rumour, which I make not my own, That there's another Set of *Gamesters*, who *play Him* in his Dispute, while themselves are out of sight, and safe behind the Curtain

P. 1.

His very first Sentence acquaints his Reader, *That Dr. B. has taken the liberty of writing without any Method.* Which is a bold stroke to begin with, and shews we must expect nothing from Him, but what is masterly and great. I have first produc'd the *Chronological* proofs, that *Phalaris* is spurious; then I consider the *Language*, then the *Matter* of the Epistles; and I conclude all with the Argument taken from their *Late Appearance* in the World: and all these are rank'd in their natural order, and distinguish'd from each other, without any Mixture or Confusion. And if this be writing without *Method*; my Ignorance perhaps was occasion'd, because I have not read the new *System of Logic* set out for the use of Mr. Charles Boyle, after the mode of *in usum Delphini*. When I have the happiness to read that great Advancement of Logic, and to receive from it  
new

# INTRODUCTION.

3

new Light about *Method* ; I may then perhaps be induc'd to change the order of my Dissertation. But in the mean time, I have let every thing stand as it did before ; and I have distinguish'd the Former Dissertation by printing it in a Greater Letter, and in a Smaller I have answer'd Mr. B's Objections at the end of every Article.

But I have good reason to suspect, that his Cries here against my want of *Method* is but a Cast of his *Gamester's* Art, that he might have the shuffling of his own Cards ; and so begin his *Examination* upon such Articles, as he could raise the greatest bustle in. For he pleasantly distinguishes my Arguments into two sorts, *Those that affect the whole Set of the Epistles, and those that touch only those Particular Epistles from whence they are drawn.* He begins therefore with the *General Proofs*, which are only Three, he says, from the *Language*, and the *Matter*, and the *Late Appearance* of the Epistles ; and the others from *Chronology*, (which were then about a Dozen, and now shall be near a Score) supposing them true, he says, do but concern those single Epistles, from whence they are taken ; so that the rest, TO HIS COMFORT may be Genuine still.

P. 33.

P. 155.

I cannot dismiss this facetious distinction without making a brief remark upon't, though I shall consider it more largely in another place. First, the Examiner bears very hard here upon the most accomplish'd Writer of the Age ; for the great *Memmius* had pronounc'd of the whole Set, *That the Epistles of Phalaris have more Race, more Spirit, more force of Wit and Genius, than*

Pref. p. 3.

B 2

any

any others he had ever seen either *Ancient* or *Modern*. Now if He with that *Nicety* of *Tast*, believ'd all the *Epistles* to be writ by the same *Hand* (as indeed every body else does, the *Style* and *Turn* of them all being so exactly alike) Mr. B. puts an affront upon that great Man's *Tast*, when he pretends a score of the *Epistles*, which

P. 155. *Chronology* refutes, might be foisted in by the *Wantonness* or *Vanity* of *Imitators* in *after-times*, and yet the rest be *Authentic*. For if those *vain Imitators* could copy so well in *after-times*,

P. 92. as to impose upon Sir . . . . who had written to *Kings*, and was qualify'd to judge how *Kings* should write; what becomes of his fine *Argument*, from the *Race* and the *Spirit*, such *freedom* of *Thought*, such *boldness* of *Expression*, to prove that none but a *Phalaris* could write them? If Mr. B's distinction be admitted, Sir . . . . must have very little skill in *Painting*, that could not find out a whole score of them to be *Copies* by *vain* and *wanton Imitators*; but took the whole *Set* for *Originals* Mr. B. himself puts the same complement upon him, that he makes such a hideous out-cry at in another, *That Sir . . . . neither knew the true Time nor the true Value of his Authors*

But the Examiner bears still harder upon another worthy Author, the Honourable Mr. Boyle in his *Preface* to *Phalaris*. That ingenious and learned Gentleman is expressly against this new *Distinction*, of *Proofs* that affect the whole, and *Proofs* that touch only *Particular Epistles*.

P. 3. *Pref. Phal.* For he owns, that if *Diodorus Siculus* say true, that *Tauromenium* was not built and call'd so, till after the razing of *Naxos* by *Dionysius* the *Tyrant*,



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*Tyrant*, actum est de Phalaridis Titulo, & ruit omnis male sustentata conjecturis autoritas, Phalaris's Title to the Letters is quite cashier'd; and all the Authority of them, supported by weak surmises, must drop to the ground. But this *Tauromenium* is mention'd thrice only in the whole Set of Epistles. So that if Phalaris's Title to All the Epistles be render'd quite desperate by the disproof of Three single ones, I have that Noble Author on my side against the whimsical Distinction of the Examiner; who, though not Three only but Thirty of the Letters, and those not coming all together, but scatter'd through the whole Set, be refuted from Chronology, would still comfort himself with the cold hopes, that the rest may be Genuine.

My former Dissertation began with a short Address to my Learned Friend Mr. Wotton, with whose Book it was then publish'd: but because in this Second Edition it comes out alone; it was thought proper to leave out that little Proœmium. However I will not omit to give an Answer to those Reflections, that the Examiner has made upon't.

First he tells me, that Dion's Authority, whom I had cited there, in this or any other Case is not very considerable; he's tedious and inspid; he's as errant a Sophist and Declamer, as ever was. We may learn the Truth of this Gentleman's Characters, from this one that he begins his Book with. Let's hear what Others have said of

B 3

Dion,

(a) Photius Biblioth. Eupapius, p. 5. Themist. Orat. 12. Synesius in Calvisii Encomio & in Dione. Διωνι τοῦ χρυσῶ τὴν γλῶτταν. Τὴν γλῶτταν, ἣν χρυσὸν εἶχε, ὡς περὶ καὶ λέγειται.

(b) Themist. Orat. 12. Τὸν Ἄρειον ἐκείνον ὁ Σεβαστὴς, ὁ Τιβερίος, ἢ Θρασύλων, Τραϊανὸς ὁ μέγας, ἢ Διόνα, ἢ χρυσὸν τὴν γλῶτταν, ἢ Ἐπίκτητον τὸν Διο' Ἀντωνίνου.

(c) Philostrat. de Soph. p. 485, 489, 496. Synesius in Dione. Eunap. in Prefat. Τὰς φιλοσοφίας τὰς ἐν δόξῃ τὰ σοφιστεύουσι.

(d) Gravitate capitis orationum excellentissimi Philo-  
sophi. Casaub. Ep. ad H. Steph.

Dion. His own Age surnam'd him (a) *Chrysostom*, (the same title that was afterwards given to that great Father of the Church) upon account of his Eloquence. Nor had Posterity a worse opinion of him; if *Philostratus*, *Themistius*, *Synesius*, all Men of ad-

mirable Eloquence, are competent Witnesses of it. So far was he from being counted as *errant a Sophist as ever was*, that both Christian Fathers and Philosophers, nay the very Sophists themselves, that would have been proud of his

Company, have declar'd him no *Sophist*, but a *Philosopher*. (b) *Themistius* says, he was in the same Quality with the Emperor *Trajan*, as *Arius* was with *Augustus*, and *Thrasylus* with *Tiberius*, and *Epidectus* with the two *Antonines*. He is rank'd with (c) *Ammonius* and *Plutarch*, and *Carneades* and *Favorinus*, and such other great Men, that were really

Philosophers, but because of their polite Learning were called Sophists by the Vulgar. But what need I say more, when his very Works, that are yet extant, are for the most part upon Political and Philosophical Subjects? The Moderns too agree with the Ancients in their Character of *Dion*. It were easie to mention many; but since our Examiner professes a peculiar Deference to *Casaubon's* Opinion, 'tis enough to say, that He calls him (d) *the most excellent Philosopher*. A Man that traduces *Dion* for a flat and insipid

*insipid Sophist*, seems to own, that he neither read *Dion*, nor these others that have so commended him.

Then he taxes me for Singularity of Judg- P. 27.  
ment. For never any Man, till I arose, pretended to despise Phalaris. My opinion is contrary to the sense of all Mankind, that have ever written before me. This is very peremptorily said. But Mr. B. by his own advice, should have had a P. 95.  
care of Negatives, a very dangerous way of Speech; especially when the contrary Affirmative is most certainly true. For Chronologers are all agreed that the great *Erasmus* lived before our days; and these are his words: (e) *Those*

*Epistles that some body has left us, in the Names of Brutus, and of Phalaris, and of Seneca and St. Paul, what else can they be reckon'd than little poor Declamations?* This is as great a Contempt of them as ever I express'd; 'tis the very word, I my self used, *Was ever any Declamator's Case so extravagantly put?*

(e) Porro Epistolæ, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecæ & Pauli, quid aliud censeripossunt quam DECLAMATIUNCULÆ? *Erasm. Ep. lib. 1. epist. 1.* See also his Epistle before the IVth Tome of St. Hierom.

But to give his Reader another Taste of some Bodies Singularity, Mr. B. tells a Story of a certain Critic of our Times, who maintain'd (when and where 'tis no matter) that *Ovid* and *Manilius* were the only two Poets, that had Wit among the Ancients. To speak freely, I am asham'd to see a Person that writes himself Honourable, tell such little Stories and Hear says, so below his Name and Character. I am not at all concern'd to justify this Criticism, for I know not that ever I said so. But however not to desert *Manilius*,



P. 28.

for whom I have an esteem; I see no reason at all, why he that said this should be ashamed of it. For, with Submission, why must *Ovid* and *Manilius* be set as wide asunder, as *Nireus* and *Thersites*? Better Judges than Mr. B. have thought there was a likeness in the Genius's of those two Poets. When our Examiner reads *Manilius* (for by his Censure one would guess he yet had not) he will find in the best Editions

(f) *Poeta ingeniosissimus, nitidissimus scriptor, qui obscuras res tam luculento sermone, materiam morosissimam tam jucundo charactere exornare potuerit, Ovidio suavitatem par, Majestate superior. Imprimis omnia ejus Proemia & neglexerat, extra omnem aleam posita sunt. Nihil illis divinius, copiosius, gravius, & jucundius dici potest. Audiamus itaque colorem canentem.* Scalig. in Præf.

what *Scaliger* says of him (f) *A most ingenious Poet, a most elegant Writer, that could manage an obscure and knotty Subject with that clearness and smoothness of Style; equal to Ovid in Sweetness, and superiour in Majesty. Especially his Introductions and Digressions are secure above all Detraction. Nothing can be more divine, more copious, more grave, more pleasant.* Thus we see, one of the greatest Scholars of all the Moderns, and a very great Poet himself, has thought *Manilius* a very

witty one; and just as that certain Critic did, has joyn'd him with *Ovid*. 'Tis an honour therefore to Dr. Bentley, that in a comparison of Writers, he is rank'd here with *Manilius*. But what satisfaction will Mr. B. make to his admired Sir . . . . . for listing him with *Ovid*? that *Ovid*, whom he modestly calls in another place the trifling Author of the Verses upon *Ibis*. I cannot pretend to tell, who is most obliged to him, the Roman *Ovid*, or the English *Memmius*.

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**T**O pass a Censure upon all kinds of Writings, to shew their several Excellencies and Defects, and especially to assign each of them to their proper Authors, was the chief Province and the greatest Commendation of the Ancient Critics. And it appears from those Remains of Antiquity that are left us, that they never wanted Employment. For to forge and counterfeit Books, and farther them upon Great Names, has been a Practice almost as old as Letters. But it was then most of all in fashion, when the \* Kings of *Pergamus* and *Alexandria*, rivalling one another in the Magnificence and Copiousness of their Libraries, gave great rates for any Treatises that carried the Names of celebrated Authors. Which was an Invitation to the Scribes and Copyers of those Times, to enhance the Price of their Wares by ascribing them to Men of Fame and Reputation; and to suppress the true Names, that would have yielded less Money. And now and then even an Author, that wrote for Bread, and made a Traffick of his Labours, would purposely conceal himself, and personate some old Writer of eminent Note; giving  
the

\* *Galen in Hippoc. de Natura hominis, com. 2. p. 17. Ed. Basil.*

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the Title and Credit of his Works to the Dead, that himself might the better live by them. But what was then done chiefly for Lucre, was afterwards done out of Glory and Affectation, as an Exercise of Stile, and an Ostentation of Wit. In this the Tribe of the Sophists are principally concerned; in whose Schools it was the ordinary task to compose Ἡθοποιίαι, to make Speeches and write Letters in the Name and Character of some Heroe, or great Commander or Philosopher; Τίνας αὖ ἐπεὶ λόγους, *What would Achilles, Medea, or Alexander say in such or such Circumstances?* Thus Ovid, we see, who was bred up in that way, writ Love Letters in the Names of *Penelope* and the rest. 'Tis true, they came abroad under his own Name; because they were written in *Latin* and in Verse, and so had no colour or pretense to be the Originals of the *Græcian* Ladies. But some of the *Greek* Sophists had the Success and Satisfaction to see their Essays in that kind pass with some Readers for the genuine Works of those they endeavour'd to express. This, no doubt, was great Content and Joy to them; being as full a Testimony of their Skill in Imitation; as the Birds gave to the Painter, when they peck'd at his Grapes.



# INTRODUCTION.

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Grapes. One of them \* indeed, has dealt <sup>\* Misbe-  
haviour, Pref.  
Ep. Bruti.</sup> ingenuously, and confess'd that he feign'd the Answers to *Brutus*, only as a Trial of Skill: but most of them took the other way, and concealing their own Names, put off their Copies for Originals; preferring that silent Pride and fraudulent Pleasure, though it was to die with them, before an honest Commendation from Posterity for being good Imitators. And to speak freely, the greatest part of Mankind are so easily imposed on in this way, that there is too great an Invitation to put the trick upon them. What clumsy Cheats, those *Sibylline* Oracles now extant, and *Aristeus's* Story of the *Septuagint*, passed without controul even among very learned Men. And even some Modern Attempts of this kind have met with Success not altogether discouraging. For though *Annii* of *Viterbo*, after a Reputation of some Years, and *Inghirami* immediately, were shamed out of all Credit: yet *Sigoni*'s Essay *de Consolatione*, as coming from a skilfull Hand, may perhaps pass for *Cicero's* with some, as long as *Cicero* himself shall last. Which I cannot preface of that bungling Supplement to *Petronius* (I mean not that from *Traw*, but the pretended one from *Belgrade*) that  
Scandal

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Scandal to all Forgeries: though, I hear, 'tis at present admir'd as a genuine Piece by some that think themselves no ordinary Judges.

**I** Had said out of Galen, That in the Age of the Ptolemees the Trade of coining false Authors was in greatest Practice and Perfection. Wherein I am charg'd with several faults; as first, for citing Passages out of the way. An Accusation I should wish to be True, rather than False. For I take it to be a Commendation, to entertain the Reader with something, that's out of the common way; and I'll never desire to trouble the World with common Authorities, as this Gentleman would have me do.

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P. 29.

But there are other old Writers that tell this Story. I wish he had pleas'd to name them: I must freely own, I remember but one; and he tells the Story but by Halves, and is more out of the way than Galen himself. 'Tis Ammonius in

his Comment upon Aristotle's Categories. (a) 'Tis reported, says he, that Philadelphus being desirous to make a Collection of all Aristotle's Works (as indeed of all sorts of Books whatsoever) gave good Encouragement to those that could bring him any Treatise of that Philosopher's. Some therefore, with a design to get Money of him, put Aristotle's Name to other mens Writings. Ammonius, we see, only speaks of Books father'd

(a) Ammon. p. 10. edit. Venet. 1546. Πτολεμαῖον ἡ φιλαδέλφου πένυ ἵστανται φασὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀεισοπλῆγας συγγραμμάτας, αἷς ἔπειτα τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ χρήματα δίδουσι τοῖς προσφύγουσιν αὐτῷ βίβλους τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ὅθεν τινὲς χρηματιπιδου βυλούμενοι, ὁπυγέροντες συγγραμμάτας τῷ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὀνόματι, προσήσαν.

father'd upon *Aristotle*: which did not reach to my purpose. But *Galen* says it more fully, and yet as truly, of all Writers of Reputation.

But who would expect to see a point of History P. 19. settled out of a Physician? Any one that has read the Works of that Physician; or even that single Tract of his, (b) *About his own Books*; such a (b) *Περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων* one would know, that excellent Author was not only a Great Man in his own Faculty, but in all parts of Learning. But what if he had been a meer Physician, like *Aëtius* or *Aretæus*? Is that a just Exception, or the least Diminution to his Testimony? The Examiner has taken care very often in his Book to tell us of his good Breeding; though it be one part of good Breeding, not to value one's self upon it. Without doubt then he has added much to that Character of himself, by this cast of his Civility upon a whole Profession at once.

But, it seems, I quote very awkwardly; for I P. 19. have fetched in a witness, that, after all, speaks against me. The Passage in *Galen* that I refer to is this; (c) *When the Attali and the Ptolemæes were in Emulation about their Libraries, the Knavery of forging Books and Titles began. For there were those, that to enhance the price of their Books, put the Names of great Authors before them, and so sold them to those Princes. This, I conceive, is an ample Testimony, that the practice of counterfeiting was then most in fashion, which is the*

(c) Ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκῶν βασιλέων χρόνῳ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμητικῶς περὶ κτίσεως βιβλίων, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τε καὶ διασκευῶν αὐτῶν ἡρξάτο μὲνιδαιράδμενία τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν λαβόντων ἀργύριον ἀναφύεσθαι ὡς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων συγγραμματα. *Galen com. 2. in Hip. de Nat. Hom.*

thing



(d) ἡ δὲ πρὸς  
 Ἰουδαίους ἐ-  
 πηγεύετο  
 ἡ δὲ οὐ γ-  
 γενηται.  
 Comm. 1. in  
 Hip de Nat.  
 Hist.

(e) Vide Laert. in Py-  
 thag. & Clem. Alexand.  
 Strom.

(f) Herod. lib. 2. c. 117.

(g) Athen p. 334, 682.

(h) Aelian. Var. hist. 9.  
 15.  
 (i) Athenaeus lib. 14 p  
 648.

(k) Callimachus in Epi-  
 gram.

(l) Aristoxenus apud La-  
 ert in Heraclide.

And Heraclides himself was deservedly punish'd  
 (m) Laert. by Dionysius Metathemenos. For (m) Dio-  
 in Heracli- nysius made a Tragedy called *Parthenopæus*, and  
 de. intituled it to *Sophocles*: which *Heraclides* was  
 cheated with; and quoted it for genuine. To  
 these I will add that odd Forgery of *Anaxime-  
 nes*

thing I produce him for. 'Tis true, as Mr. B. observes, *Galen* hints a little more, than I had occasion to cite from him; for he says, this practice began at that time; which in another place he asserts more expressly; (d) *That before the Reigns of those Princes there was no such thing as a counterfeit Book.* Which Assertion taken strictly and without a candid allowance, is notoriously false. For we have several Instances of such Forgeries, not only practis'd by persons that lived before those Times, but told us also

by Writers that lived before them. (e) *Ion Chius*, the Tragic Poet, says, That *Pythagoras* made some Poems, and put *Orpheus's* Name to them. (f) *Herodotus* denies, that the Poem called *CYPRIA* is *Homer's*, and others say, (g) it's *Stasius's*; though (h) *Pindar* ascribes it to *Homer*, (i) *Aristoxenus* mentions several spurious Pieces, that were father'd upon *Epicarmus*. (k) *Callimachus* says, that *OECALIA CAPTA*, a supposed Poem of *Homer's*, was really *Creophylus* the *Samian's*. (l) *Heraclides* of *Pontus* put forth his own Tragedies under *Thespis's* Name.

nes the Historian ; though (m) *Pausanias* be the (m) *Pausanias Eliac.*  
 oldest Author now extant, that relates it. This 11. p. 195.  
*Anaximenes* having a spite to his Rival Histori-  
 an *Theopompus*, wrote a bitter Invective against  
 the three most powerfull Governments of  
 Greece, the *Athenians*, *Lacedaemonians*, and  
*Thebans* ; where he exactly imitated *Theopom-  
 pus's* Style. This Book he sends abroad in *Theo-  
 pompus's* Name, and so makes him odious all o-  
 ver Greece.

There are many more instances of such coun-  
 terfeit Writers: in one short Passage of (n) *Sui-* (n) *Suid.*  
*das*, there's an account of half a Score. But in *Oxyg.*  
 because the Authors now extant that mention  
 them, were since the time of the *Ptolemes*,  
 we have no certain Demonstration, but that  
 the Forgeries also were since. But *Galen* liv'd  
 at a time, when those other Books were in being,  
 from which our Authors now extant had the  
 Stories at second hand. I can hardly therefore  
 persuade my self, that the great *Galen*, with all  
 his vast and diffused Learning, could be igno-  
 rant of such obvious things. I had rather sup-  
 pose, that when he says Forgeries began in the  
 times of the *Ptolemes* ; he means it only of  
 those that were practis'd to get Money by.

For both he and *Ammonius* (o)  
 particularly speak of those. If  
 this will not excuse *Galen* ; I have  
 nothing more to justify him : nor  
 am I concerned in his mistake.  
 For let us consider the charge,  
 that the Examiner draws up a-  
 gainst me. What I cite out of *Galen*, he acknow-

(o) Λαμβάνειν δ' ἀρχα-  
 μίων μιδόν (leg. μιδόν)  
 τῷ κομιζόντων αὐτοῖς συ-  
 γράμματι παλαιῶ τινος  
 ἀνδρός, *Galen.* Ὅθεν τι-  
 νες χρηματίζονται ἐκ ἐ-  
 μῶν. *Ammon.*

ledges

ledges is there, and is true; but there is something else in Galen, which I do not cite, that is false. Is not this a subtle Accusation, and worthy of the ingenious Mr. B? If I quote that Author for one thing, must I therefore be concern'd in all his other Opinions? At this rate Mr. B. may charge me with maintaining the Doctrine of the four Humours of the Body, or with denying the Circulation of the Blood.

(p) Hieron. Some Critics in (p) St. Hierom's time; of the same stamp with our Examiner, would needs censure St. Paul in the very same manner. The Apostle had cited a Verse out of *Epimenides*;

(p) Titus,  
i, 12.

(q) Κῆρες αἱ Λεῦσαι, καὶ ὄνεια, πάντες ἀψαλ.

The Cretans are always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies.

This, said those censorious Critics, is to patronize Idolatry; because the Poet in that passage calls them *Liars* and *Beasts* for refusing some Idol-Worship. As if the Apostle, because he approves one single Verse, must for that reason be supposed to espouse the whole Context. If the Examiner consult *Hieron*, he will find there a very good answer both to those Critics, and himself.

In the former Edition, I had said, that the Supplement of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Buda*. I had never seen that sorry Imposture but once in a Shop; and I was not much concern'd to remember the Title of it. I will take therefore our Examiner's Word, for I have  
not



not seen the Book since, that it pretends to come from *Belgrade*. Nor do I envy him the Honour of being better acquainted with that worthy Author, than I am. But I wonder, he would stop there; and not vindicate that *Belgrade* Fragment for a genuine Piece. For upon the same foot that he has defended his *Phalaris*, he may maintain all the Cheats that ever were made, as I will shew at large in its proper place. If the Examiner therefore have longer Life, with leisure and a good Assistant, we may hope for new Editions of *Berosus* and *Metasthenes*, and the rest of that Stamp: They will make a most noble Set, and will deserve to stand together with *Phalaris* and *Aristeas*.

**T**Hat Sophist, whoever he was, that wrote a small Book of Letters in the Name and Character of *Phalaris*, (give me leave to say this now, which I shall prove by and by) had not so bad a hand at Humouring and Personating, but that several believed, it was the Tyrant himself that talked so big, and could not discover the Ass under the Skin of that Lion. For we find *Stobæus* \* quoting the 38, and 67, and 72, of those *Epistles*, under the Title of *Phalaris*. And *Suidas*, in the Account he gives of him, says, he has wrote very admirable Letters, *ἐπιστολὰς θαυμάσιαις πρὸς*, meaning those that we are speaking of. And *Johannes Tzetzes*, a Man of much rambling Learning, has

\* *Stob. Tic.*  
vii & xlvii.

A

C

many

B many and large Extracts out of them, in his *Chiliads*; ascribing them all to the Tyrant whose Livery they wear. These three, I think are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them: but since they give not the least hint of any Doubts concerning their Author; we may conclude, that most of the Scholars of those Ages received them as true Originals; so that they have the general Warrant and Certificate for this last Thousand Years before the Restoration of Learning. As for the Moderns; besides the Approbation of those smaller Criticks, that have been concerned in the Editions of them, and cry them up of course; some very Learned Men have espoused and maintained them, such as *Thomas Fazellus* \*, and *Jacobus Cappellus* †. Even Mr. *Selden* himself || draws an Argument in Chronology from them, without discovering any Suspicion or Jealousie of a Cheat. To whom I may add their latest and greatest Advocate; who has honoured them with that most high Character, prefixt to this Treatise.

C  
\* *Historia Sicula*, p. 118.  
† *Historia Sacra & Exotica*, p. 249.  
|| *Marm. Arundel.* p. 106.

Others, indeed, have shewn their Distrust of *Phalaris's* Title to them; but are content to declare their Sentiment without assigning their Reasons. *Phalaris*, or *some body else*, says *Cælius Rhod.* The *Epistles*

# INTRODUCTION.

19

*Epistles that go under the Name of Phalaris*, Ad Laert. p. 35.  
 says *Menagius*. Some name the very  
 Person, at whose door they lay the For-  
 gery. *Lucian*, whom they commonly mi-  
 stake for *Phalaris*, says *Ang. Politianus*. Epist. 1.  
*The Epistles of Phalaris*, if they are truly  
 his, and not rather *Lucian's*, says *Lilius Greg.* Post. Hist. p. 88.  
*Gyraldus*; who, in another place informs  
 us, that *Politian's* Opinion had generally  
 obtained among the Learned of that Age:  
*The Epistles*, says he, of *Phalaris*, which p. 372.  
 most People attribute to *Lucian*. How ju-  
 diciously they ascribe them to *Lucian*, we  
 shall see better anon; after I have exa-  
 min'd the Case of *Phalaris*, who has the  
 Plea and Right of Possession. And I shall  
 not go to dispossess him, as those have  
 done before me, by an Arbitrary Sen-  
 tence in his own Tyrannical Way; but  
 proceed with him upon lawfull Evidence,  
 and a fair, impartial Tryal. And I am  
 very much mistaken in the Nature and  
 Force of my Proofs, if ever any Man  
 hereafter, that reads them, persist in his  
 old Opinion of making *Phalaris* an Au-  
 thor.

D

The Censures that are made from Stile  
 and Language alone, are commonly nice  
 and uncertain, and depend upon slender  
 Notices. Some very sagacious and learned  
 Men have been deceived in those Conje-  
 C 2

ctures,



ctures, even to ridicule. The great *Scaliger* published a few Iambicks, as a choice Fragment of an old Tragedian, given him by *Muretus*; who soon after confess'd the Jest, that they were made by himself. *Boxhornius* writ a Commentary upon a small Poem *De Lite*, supposed by him to be some ancient Author's; but it was soon discover'd to be *Michael Hospitalius's*, a late Chancellor of *France*. So that if I had no other Argument, but the Stile, to detect the Spuriousness of *Phalaris's Epistles*; I my self, indeed, should be satisfied with that alone, but I durst not hope to convince every body else. I shall begin therefore with another sort of Proofs, that will affect the most slow Judgments, and assure the most timid or incredulous.

A **T**O shew *Stobæus's* Approbation of *Phalaris's* Epistles, I had observed, that he quoted three of them under the Title *Phalaris*. The Gentleman adds one more; and I should thank him for his Liberality, had not any One of those three I mention'd been sufficient for my purpose. But when he says, 'Tis *Tit. ccxviii.* and again in the Collection of *Antonius and Maximus*, and that I overlook'd it; for that I must beg his Pardon. For I could hardly overlook the 218th Title of *Stobæus*, where there are but 121 in all. 'Tis not Title 218, but (a) Page 218; and not of *Stobæus*, but of *Antonius* that is printed at the end of him. But the Title of *Stobæus*,

P. 31.

(a) Edit.  
Gener.  
1659.

*Stobæus*, that the Examiner would cite, is LXXXIV. How far the Assistant, that consulted Books for the Examiner, may be chargeable with this mistake; or how far it goes towards a Discovery, that Mr. B. himself never looked into *Stobæus*, I will leave it for others to determine.

Pref.

B These three, said I, (*Stobæus*, *Suidas*, and *Tzetzes*) I think, are the only Men among the Ancients, that make any mention of them. I am sensible, how hazardous it is to publish Books in great haste; where 'tis impossible not to commit some oversight or mistake. I could then call to mind Three only; but the Examiner and his Assistant have found as many more, *Photius* in his Epistles, the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and *Nonnus* upon *Greg. Nazianzen*. For his first Author, *Photius*, I must own my self obliged to him; because that Learned Patriarch plainly intimates his Suspicions (as Mr. B. well observes) that the Epistles are not genuine; when he says, they (b) are attributed to *Phalaris*. This is honest and just in the Gentleman, (though he ridicules it in others) to fetch in a Witness, that after all speaks against him. Out of Gratitude therefore for this fair Dealing, I'll tell him something about his other two Authors, that perhaps he is not yet aware of.

P. 30.

P. 31.

(b) Τὰς εἰς Φάλαριν ἐκείνον, οἷμαι ἢ Ἀλεξανδρινόν τινα ἀναστρεφόμενας ἐπιστάτας. Phot. Ep. 207.

P. 28.

First, The Passage that is quoted out of the (c) Scholiast on *Aristophanes* (with the Examiner's leave) is spurious: for there are other things not genuine, besides *Phalaris's* Epistles. 'Tis not ex-

(c) *Aristoph. Plut.* v. 142. Καταλυω, τὸ ἀφανίζω καὶ διαλύω, ὡς καὶ ἀντιδιδόται καὶ ὁ Φάλαρις· οἱ βίβλας ἐπεὶ τὸ πρὸς εὐνοίας καταλύεται πλεῖστοι. See *Phal. Epist.* 5.

\* Ven. 1498. tant in \* *Aldus's* original Edition set out by *Musurus*, but was foisted in by the Overseer of the Press at *Florence*, and copied out afterwards at *Basil* and *Geneva*. And to shew that it was not taken out of some ancient MS (as perhaps the Examiner will be ready to say) the same Person has interpolated four Passages more, but all out of printed Books, (d) *Galen*, (e) *Athenæus*, and (f) *Eustathius*. From the last of which Authors there hangs an Observation. The Examiner, after he has cited this Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, thus flourishes and insults; *That very Scholiast, whom one would think, the Doctor by his citing him so often, had thoroughly read.* Now some perhaps may think still, and the rather upon this very account, that the Doctor had thoroughly read him; but that our Examiner had not, I have a small proof from his own Words. *This Scholiast, says he, is some Centuries older than Suidas.* Now how could he say this, had he known that this Scholiast had cited *Eustathius*, who is some Centuries younger than *Suidas*? For I suppose it appears manifestly, that the Gentleman had no Apprehension, that the Passage was foisted in.

But some have thought *Suidas* younger than *Eustathius* himself. That Point therefore must be settled; for we have to deal with a shifting Adversary, that to avoid a thing which presses him, will strike in with any opinion. *Eustathius* is known to have lived A. D.

1180. As for *Suidas* (g), he has brought down a point of Chronology to the Death of the Emperor *Zimisces*, that is, to the Year of Christ, 975. So that he

(g) *Suid. v. Αδμ. Α-  
πο 5 τς Πορφυρογεννητε  
ως τς τελευτς Ιωάνν  
τς Ιζμισαῦ, 57η κα. lege  
57η 16.*



he seems to have writ his Lexicon between that time and the Death of the succeeding Emperor, which was 1025. *Wolffius* indeed brings him much lower; for he says,

(b) he cites *Metochita Logotheta*, that lived in the beginning of the 14th Century in the times of the *Palæologi*. To whom learned Men have answer'd, that that Passage, or any other of that sort, may be supposed to have been

foisted in since *Suidas's* Death. But the whole thing is a mistake of *Wolffius's*. For the places he hinted at are in the words *Αλαξι* and *Νοθίου*, where *Logotheta* indeed is quoted; but not the *Logotheta*, that *Wolffius* understood, *Theodorus Metochita Logotheta*, that died 1322; but *Symeon Metaphrastes Logotheta*, that flourished in the beginning of the 10th Century. The words are, (i) *Logotheta* in the Martyrdom of St. Thecla: and (k) *The Exposition of Logotheta upon the Martyrdom of St. Lucian*. Where the very word *Exposition*, *Μετὰφρασις*, is a plain

Indication, that he means *Symeon* called *Μετὰφρασις*; but, which is certain Demon-

stration, those two Discourses of *Symeon's* are extant at this day. The Reader too may be pleased to observe, that our Author calls *Symeon*, *μαρτυρῆς*, of blessed Memory, which I believe is never used in Greek, but of Persons not long dead, and within the Memory of him that says it. But *Symeon* was in Office under *Leo*, who died 58 Years, before *Suidas's* Chronology ends. If *Suidas* then was *Symeon's* Contemporary, he

(b) *Atque adeo, cum Metochitam Logothetam ceter, qui sub Palæologis vixit, apparet eam vix annis abhinc 300 Lexicon hoc composuisse. Hieron. Wolf in Præfat. ad Suid. A. D. 1544.*

(i) Ο Λογοθέτης ἐν τῇ τῇ ὁμίας Θεῶν μαρτυρίᾳ *Suid. v. Αλαξι.*

(k) Ἐν τῇ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Λογοθέτου μεταφραστῆ τῇ εἰς τὸ μαρτυρῆον τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιᾶν. *Suid. v. Νοθίου.*

must have made his Book soon after the Death of Zimisces; 200 years before Eustathius.

And then for the Examiner's other Author, which he would give me the credit of, Nonnus in his Commentary on Gregory's Invektive; I thank him for his kind offer, but I cannot accept of it. That poor Writer is not Nonnus the Poet, the Author of the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase* of St John's Gospel; as (l) Learned Men, and if I may presume to guess, Mr. B. himself have believed. 'Tis true, I am no Admirer of that Poet; I have the same opinion of his Judgment and Style, that Scaliger, and Cunaeus, and Heinsius had. But he had great variety of Learning, and may pass for an able Grammarian, though a very ordinary Poet. And I can never think so very mean of him, as to make him Writer of that Commentary, so full of shamefull mistakes.

(l) Simlerus  
in Biblioth.  
Dr. Carve.  
See Catal.  
Biblioth.  
Oxon, &c.

(m) Num 5.  
edit. Eton.

That Commentator interprets, (m) τὰς Φρυγῶν ἐκτομὰς, *The Castration of the Phrygians*, to be the flashing and cutting their Limbs. He says,

(n) N. 15.

(n) Anaxarchus was pounded in a Mortar by Archelaus the Tyrant. Here's Archelaus of Macedonia, instead of Nicocreon of Cyprus. Besides that Archelaus was dead above 60 Years before Anaxarchus's time. When he explains Ἐπικτήτου

(o) P. 37.  
(p) Num. 14.

σκέλος in (o) Gregory, he says, (p) Epictetus's Leg was put in Chains by a certain Tyrant. He knew not, it seems, that common story, that Epictetus was lame of one Leg; and not by Chains and Imprisonment, but merely by a Rheumatism.

(q) N. 22.

(q) He says, Plato in *Theætetus* and every-where brings in Socrates saying, ὀπκλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus is handfom*, Whereas (r) Plato says directly the contrary, Νῦν δ' ἐκ ἔστι καλὸς ὁ Θεαίτητος, *Theætetus is not handfom*; as having a flat Nose

(r) Plato  
in *Theæt.*

and

and goggle Eyes. But the merriest fancy of this Writer, is this very story of *Phalaris*, with which Mr. B. would enrich my Dissertation.

(f) *Phalaris*, says he, to ingratiate himself with (f) Num. 48.

*Dionysius the Tyrant*, invented the Brazen Bull, and presented it to him. But *Dionysius*, dete-

sting the Cruelty of the Invention, made the first Experiment upon *Phalaris* himself. Mr. B. who

is for drawing down *Phalaris* as low as he can, should have struck in methinks with this Wri-

ter, who has drawn him down with a vengeance, even to *Dionysius's* time, the xciv Olymp. the

space of above sixscore Years. Now, I conceive, it will be easily allow'd, that *Nonnus* the Poet

could not be guilty of these mistakes. But there are two Errors of this Commentator, that we

have the Poet's own assurance, he could not have committed. *Gregory* says, (t) ἡ Κασαλία σιγήσῃται, (t) P. 104.

the *Castalian Fountain* is put to silence. This the (u) Commentator says, is *Castalia* at *Antioch*. (u) Num 14.

But the Poet would have known it to be *Castalia* Part. 2.

of *Parnassus*; as these Verses of his will wit-  
ness.

(w) Καὶ ῥία Παρνήσῳ πνέσῃτο φοιβάδος ἡχῆς

Γείτορος οἰσάοντα, καὶ ὁμφάνῃ ῥαΐδρῳ

Κασαλῖνς πάφλαξε νοήμενος ἔνθεν ὕδωρ.

(w) *Nonnus*  
*Dionys.* iv.

P. 130.

The Commentator calls *Bacchus* (x) Ζαΰσιος, (x) N. 29 which is barbarous, instead of Ζαΰεύς. But the Poet writes it true, in a hundred places of his Book;

Ἀρχαῖον Ζαϋεῖ καὶ ὁψιόνει Διονύσει.



- If the Commentary then carry the name of *Nonnus*; it must needs be some other *Nonnus*, and not the Author of the *Dionysiaca*. (y) *Bilius*, who first publish'd it, out of a Library at *Rhemes*, calls it *Patris Nonni collectio*, &c. In (z) *Possessin's* Catalogue of the MSS. of the *E-scurial*, it is *Nonnus Abbas de Narrationibus*, &c. Bishop *Mountague* that first printed it in Greek, had it out of the Library at *Vienna*; and he ascribes it to *Nonnus*, upon the Credit, I suppose, of *Bilius*. For the Original that he follow'd, had no name at all; as it appears from his own
- (a) P. 127. (a) Edition, and from (b) *Lambecius's* Catalogue.  
 (b) Lib. iii. *Tzetzes* in his *Chiliads* cites this very Book; p. 207. but he attributes it to one *Maximus*.

Περὶ τοῦ λέγοντος χρησμῷ τὰς Θεσπάλαις τὰς ἵππους,  
 Μένονται μὲν καὶ Μάξιμος ἰσοειὼν τοῖς λόγοις,  
 "Ὅς ἰσοείας ἐγχαΐει Γρηγόριος ὁ μίγας."  
 "Ἔπος δ' ἔδεν ἔδὲ βραχὺ πρὶν τὸν χρησμὸν εἰρήκει."

*Maximus*, says he, in his *Commentary upon the Histories in Gregory*, mentions the Oracle about the *Thessalian Mares*; but produces not one single Verse of it. If the Examiner look in *Gregory*, p. 69. and in the Comment: Numb. 74. he will learn what perhaps he knew not before, that *John Tzetzes* means no other Commentary, than this very *Nonnus*, the Examiner's noble Present to me.

P. 32.

C 'Tis a keen Reflection of Mr. B. That I name *Fazellus*, *Cappellus*, and *Selden*, not as a modest man would expect; but only to shew how impossible it was for them to judge right, who had the misfortune to live before me. I wish the Gentleman

aleman had shew'd his own *Modesty* a little more in this particular. For what can *any man expect* from him, that will talk thus against his own Knowledge? In the very same Page I have cited *Rhodiginus*, *Politian*, *Gyraldus*, and the most of that Age, as falling in with my own opinion, that *Phalaris* is spurious. And yet I am said to suggest, that *Fazellus* and the rest could not *possibly* judge right, as having no body to inform them, till I wrote upon the Subject: though the youngest of those, that judged right, whom I have cited in the same place, is older than the eldest of these that judged wrong.

D The Examiner shall see, that I will not persist in an Error, when I am plainly confuted. I was persuaded, when I wrote my Dissertation, *That no body that read it, would believe Phalaris an Author*. Here I must confess, I was in a mistake. For the Examiner, who assures us, *he has read it and weigh'd it*, has writ a Book of 200 Pages to vindicate *his Sicilian Prince*. But then, whether, as I said, *I was mistaken in the Nature and Force of my Proofs*, or rather in the Nature and Force of my Adversary; I leave that to the judgment of others.

P. 33.

P. 43.

THE Time of *Phalaris's* Tyranny cannot be precisely determined: so various and defective are the Accounts of those that write of him. *Eusebius* sets the beginning of it Olymp. XXXI, 2. *Phalaris apud Agrigentinos tyrannidem exercet*; and the end of it Olymp. XXXVIII, 2. *Phalari-*  
dis

A

*dis tyrannis destructa.* By which Reckoning he governed xxxviii Years. But St. Hierom, out of some unknown Chronologer (for that Note is not extant in the Greek of Eusebius) gives a different Time of his Reign, above lxxx Years later than the other; Olymp. liii, 4. or as other Copies read it, lii, 2. *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit annos xvi.* Which is agreeable to Suidas, who places him, κατὰ τὴν β. ὀλυμπιάδα, about the lii Olympiad. If the former Account be admitted, the Cheat is manifest at first sight: for those Letters of Phalaris to Steficchorus and Pythagoras must of necessity be false. Because Steficchorus, by the earliest Account, was but vi Years old at that supposed time of Phalaris's Death; and Pythagoras was not taken notice of in Greece till lxxx Years after it. But for the sake of Aristotle and Jamblichus, the first of whom makes Phalaris Contemporary with Steficchorus; and the other, with Pythagoras; and that I may prevent all possible Cavils and Exceptions; I am willing to allow the latter Account, the more favourable to the pretended Letters: his Government commencing Olymp. liii, 4. and expiring after xvi Years, Olymp. lvii, 3.



A **M**R. B. will not enter the Controversie about *Phalaris's* Age; but refers himself to another person to settle that point for him. But however he will nibble at some Passages of this Section, to shew his own great Wit; though he borrows another Man's great reading.

In the former Edition, for xxxviii, 2. it was printed xxxvii, 2. Now a Man of Sense and Honour would have pass'd this over, as a plain fault of the Press; as it appear'd from *Eusebius*, who is quoted for it, and from my allowing the Summ of xxviii Years for *Phalaris's* Reign, which in the other way is but xxiv. And yet the Examiner animadverts on it for ten Lines together. But at last, he is willing to suppose xxxvii a false print; which he does not out of Justice and Sincerity, (let not the Reader mistake him) but to draw on another Cavil against the following Passage, a Cavil that would not succede, if xxxvii were truly printed.

P. 118.

The case is thus: I had said, if Olymp. xxxviii, 2, was the time of *Phalaris's* Death, that Letter to *Pythagoras* must be spurious, for He was not taken notice of in Greece, till 80 Years after. But for *Jamblichus's* sake, who made those two to be Contemporaries, I would allow the later Account, Olymp. lvii, 3. for *Phalaris's* Death. Here the Gentleman has proved by the dint of Arithmetick, that I contradict my self. For by adding those 80 Years to Ol. xxxviii, 2. the Product is Ol. lviii, 2. *Phalaris* then was three Years dead, before *Pythagoras* was taken notice of. They could not therefore be acquainted, as I said I would allow

for

for *Jamblichus's* sake. But here the Gentleman makes use of a certain slight of hand, that is not fashionable among Men of Honour. He takes away the word *Contemporary*, and in its room puts in *Acquaintance*. Now that's a point I need not allow, neither for *Jamblichus's* sake, nor Mr. B's, that *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras* had any *Acquaintance* together. I granted, they were *Contemporaries*; and 'tis not improbable, that the Tradition about their *Acquaintance* was grounded upon that truth, that they lived at the same time. And I imagin they might, nay they must, have been *Contemporaries*, if the one died but three Years, before the other was famous.

P. 119. The Examiner, not content with this, makes a step out of his way, to shew another instance of my *Inconsistency* about *Xerxes's Expedition*. He says, I put it (a) in one place at *Olymp. LXXIII*.  
 (a) P. 24. Here again the Controversie lies between him  
 first Edit. and my Printer, who for *LXXV, 1.* (by mistaking the two strokes of v) made it *LXXIII*. But his next Attack is made upon my self; Pag. 85th. I say, *the very next Olymp. after Xerxes's Expedition, Hiero was in the Throne, and I quote Diodorus for it. But Diodorus says in that very place, that Hiero came to the Throne, Olymp. LXXV, 3. Therefore here I am of opinion, that Xerxes's Expedition was Olymp. LXXIV. And yet Diodorus and I my self elsewhere place it Olymp. LXXV.* See the Penetration of our Examiner, if he once set about it. He makes *coming to the Throne, and being in the Throne* to have the same Signification. For the summ of his Argument lies thus; *Hiero came to the Throne Olymp. LXXV; therefore it cannot be said, he was in the Throne, Olymp. LXXVI.* Was there ever  
 such

Lib. xi.  
 p. 39.

such a dangerous Disputant? Upon the same foot he may argue all the Princes in Christendom out of their Thrones, if they are past the first Year of their Reigns. But it is well for them, that in his second Edition this terrible Paragraph is left out. Neither should I have raised it up again out of its Dust; but for the sake of those that may never see his second Edition, and to shew it possible, even by Mr. B's own Confession, that his Animadversions may have other faults, besides Satyr and Abuse.

To take a short leave then of the Examiner; the very Learned Mr. *Dodwell*, to whose Book now in the Press Mr. B. has made his Appeal for settling the time of *Phalaris*, was pleased at my request, to oblige me with a sight of those Sheets of his Book, where this Question is handled. And there I find, that Learned Man has not only brought *Phalaris* down to Olymp. LXXII, 3. which is LX Years lower than Chronologers had placed him before; but he has asserted the *Epistles* too to be *Phalaris's* own. I have leave to say, this part of his Book was printed before my Dissertation was made; so that only Two of my Arguments, and not those neither in the manner that I urge them, are here consider'd by Mr. *Dodwell*. But we may expect, that in an Appendix to that noble Work, he will pass a Judgment upon the whole Controversie.

To inquire then as accurately as we can, into the Age of *Phalaris*; first, we have the Authority of *Eusebius* and *Hierom*, who have furnished us with two Accounts from different Authors.



(b) *Phalaris apud Agrigentum tyrannidem exercuit*

(c) *Phalaridis tyrannis destructa.*

(d) *Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit, ann. xvi.*

(b) Ol. xxxi. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny began.*

(c) Ol. xxxviii. 2. *Phalaris's Tyranny ended.*

(d) Ol. liii. 4. *Phalaris held his Tyranny xvi Years.*

Which xvi Years expire at Olymp. lvii, 3.

In all my Dissertation I have reckon'd by this later Account; though some of the MSS (e) Copies of *Eusebius* date it vi Years before. But I was resolv'd to avoid Cavils, as much as lay in my power, and to shew all reasonable favour to the pretended Epistles.

(e) See Pontanus's Edition of *Euseb.*

If we trace the Footsteps of *Phalaris's* Age in the Remains of other Authors, I believe we shall find, that there is no good Warrant or Authority to bring it down nearer to us, than this last Period of *Eusebius*.

*Syncellus* puts the whole time of *Phalaris* within the Bounds of *Phraortes* and *Cyaxares's* Reigns, that is, between Olymp. xxxi and XLVII.

\* *Syncellus in Chron* Φάλαρις Αγεζαντίνων έτυράννησε.

Φάλαρις τετραντων κατελύθη.

\* *Phalaris was Tyrant of Agrigentum.*

*Phalaris was deposed from his Tyranny.*

Now though we should extend *Phalaris's* Life to the very last day of *Cyaxares*; yet it will end xli Years earlier, than by *Eusebius's* reckoning.

(f) *Suid.* ο Φάλ. τυράννησε Συρακίας έως ην την ηβ. ολυμπιάδα.

*Suidas* says, (f) *He was Tyrant over all Sicily, about the liii Olymp.* Now allow, that he began his Tyranny at that time; though the words do not import so much: the Interval between this and *Eusebius's* Period is

xxiii

xxiii Years, a very competent length for the Duration of his Reign.

(g) *Orosius* fixes his Age, to the beginning of *Cyrus's* Reign, after *Astyages* was deposed. But *Cyrus's* Reign commences, Olymp. LV, 1. which falls xi Years within *Eusebius's* Period.

(g) *Oros.* i, 20. *Est tempestate, Phalaris Siculus Agrigentinos arrepta Tyrannide depulabatur.*

(h) *Pliny* says, The first Tyrant in the world was Phalaris at Agrigentum. This Account will carry his Age as high or higher

(h) *Plin Hist. Nat* vii, 56. *Tyrannus primus fuit Phalaris Agrigenti.*

than the earlier Period in *Eusebius* Ol. xxxi, 2. (i) *Herodot.* For *Cypselus* made himself Tyrant of Corinth Olymp. (i) xxxi, 3. or as others say, (k) xxx, 3 (k) *Arist.* But at least it will secure it from sinking below *Polit.* the later Period, LIII, 4. For there was good (l) *Aristot.* store of Tyrants in the World before and about *Laert.* that time: To mention a few of them; *Periander* succeeded his Father *Cypselus* at Corinth (l) Olymp. xxxviii. And he married the Daughter (n) *Laert.* of (m) *Procles*, Tyrant of *Epidaurus*. He had *ibid Arist.* a Name-sake, a Cousin German (n), that was *Polit.* Tyrant of *Ambracia*; and an acquaintance with (o) *Herod.* (o) *Thrasybulus*, who was Tyrant of *Miletus*. *Plut. Con-* *Pittacus* was Tyrant of *Lesbos*, (p) Olymp. XLVII, 3. *Laert.* And he slew (q) *Melanchrus*, Olymp. XLII, who (p) *Laert.* was Tyrant there before him. This *Melanchrus* (q) *Laert.* I believe, is meant in that Verse in (r) *Hephæ-* *ibid. Suid.* *stion*, v. Πήλα-  
xos.  
(r) *Hephæst.*  
*Enchir. p.*  
46.

Μέλαρχος αἰδὺς ἀξιος ἐς πόλιν.

For it appears plainly to be a Verse of *Alcæus's*, (f) *Laert.* (f) who with his Brothers assisted *Pittacus* in (r) *Plu-* killing *Melanchrus*. (t) *Tynnondas* was Tyrant *tarch. in* of *Solone.*

of *Eubœa*, before the Year that *Solon* was Archon, which was Olymp XLVI, 3. But there is one that 'tis almost impossible *Pliny* should forget, I mean *Pisistratus* Tyrant of *Athens*, who began his Government, (u) Olymp. LIV, 4. They will put an affront then upon that great Historian and Naturalist, who shall attempt to bring *Phalaris* lower than the later Period in *Eusebius*.

(u) *Marm.*  
*Arundel.*

But I believe the Age of *Phalaris* may be best of all determined out of *Pindar*, and his Scholiast. *Pindar* in an Ode to *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, calls him and his Family (x) *Εμμενίδαι*, *Emmenidæ*.

(x) ——— *Εμμενίδαι*, *Emmenidæ*.  
Θυμὸς ὁ τρέφει παῖδ' αὖτις  
*Εμμενίδαις*,  
Θήρωνι τ' ἑλθεῖν κῦδος.  
Pind. III. Olymp.

(y) Τηλεμάχῃ κατὰ  
ῥόαντος τ' ἄρ' Ἀνεσιδαν-  
των πύραρον Φάλαριν  
παῖς γίγεται Ἐμμενίδης,  
ἔσθ' Αἰνείδαμος, ἔσθ' Ἰθέρων  
κ' Ξενοκράτης. Θήρωνος δ'  
Θρασυδῆος, Ξενοκράτης  
δ' Ἰθέρωνος. Schol. ad  
locum.

Which the Scholiast thus explains; “ *Emmenidæ*, the Family of *Theron*. (y) *Telemachus*, “ that **DEPOSED PHALARIS** Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, “ was the Father of *Emmenides*, “ he of *Ænesidamus*, he of *Theron* and *Xenocrates*. *Theron's* “ Son was *Thrasydæus*, and *Xenocrates's* *Thrasylbulus*.

The Genealogy lies thus ;

1. *Telemachus*, who deposed *Phalaris*.
2. *Emmenides*.
3. *Ænesidamus*.
4. *Theron*.
5. *Thrasydæus*.
4. *Xenocrates*.
5. *Thrasylbulus*.

These being descended in a direct Line, the Son from the Father : if we can but certainly fix the Age of any one of them ; we may gather from thence the time of the first, and consequently of *Phalaris* that was deposed by him.

For



For allowing (z) Thirty Years for every Generation, or rather an (a) Hundred Years to three Generations, which was the common Rule and Measure set by the ancient Historians, we shall come at last to the Period we seek for.

τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς καταλέγονται γενεαί. So Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i. p. 120. from Numa Olymp. XVI, 3. to Pythagoras Olymp. L, 1. which makes 134 Years, are τρεῖς ἑκατὸν γενεαί, four Generations.

The same Genealogy is repeated again in the Scholia upon the Fifth Ode of Pyth. out of an ancient Historian, (b) Hippostratus, who wrote a *Treatise of the Sicilian Families*: only here by an Error of the Copier, *Aenesidamus* is left out of the List. But that it is no more than a bare Omission of the Scribe, is apparent from that other Passage above, and (c) from Pindar himself, and Herodotus; both of whom being Contemporaries with Theron, call him the Son of *Aenesidamus*.

There's a third Table of Theron's Pedegree, in the Second Ode of Olymp. where Pindar saying, *That Theron's Family was derived from Thersander*: the Scholiast reckons the whole Stem of them thus; " Oedipus, Polyneices, Thersander, Tisamenus, Antefion, Theras, Samus, who had two Sons Chytius, who dwelt in the Island Thera, and Telemachus, (c) who went with some forces to Sicily, and settled himself there. The Descendants of

1. Telemachus, are,
2. Chalciopous.
3. Aenesidamus.
4. Theron.

(z) Eustath. & Schol. veteris ad d. Iliad. Οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς γενεὰς ἐ-ψήφισαν ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν τετακέντα.

(a) Herod. ii. c. 142. Γενεαὶ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτη ὄντι. Clemens Alex. Strom. i. Ἐἰς μὲντοι

So Dionys. Halicarnas. l. i.

πρὸς τὰς Σικελίας γενεαλογῶν.

(c) Pind. 2. Olymp. πρὸς

πρὸς τὸν Αἰνυσίδαμου, speaking of Theron. Herod. vii. 165. Θήρωνος δὲ Αἰνυσίδαμου Ἀκροχαιτίων μνησθέντος.

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'Tis observable, that he that was named *Emmenides* above, is here called *Chalciopous*. But this difference is of no consequence in our present Enquiry, since in both Accounts there is the same number of Persons. Nay we have the firmer ground to go upon for this little Variation. For because these differing Genealogies must have been taken from different Authors; we have now a double Authority for the number of the Generations.

To proceed then in our Search after some

(d) *Pindar Schol. ad II. Isth.* Οὗτος ὁ Ξενοκράτης ἔμῳ μόνον Ἰδμῳ νενίκηκεν ἰπποῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια τὴν εἰκοστὴν τετάρτην πεντάδα, ὡς Ἀεῖσοτέλης ἀναγγέλλει. See too, *ad VI. Pyth.*

Characters of Time. *Xenocrates* of the 14th Generation, (d) got the Prize at the *Pythian Games*, in *Pythiad* the xxiv, which falls in with *Olymp. LXXII, 3*. Supposing then that *Xenocrates* was but xxx Years old at the time of that

Victory, and *Telemachus* xl when he deposed *Phalaris*; which is an allowance very favourable in behalf of the Epistles; there's yet an Interval of fourscore and ten Years, and *Phalaris's* Death must be placed at *Olymp. L, 1*. which is above the Period of *Eusebius*.

But we have more Notes of Time, relating to

(e) *Schol.* his Brother *Theron*. He was (e) Victor at the *Pindari ad II. Olymp.* Olympian Games, *Olymp. LXXVII*, and died the same Year, in the (f) xvith of his Reign. So (f) *Diodor. Sic. p. 39.* that he came to the Crown *Olymp. LXXIII, 1*. (g) *Diodor. p. 21. Timaeus apud Schol. Pindari. II. Olymp.* He had a Daughter *Demarete* that was (g) married to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse* before *LXXV, 1*. Let *Theron* then be *XLII* Years old, when he entered upon his Government, which is an allowance scanty enough, since he had not the Crown by Succession, but obtain'd it by (b) Policy and Interest: and let his Daughter *Demarete* be xx Years

Years of Age at Olym. LXXV, and *Telemachus* XL, as before, when *Phalaris* was deposed. The collected number of Years is CX; which will carry *Phalaris's* Death as high as Olym. XLVII, 2.

Thus, we see, *Eusebius*, *Hierom*, *Syncellus*, *Orosius*, *Suidas*, *Pliny*, *Hippostratus*, and the *Scholiast* on *Pindar*, are all pretty well agreed in placing the time of *Phalaris's* Death above the LVIII Olympiad. And there will be occasion of adding several Remarks in Confirmation of their Testimony; as we examin the opinion of the learned Mr. *Dodwell*.

The Summ of his First (i) Argument for (1) *De Cy-*  
bringing *Phalaris* down so much lower, turns *elis v. Diff.*  
upon these Authorities. 5. sect. 10.

" *Phalaris* was Contemporary (k) with *Stesichorus* (k) *Aristot.*  
" *chorus*, and (l) survived him. But *Stesichorus* *Jo Tzetzes.*  
" was alive (m) Olym. LXXIII, 3. (l) *Phal Ep.*  
(m) *Marm.*

Where, without doubt, the Reader has already observed, that the principal part of the Argument, *Stesichorus's* surviving of *Phalaris*, is plainly begging the Question. For it has no Voucher but the Epistles of *Phalaris*, the very Book that's under debate. This particular then must be laid aside; and without it the whole Argument has no force at all. For *Stesichorus* might be alive Olym. LXXIII, 3. and yet be Contemporary with *Phalaris*, even by *Eusebius's* account. *Stesichorus* lived to be (n) LXXXV Years (n) *Lucian*  
old. He might be XXI then at Olym. LVII, 3. in *Macrob.*  
the time of *Phalaris's* death according to *Euse-*  
*lius*.

Nay the other Branches of this Argument are either for us, or at least not against us. *Tzet-*  
*zes*, (o) who says *Phalaris* lived in *Stesichorus* (o) *Ad Hy-*  
and *Pythagoras's* time, is a Witness of no credit *scilicet p. 3.*



in this particular; for as Mr. D. himself acknowledges, he had it from the *Epistles*, which he often cites in his *Chiliads*. And (p) *Aristotle's* Story of *Stesichorus's* Fable about the Horse and the Stag, when the *Himeræans* had made *Phalaris* their General, and were going to allow him a Guard, is a little to be suspected; because (q) *Conon*, a Writer in *Julius Caesar's* time, gives us the very same Narrative, but instead of *Phalaris*, he says it was *Gelon*, that *Stesichorus* spoke of. And the circumstances of *Gelon's* History seem to countenance *Conon*. For *Gelon* was in great favour and esteem with the *Himeræans*. When their City was besieged by (r) *Himilco*, Olymp. LXXV, 1, (r) he came and raised the Siege with a total Defeat of all the *Carthaginian* Forces. Upon which almost all the Cities of *Sicily*, even those that had opposed him before, came and made their Submission to him. *Stesichorus* then might say his Fable upon that occasion; or perhaps long before upon some other account, that we now know not of, before *Gelon* obtain'd the Government of *Syracuse*. If we suppose then, with the *Arundel* Marble, that *Stesichorus* lived Olymp. LXXIII, 3. it exactly agrees with the Age of *Gelon*, and *Conon's* account of the Story may seem more credible than *Aristotle's*. And then all the Argument, that would settle *Phalaris's* Age from the time of *Stesichorus*, will vanish into nothing.

But if any one will pay so much deference to the deserved Authority of *Aristotle*, as to believe the Story upon his word, I will not contest it with him. Let it be true then, that *Stesichorus* made this Speech upon *Phalaris*. So far is this from being a reason to bring *Phalaris* lower; that

that it rather ties and fastens him up to the Period of *Eusebius*. For *Suidas* says, *Stesichorus* was born Olymp. xxxvii, and died lvi, which makes him fourscore years of Age; and wants but five Years, of *Lucian's* reckoning. *Eusebius* places him higher still, for he says, he flourished Olymp. xlii, i. and died Olymp. lv, i. All this is confirmed by another Passage of *Suidas*, where he says, (f) *Simonides* was μετὰ Σπείροισιν (f) ὕστερον ἡμετέροισιν, after *Stesichorus's* time; as in another place, he says, (t) *Stesichorus* was after (t) τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἢ Ἀλκμανῶν. Now as *Alcman*, who flourished Olymp. xxvii, was dead when *Stesichorus* was born, Olymp. xxxvii. so *Stesichorus* died Olymp. lvi, the very time that *Simonides* was born according to *Suidas*. If we admit therefore of these Testimonies about *Stesichorus's* Age; and of *Aristotle's* Testimony about his Transaction with *Phalaris*, both together make a new Argument for the Period of *Eusebius*.

But then the *Arundel* Marble lies cross in our way, that makes *Stesichorus* (u) come into Greece no sooner than Olymp. lxxiii, 3. I have a great Veneration for that incomparable Monument; but I cannot but dissent from it in this particular, both upon the Authorities already produced, and for a reason that I will now propose, and submit to the Readers Judgment. *Simonides*, as I will shew immediately, was no less than lxxii Years old, Olymp. lxxiii, 3. the Year that *Stesichorus* came into Greece according to the Marble. And I think, that even *Stesichorus* himself can scarce be supposed older: for lxxii is a competent Age to undertake such a long Voyage. *Simonides* then, if the Marble say true, was as old as *Stesichorus*: but we have *Simonides's*

own word to the contrary, where he cites *Stesichorus* in company with *Homer*, as an ancient Author; (x) he is speaking of *Meleager*,

(x) *Apud Athenæum*,  
lib. iv. p.  
112.

Ὅς δὲ πάντας νικάσῃ νέος  
Δινάεντα βαλὼν Ἀναυροῦ ὑπὲρ  
Πολυβότρουος ὄξ' ἰωλκῆς,  
Οὔτω καὶ Ὀμηροῖς ἠδὲ Σπυρίδου ἀνισὶ λαοῖς.

That excell'd all the young Men in casting the *Favelin*, throwing it from *Iolcus* over the River *Anaurus*; as *Homer* and *Stesichorus* sung to the People. Now I appeal to any Man of Judgment and Acquaintance with the Writings of the Ancients; if he can think *Simonides* would speak thus of one of his Contemporary Lyrics. They were all Rivals and Enemies one to another.

(y) *Vid. Od.*  
II. *Olymp.*  
& III. *Nem.*  
& II. *Isth.*

*Pindar* sometimes makes Reflections (y) upon *Bacchylides*, and this *Simonides* that we are speaking of; and 'tis always to their Disparagement.

(z) *Pind.* 2. *Isth.* *Callimachus* apud *Scholias* *Atheniens.* p. 656. *Synes. Ep.* 49. *Suid.* v. *Σιμων.*

Much less then would *Simonides*'s covetous Humour, (z) that the Ancients tax him of, which made him envy all that intercepted any gain from him, have suffer'd him

to do honour to *Stesichorus*, in joyning him with *Homer*; had that *Himeræan* been then alive to have rivall'd him in his Trade. Perhaps it may be objected, that *Simonides*, though he was of a good Age at *Olymp.* LXXII, 3. might not be an Author till afterwards; and so *Stesichorus* might be dead, before *Simonides* set up for

(a) *Herod.*  
v. 102.

a Poet. But (a) *Herodotus* gives an Answer to this, when he says, that *Simonides* made Odes upon *Eualcidas* of *Eretria* for his Victories at the *Olympian* or some of the other Games. For *Eual-*  
*cidas*



*cidas* was \* kill'd just after the burning of *Sardes*, \* *Herod.*  
which was Olymp. LXXIX. So that *Simonides* was *ibid.*  
famed for his Poetry, for at least twenty Years,  
before *Stesichorus* came into *Greece*, according  
to the *Marble*.

It remains now, that I give an account of  
*Simonides's* Age. There are three Periods in the  
*Arundel Marble*, where *Simonides* is mention'd.

(1.) Olymp. LXXII, 4. *Simoni-*  
*des, the Grandfather of Simoni-*  
*des the Poet, a Poet too himself,*  
..... at *Athens*.

(2.) Olymp. LXXV, 3. *Simo-*  
*nides, the Son of Leoprepes, the*  
*Cean, that found the Art of Me-*  
*mory, got the Prize at Athens,*  
*as Teacher of a Chorus: when A-*  
*dimantus was Archon.*

(3.) Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Simo-*  
*nides the Poet died, being 90*  
*years old, when Theagenides was*  
*Archon.*

(1.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ Σι-  
μωνίδου πάππος τῶ ποιητῆ,  
ποιητὴς ὦν καὶ .....  
νησι καὶ Δαρείου τελευτᾷ.

(2.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεω-  
πρεπῆς, ὁ Κέως, ὁ τὸ μνη-  
μονικὴν εὗρων, ἐνίκησεν  
Ἀθήνησιν διδασκων, ἀρ-  
χόντος Ἀθήνησιν .....  
μάντου.

(3.) Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιη-  
τὴς ἐτελεύτησεν βίης ἔτη  
ἐνενήκοντα, ἀρχόντος Ἀ-  
θήνησιν Θεα ..... νίδου.

The learned (b) Editors of the *Marmora* have (b) *Vid. no-*  
committed some mistakes in the Explication of *tas Seldeni*  
these three Periods; but I think I have met *& Lydiati.*  
with something, that will set the whole matter  
right.

The Person in the second Period was our *Si-*  
*monides* the Lyric; who made an Epigram up-  
on his own Victory, this very Victory here men-  
tion'd, when *Adimantus* was Archon: 'Tis  
extant in the (c) Scholiast on *Hermogenes*.

(c) P. 410.

Ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτ' ἐνίκη  
Ἀποχρὶς φυλὴν δαιδαλέον τείποδα.  
Ξ. νοφίλῃ δὲ πρὸς Ἀεισείδης ἐχορήγε

## Dissertation upon Phalaris.

Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶ.  
 Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔτπετο κῦδος  
 Ὀγδωκοντάετι παιδὶ Λεωπρεπῆος.

The Substance of it is this; *That in the year when Adimantus was Archon at Athens, the Chorus of the Tribe Antiochis got the Prize, Aristides being the Furnisher of it, and Simonides the Son of Leoprepes, the Teacher, who was then 80 years old.* 'Tis as plain, I think, as the Sun at Noon-day, that the Marble and the Epigram speak of the same Victory. And we have it here from *Simonides's* own mouth, that the 80th Year of his Age falls in with Olymp. LXXV, 3. in *Adimantus's* Government. And of this same

(d) *Val. Max. VIII, 7.*  
*Simonides poeta octogesimo*  
*anno & docuisse se carmina,*  
*& in eorum certamen de-*  
*scendisse ipse gloriatur.*

Victory and Epigram, the words of (d) *Valerius Maximus* are to be understood; *Simonides*, says he, *HIMSELF* glories, that he was Teacher of a Chorus in the LXXXth year of his Age. And for

those other words of the Marble, ὁ τὸ Μνημονικὲς εὗρων, who invented the Art of Memory, *Simonides* himself is the best Commentator. For in this very year he made an Epigram in Commendation of his Memory;

(e) *Arist.*  
*Orat. Tom.*  
 3. p. 645.

(e) Μνήμη δ' ἔπειτα φημι Σιμωνίδῃ ἰσορρεῖζεν  
 Ὀγδωκοντάετι παιδὶ Λεωπρεπῆος.

No body, says he has a Memory like to *Simonides*, who am 80 years of Age, the Son of *Leoprepes*.

And now that we have establish'd this point, 'tis an easie matter to explain the third Period in the Marble; which belongs to the same *Simonides*.

des. For he was 80 years old Olymp. LXXV, 3. and, says the Marble, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. Simonides died at 90. Now the Interval between those two Olympiads is 19 compleat Years, and inclusively x. And with this the Testimonies of (f) *Suidas* and *Aristophanes's* Scholiast exactly agree. *Simonides*, say they, lived 89 years, and died Olymp. LXXX. They were 89 compleat years, and he had just enter'd upon the (g) 90th. And what the Marble puts at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. *Suidas* with *Diodorus* and others, puts at LXXX, 1. For the *Archontes* in the Marble are all along one year before the Accounts of other Chronologers.

(f) *Suid. v. Σίμων.*  
Schol. *Aristoph. Vesp.* p. 362.  
(g) *Lucian* says, above 90. ὡς τὰ Εὐερέχοντα. in *Macrob.*

And then the first Period in the Marble will have little of difficulty, since both the others are settled. The *Simonides* there mention'd, was Grandfather to him that we have been speaking of. The Pedegree lies thus.

*Simonides.*

*Leoprepes.*

*Simonides.*

'Tis a known thing, that among the ancient *Greeks* the name of the Grandfather was commonly given to the Nephew, according to that of the Poet (h),

(h) *Aristoph. Aves.* p.

Ἰππόνικος Καλλίε, καὶ Ἰππνίκου Καλλία.

379.

Now suppose this *Simonides* was no more than xl years old, when his Nephew was born; at this Olympiad in the Marble, LXXII, 4, he must be cix. So that I would fill up the gap in the Inscription thus; πωτὴς ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς τελευτᾷ Ἀθηνῶν. *Simonides the Poet DIED at Athens.* For what else can he be mention'd here for, at that exceeding old age? Now



Now to sum up our Argument about *Stesichorus*; If *Simonides* was LXXX years old at Olymp. LXXV, 3. as we have proved beyond all Contradiction; he must then have been LXXII years of age at Olymp. LXXIII, 3. the year that *Stesichorus* took his Voyage into Greece, according to the Marble. And this was the thing that I undertook to prove; and I conceive, that the whole is a clear and convincing evidence, that *Stesichorus's* Age was much earlier than the Marble has placed it.

But however, if any one will still be so obstinate, as to prefer the sole Authority of the Marble before all the other proofs that we have produced against it; he will take a most effectual and compendious way to ruin the credit of *Phalaris's* Epistles. For, in short, if the date of *Stesichorus's* Age be true in the Marble, the Epistles are certainly false. For if *Stesichorus* was alive Olymp. LXXIII, 3. the pretended *Phalaris* was then in the Throne; because he speaks of *Stesichorus's* death (i) in several places. But two whole years before that time, Olymp. LXXIII, 1. (k) *Dica. p.* as (k) *Diodorus* assures us, there was another Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, *Theron* the Son of *Anesidamus*: And two years more before that, his Brother *Xenocrates*, living in the same City, (l) *Pindar.* (l) won the Victory at the XXIV Pythiad, which is coincident with Olymp. LXXII, 3. And if any body can think he put in at that Prize with his Chariot, while *Phalaris* was Tyrant; I wish him joy of his opinion.

The very learned Mr. (m) *Dodwell*, being (m) *De Cyclis var.* p. sensible that *Phalaris* could not be alive LXXIII, 3. because *Theron* was then in the Throne; sets both his and *Stesichorus's* Death IV years before that

that time, Olymp. LXXII, 3. and so leaves *Theron* the space of two years to make his way to the Crown, Olymp. LXXIII, 1. But it seems he was not aware (n) of the Scholiast on *Pindar*, who (n) See a- from a good Author *Hippostratus*, himself too *bove*, p. 34. a good Author, makes not *Theron*, but his Great Grand-father *Telemachus* to be one of *Phalaris's* Deposers. Neither was *Theron* the next Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, immediately after *Phalaris*, as Mr.

*D.* here supposes : but first there was one (o) *Alcamenes*, and after him one *Alcander*, who had a very prosperous Reign. But besides this, why must *Stesichorus* die at Olymp. LXXII, 3? Either let us follow the Marble, or let it alone. If we reject the Autho-

(o) *Heraclides Ponticus de Politis.* Μετὰ τὸ Φάλαειν Ἀλκαμένης παρέλαβε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ τούτον Ἀλκάνδρος παρέστη ἀνὴρ ἐπεικὴς καὶ εὐδύνουσαν ἕτως, ὥς περὶ πόρου ἐχέειν ἰμάτια.

rity of the Marble, *Stesichorus* must be supposed to die about Olymp. LVI, as the other Authors affirm: if we adhere to it, then he lived till Olymp. LXXIII, 3. after *Phalaris's* death. And 'tis observable, that the Marble does not say, *he died* Olymp. LXXIII, 3. but ἀρίκετο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, *he then went into Greece*; as *Gorgias* and other *Sicilians* did, to get Money and Fame. So that he might survive that Period many years according to the Marble; which is still a further Confutation of *Phalaris's* Epistles. Yet Mr. *D.* first interprets the Marble, as if that was said to be the last year of *Stesichorus's* Life; and then for the sake of the Epistles, without any other Author to warrant him, he cuts that Life 14 years shorter.

The Second Argument, that Mr. *Dodwell* brings to establish his new opinion about *Phalaris's*

laris's Age, may be summ'd up in this form.

" *Pythagoras* was at *Agrigentum* at the time  
 " of *Phalaris's* Death, and was the principal  
 " occasion of it. But *Pythagoras* was never in  
 " *Sicily*, till after the *Pythagorean* College at  
 " *Crotona* was burnt by *Cylon*, which was Olymp.  
 " LXXII, 2. *Phalaris* therefore was not dead be-  
 " fore that Olympiad.

I am very sorry to differ from this learned Man's Judgment in a point of Chronology, where he is so great a Master. But having examin'd the whole Story of *Pythagoras* as carefully as I can, I am quite of another opinion in every part of this Argument. For I think it more probable, that *Pythagoras* had no concern in the deposing of *Phalaris*; and that he was in *Sicily*, before *Cylon's* Conspiracy; and that the time of that Conspiracy was before Olymp. LXXII.

The chief Actor in deposing *Phalaris* was *Telemachus* an Ancestor of *Theron's*; as we have seen already in the Scholiast of *Pindar*. And the thing was done four Generations, before ever *Pythagoras* set foot in *Sicily*, in Mr. D's way of reckoning. *Jamblichus* is the first and only Man, that gives *Pythagoras* any share in that Action. *Laertius* and *Porphry*, who have written the Life of our Philosopher, have not one word of it. And how could they omit such a singular thing, had they known it? or where could *Jamblichus*, that came after them, and did little else but pillage their Writings, discover this new piece of History? 'Tis observable, that he cites no Author for it; which he ought to have done, if he could; because this was one of the greatest strokes in his whole Narrative, and was a thing unsaid before. *Porphry* indeed says,  
 (p) *Uker*



(p) When Pythagoras came to Italy and Sicily, he restor'd several Cities there to their Liberty; Crotona, Sybaris, Catana, Rhegium, Himera, AGRI-  
GENTUM, Tauromenium and others. And  
\* Lucian, whether in jest or earnest, makes Phalaris brag of Pythagoras's Company. These two Passages, perhaps, were the sole Foundation of Jamblichus's story. For if Pythagoras conversed with Phalaris, and delivered Agrigentum out of Slavery; here was a fair occasion offer'd to Jamblichus, to put both ends together, and dress up his Legend.

But if we should allow Jamblichus's story for a Truth; we need no other Argument against Mr. D. but the very story it self, to prove the Epistles a Cheat. For the Epistles make the Tyrant and the Philosopher to be very good Friends, (q) and have five Months pleasant Conversation together; and the Tyrant talks of Providence, like any Pythagorean; (r) While the governing Providence, says he, preserves the same System of the World. But Jamblichus's Phalaris is the very reverse of this.

(f) He is all Fury and Blasphemy, a rank Atheist, he reviles and contemns the Gods, he denies Prophecy, and Providence; he contrives Pythagoras's Death, and Pythagoras effects his. How can these two stories hang together? If Jamblichus's Account be true, the Epistles must be false. I must own, it's beyond my little Understanding, to reconcile them; let others attempt it.

And again, this same story of Jamblichus plainly proves against Mr. D. that Pythagoras was

(p) Porph. vit. Pyth. p. 189.

\* Luc. in. Phal. 1.

(q) Ep. 74. Πέμπτου ἤ-  
δε μῆνα συνέναι μεθ' ἡ-  
δυνῆς.

(r) Ep. 104. Ἐως ἂν ἡ  
δοικῶσα πρὸς τοιαῦτα αὐτὴν  
ἀρμονίαν τῶ κόσμῳ φυ-  
λάτῃ.

(f) Jambli. p. 184, 5, 6.

was

was in *Sicily* before Olymp. LXXII, 2. *Jamblichus* indeed says nothing about the time, when *Pythagoras* deposed *Phalaris*: But since he brings in (t) *Abaris* the *Hyperborean* in company with *Pythagoras* at the time of the Action; we are assured by that Circumstance, that the Date must be much earlier, than Mr. D. has placed it. The time when *Abaris* came into *Greece*, is very variously told; (u) some put it at Olymp. III, others at XXI, others much lower: which very Diversity is a good Argument, that he came not so late, as Mr. D. sets him, when Chronology

(t) *Jambl.*  
*ibidem.*

(u) *Harpocrat. & Suidas, v. Αβαρις.*

(x) *Harpoc.* Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ Κεῖσιππος τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα φησὶν Ἀβαριν ἐξαγνέειν.

(y) *Pindar* born Ol. 65. forty years old at *Xerxes's* Expedition, Ol. 75, 1. *Suid.*

(z) *De Cyclis vet.* p. 26.

was pretty certain. But there is one (x) Authority beyond Exception. *Pindar* says, *He came in Cræsus's time*; who was conquer'd by *Cyrus* Olymp. LIX. And

with him *Eusebius* and *Synellus* agree; both of them placing him about the Reign of *Cræsus*.

Now *Pindar* himself was (y) xxx years old at that very year, Olymp. LXXII, 2. when Mr. D. makes *Abaris* to have been in *Greece*. But if *Abaris* had been truly there at that time, surely *Pindar* at 30 years of Age would have had better Information; and not have cast him back to the Reign of *Cræsus* above 50 years before.

If we admit then of *Jamblichus's* Narrative, we must place the time much higher, than Mr. *Dodwell* has done. The only reason that Mr. D.

has for it is this, (z) *That Pythagoras did not go into Sicily, till after Cylon's Conspiracy.* Which, with submission, I think is a very precarious Assertion. 'Tis true he did not leave *Italy* for good and all till that time; but what forbids us to suppose, he might make now and then a short Voyage into *Sicily*? *Why Justin* says,

says, (a) He came to Crotona, and continued there for twenty years. But this imports no more, than that generally and for the main he resided at Crotona: 'tis not to be so rigidly taken, as if he had never went out of Town. For he was frequently at (b) Metapontium, and Tarentum, and the neighbouring Cities: why may we not then as well suppose him to have stepped into Sicily? Porphyry and Jamblichus talk of his (c) Journeys in Sicily, long before they say a word of Cylon's Conspiracy. Nay, we have the express Testimonies of them both, that he was in Sicily before that time. For they say, (d) He was present the same day both at Tauromenium in Sicily, and Metapontium in Italy, at the meetings of his Scholars. But 'tis agreed by all, that he had no Society of Scholars at Metapontium, or any where in Italy, after that Villainy of Cylon; almost all his Followers being burnt or killed then, except Archippus and Lysis.

Neither can I assent to Mr. D's Opinion, when he places that Conspiracy of Cylon at Olymp. LXXII, 2. This has no express Authority in History, nor any other foundation, than Mr. Dodwell's Calculations from some Periods of Pythagoras's Life. And since I differ from his opinion in stating those Periods, in consequence I must dissent too about the time of Cylon's Treachery. But because this Controversie cannot be well managed without giving a whole View of Pythagoras's Life, I will here present the Reader with a Table of it, which shall comprehend the various accounts of the ancient Chronologers. To which I shall subjoin some Annotations, to shew the Reasons and Authorities for assigning every Period. 'Tis a subject that deserves our nicest Examination;

(a) Justin.  
xx, 5. cum  
annis xx  
Crotonæ  
egisset.

(b) Livy  
I. 18. Por-  
phy. p. 189

(c) Porph.  
189. Jamb.  
46.

(d) Porph.  
192. Jamb.  
128. Κῶ  
διελέχθαι  
κοινῇ τοῖς  
ἐκείνων  
ἐταίροις.



and though I shall determin nothing my self, I may give an occasion to others of bringing it to a Certainty.

*Olympiads. Years of Pythag.*

43.	4.	1.	<i>Pythagoras</i> born.
48.	1.	18.	Won the Prize at <i>Olympia</i> , Ol. 48, 1. <i>Eratosth. Phavor. Lucian, S. Augustin.</i>
49.	2.	23.	<i>Pythagoras</i> at Man's Age. <i>Antilocbus.</i>
53.	3.	40.	<i>Pyth.</i> 40 Years old went to <i>Italy. Aristoxenus.</i>
	4.	41.	<i>Pyth.</i> in <i>Italy</i> after Ol. 50. <i>Dion. Halicarn.</i>
54.	1.	42.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 54, 1. <i>Chron. Alexand.</i>
58.	2.	59.	<i>Pyth.</i> went to <i>Italy</i> about 60 years old. <i>Jamb.</i>
60.	1.	66.	<i>Pyth.</i> flourished Olymp. 60. <i>Laert.</i>
61.	1.	70.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Olymp. 61. <i>Diodorus.</i>
	4.	73.	<i>Pyth.</i> came to <i>Italy</i> , in the Reign of <i>Superbus</i> (i. e. from Olymp. 61, 4. to 67, 4.) <i>Cicero.</i>
62.	1.	74.	<i>Pyth.</i> Ol. 62. went to <i>Italy.</i> <i>Jamblich.</i>
	2.	75.	<i>Pyth.</i> famous Ol. 62. <i>Cle-</i> <i>mens. Cyril. Euseb. Ta-</i> <i>tian.</i>
63.	3.	80.	<i>Pyth.</i> died 80 years old. <i>He-</i> <i>raclides.</i>
64.	1.	82.	<i>Pyth.</i> taken Captive by <i>Cambyses</i>

# The Age of Pythagoras.

51

Olympiad. Years of Pythag.

			byfes in Egypt, Olymp.
			64, 1. Jambl. Syncellus.
66.	1.	90.	Pyth. died at 90. Laertius.
67.	2.	95.	Pyth. died at 95. Syncellus.
			{ Pyth. went for Italy, when
			Brutus was Consul, i. e.
			Olymp. 68, 1. Solinus.
68.	1.	98.	{ Pyth. in Italy when Bru-
			tus was Consul, Cicero.
			{ Pyth. at Crotona, when Sy-
			baris was taken, Olymp.
			68, 1. Diad. Jambl.
	2.	99.	Pyth. died at 99. Tzetzes.
			Pyth. died near 100. Jambl.
	3.	100.	{ Pyth. died Olymp. 68,
	4.	101.	{ 3. Some MS of Euseb.
			{ others 68, 4.
69.	3.	104.	Pyth. died at 104. Incertus
			apud Photium.
70.	4.	109.	Pyth. died Olymp. 70, 4.
			Eusebius vulgat.
72.	4.	117.	Pyth. died, aged 117, Au-
			thor de Med. par. fac.

I. The Reason for assigning Pythagoras's Birth to Olymp. XLIII, 4. is taken from the next Period, his Victory at the Olympian Games, Olymp. XLVIII: for he was then ἑξήβητος, 17 years of Age; his 18th year commencing with Olymp. XLVIII. Eratosthenes, a very great Man, that wrote a Chronology of the Victors at Olympia, says, (e) Pythagoras Olymp. XLVIII offered himself at the Boys Match to fight at Cuffs; but being voted by the

E 2

(e) Ἐξ ἑξατοδίου δὲ φησὶ  
τὸν Ἰδ. ὃ πρῶτον ἐν τῇ  
Χίῳ; πικτυοῦσα δὲ  
τῇ ἐγδὸς ἔπληα  
Judges

κοῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, κομή-  
την, καὶ ἀλυσίδα φορέντα·  
ἐκκείδηναι τε ἐν τοῦ παι-  
δων, καὶ χλευαδέντα, αὐ-  
τίηα προσβῆναι τὸς ἀν-  
δρας καὶ νικῆσαι. Laert.  
in Pythag.

(f) Πυθαγόρας Σά-  
μος ἐκκείδεις παίδων  
πυγμῶν, καὶ ὡς δῆλος  
χλευαζόμενος, προσβάς τις  
τὸς ἀνδρας, ἀπεντας  
ἔξῃς ἐνίκησεν. Apud Sca-  
ligeri Euseb. p. 40.

(g) Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σά-  
μος ὀλύμπια ἀθλίσων,  
ἐξεκείδην παίδων πυγμῶν,  
[καὶ χλευαδείς] ὡς ἀπα-  
λός, προσβάς τις τὸς ἀν-  
δρας ἐνίκα καὶ τὴν να. ο-  
λυμπιάδα. Syncellus, p.  
239.

last Editor, is no other than that of *Eratothe-  
nes* before. *Pausanias* has a like account of one

(h) Paus. Eliac II. p.  
191. Ὑλλος ὁ Ῥόδιος  
ἔγχεον δὴ τὸς δέκα ἔτεσι  
ζῶντος, μὴ παλαίσσαι ὡς  
ἐν παισὶν ὑπὲρ ἡλείων ἀ-  
πλάδην, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐν  
ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐνι-  
κήδην.

*Judges to be above a Boy's Age,  
and laugh'd at as a Coward for  
putting himself among Boys, he  
presently offer'd himself at the  
Match for Men, and beat them eve-  
ry one.* The f) Catalogue of the  
*Stadionice* says the very same  
thing, at Olymp. XLVIII. So that,  
there can be no mistake in the  
number: though *Georgius Syn-  
cellus*, who tells the same Story,  
(g) sets the time of it at Olymp.  
LI. But his Copy may have  
been corrupted, which could not  
possibly happen in the other case.  
The true reading of that Passage  
of *Syncellus* I have given in the  
Margin; and the meaning of it,  
which is much mistaken by his

(h) *Hyllus* a Rhodian, that would  
have wrestled among the Boys; but  
being excluded by the Judges, be-  
cause he was 18 years old, he pre-  
sently wrestled with the Men, and  
carried the Victory. This *Hyllus*  
did the very same thing, πάλιν at

*Wrestling*, that *Pythagoras* did  
πυγμῶν at Cuffing. And from this last instance it  
appears, that the Age of XVIII was above the  
Match for Boys. The allowed time seems to  
be XVI, the year when they were called *Ephe-  
bi*.

But 'tis not agreed among the Ancients, that  
this *Pythagoras* was he, that afterwards was the  
Philo-



Philosopher. *Hesychius* says, (i) *They mistake* (i) *Hesych.*  
that say so. And an (k) *Epigram* calls this *Pytha-*  
*goras*, the Son of *Crates*; but the others Father (k) *Laert.*  
was *Mnesarchus*. Yet *Eratosthenes*, a very accu- in *Pythag.*  
rate Author, believed he was the same. And

so probably did *Favorinus*, ano-  
ther great Man, (l) who cited  
*Eratosthenes*. (m) *Lucian* too was  
of this opinion, and \* *St. Au-*  
*stin*. And the *Epigram*, that  
*Theætetus* made upon this *Pytha-*  
*goras*, exactly fits the Philosopher,

Πυθαγόρην πνέ, Πυθαγόρην, ὃ ξένε,  
κομήτην, &c.

(l) Ἐξαπλῆνους φησι,  
καὶ δὲ ἰ Φαββαῖνος ἐν τῇ  
ὁ γὰρ παντοδαπὸς Ἰσοει-  
ας ὁρᾷται. *Laert. in*  
*Pythag.*

(m) *Luc. in Gallo.* Ἀ-  
θλητὴ ποτε γινόμενος, καὶ  
ὁλύμπα ἐκ ἀφανῶς ἀγ-  
νοούμενον.

\* *Augustin. Tom. 2. Ep. 3.*

*Pherecydes-- Pythagoram*

*Samium--ex athleta in Philosophum vertit.*

For the Philosopher wore his Hair long, which  
is the meaning of κομήτης. So that even *Jam-*  
*blichus*, who applies the Proverb, (n) ἐν Σάμῳ (n) *Jambl.*  
κομήτης, to *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, may be p. 31, and  
added as another Authority for settling this Peri- 44  
od; though it be against his own Computati-  
ons.

But perhaps it may be thought improbable,  
that a Man, that was bred up to Fighting, should  
turn himself to the Study of Philosophy. For (o) *Od' A. 3.*  
it was a common Observation, that (o) the λυταὶ ἀ-  
γῆστοι. *Gamesters* at those Exercises were very stupid (p) *Laert.*  
and thick-skull'd Fellows. But however there in *Cleanthes*  
are several Examples, that may warrant this & *Suidas.*  
story of *Pythagoras*. *Cleanthes* the Stoic Philo- (q) *Laert.*  
sopher, when he was young, was (p) a Fighter in *Chrysi-*  
at Cuffs, πύκτις, just as *Pythagoras* was. And πο  
his Scholar *Chrysippus*, the acuteſt of all the ἡσυχίᾳ  
Stoicks, was (q) at first a Raver. (r) E- (r) *Laert.*  
ven *Plato* himself was a Wrestler παλαίστης at the in *Platone,*  
*Isthmian* *Cyrrillus.*

(f) Laert.  
in Lycone.

(t) See  
Marmor  
Arundel.  
\* P. 350.

(u) Porph.  
p. 188.  
τὴν τε δὲ  
ἰσχυρὴν καὶ  
δύναμιν καὶ  
μέγαν.

(x) Laert.  
in Pythag.  
Porph.  
p. 186.

Isthmian and Pythian Games. And so was *Lycon* of *Troas*, a Peripatetic, at the *Ilian*. (f) Διὰ ταῦτα δέ, says *Laertius*, καὶ παλαιῶσι λέγεται πάντε ἐν τῇ πετειδὶ Ἰλίου, καὶ σφαιροῖσι. Where instead of Ἰλίου I would rather read it Ἰλίου; that is the *Ilian* Games, from *Ilium*; (t) as Ἐφεσίου from *Ephesus*. So *Athenaeus* \* lib. 8. Πυθαγόματος ὁ Στρατιώτης ὁ κισσαῖος τὸ σφαιρὸν Σάτυρον ἐπισημαίνει ἐν τοῖς Ἰλίοις, Ἀεὶ, ἔφησεν, Ἰλίου καὶ χά. There is nothing then so very unlikely in this story of *Pythagoras*. And the Description they have given us of his Person makes the account the more probable; for he was a (u) lusty, proper Man; and built as it were to make a good Boxer. Besides that they add, that this young *Pythagoras* was the first that boxed ἐν τέχνῃ according to *Art*: which shews a promising Genius, and agrees with the Character of the Philosopher; who, as (x) *Favorinus* and *Porphyrus* say, so instructed one *Eurymenes* in his Exercises, that he won the Prize at *Olympia*.

II. The next Period in the Table is *Olymp* XLIX, 2. from which an ancient Writer *Antiochus*, or rather *Antiochus*, dates *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία. They are the words of

(y) *Strom.* i. p. 133.  
Ἀντίλοχος, ὁ τὸς Ἰσραὺς  
μεγαλειώτατος, ἀπὸ  
τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας  
ὅτι τὸν Ἐπικύρου τελευτήν,  
ἔτι φέρει τὰ πάντα τρια-  
κῆστια δώδεκα.

(y) *Clemens Alexandrinus*: *Antiochus*, that wrote the Book, called Ἰσραὺς, reckons 312 years from *Pythagoras's* ἡλικία to the death of *Epicurus*. Now it's agreed that *Epicurus* died *Olymp.* CXXVII, 2. when *Pytharatus* was Archon.

Reckon therefore backwards 312 years, and the ἡλικία of *Pythagoras* falls upon *Olymp.* XLIX, 2. But what's the meaning of ἡλικία? The very learned

learned Mr. Dodwell interprets it, (z) *The Nativity of Pythagoras*; and to accommodate the passage to his own Calculations, for δώδεκα he reads, δόντος ἐνός, that is, 299. for 312. I am afraid the world will not allow us such a Liberty in our Corrections, as for δώδεκα to put δόντος ἐνός, where but one Letter is the same; and not one, if you write δώδεκα in Numerals, ιϷ. But I suppose he will not insist on this Emendation; if it appear, that ἡλικία does not signify *Nativity*: for then the Emendation will not agree with his Accounts, any more than the vulgar Reading does.

Let us examin then, what the word ἡλικία means in other Passages of *Clement*. (a) *The years*, says he, from *Moses to Solomon's ἡλικία* are 610. The particulars of his Account are these;

Moses's Life	120	Years.
Thence to David's Accession to the Throne	450	
David's Reign	40	
	610	

By which it evidently appears, that the ἡλικία of *Solomon* is not meant of his *Nativity*, but of the beginning of his *Reign*, when he was (b) 23 years of Age.

In another place he says; (c) *Esaiah, Hosea and Micah lived after the ἡλικία of Lycurgus*. And he proves it in this manner;

(z) De Cyclis Vet. p. 147. Fieri tamen potest, ut scripserit Antiochus; τεταχόσια δόντος ἐνός. Exinde Librarius, si primam literam duntaxat, manifestam habuerit, facillimo errore δώδεκα reposuerit. Sic omnia rectissime procedent.

(a) *Sicrom* p. 140 edit. Commelini. Γίνονται ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως ὅτι τὴν Σολομῶντος ἡλικίαν ἔτι τὰ πάντα τεταχόσια δέκα.

(b) See *Petav.* in *Chron.*  
(c) *Ib* p. 141. Λέγονται ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Λυκέργη ἡλικίαν γερονέαι, — Ἡπαίας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶ Σολομῶντος διακοσος ὦ ἔτι. correct it τετακοσος ὦ.



\* Τὴν ἀκ-  
μὴν Λυκούρ-  
γου. Clem.  
ibid.

From the Destruction of Troy }  
\* to the ἀκμὴ of Lycurgus— } 290 Years.

From Solomon, in whose Reign }  
Troy was taken, to the time } 300  
of those Prophets—

It is manifest here, that ἡλικία and ἀκμὴ are put as synonymous words to signify the same thing; Youth, or middle Age, the Flower of one's Age.

(d) Ib. p. 141. Ἐξα-  
ποδῶντος μετὰ τὸ ἑκατο-  
στὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλάστο-  
ως τὴν Ὀμήρου ἡλικίαν φέ-  
ρει.

(e) Tatian. p. 288. Ed.  
Gesneri.

(f) Plutarch in V. Ho-  
meri, p. 44. Γενέσθαι δ'  
αὐτὸν φασὶ τῷ χρόνῳ,  
ὅτ' ἔμψ' ἦν ἡ Τρωϊκὴ πόλε-  
μις, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γενέσθαι  
αὐτοῦ, μετὰ ἑκατὶ ἔτη τὸ  
πλεονέκ.

Eratosthenes, says (d) Clemens, places the ἡλικία of Homer a hundred years after the taking of Troy. That in this place also ἡλικία means ἀκμὴ, we may understand several ways. Crates, says (e) Tatian, "Ὀμηροῦ ἡκμαχένας φησι, says Homer FLOURISHED within 80 years after the taking of Troy; but Eratosthenes says, after 100.

(f) Some, says Plutarch, affirm that Homer lived at the time of the Trojan War, and was an Eye-  
Witness of it; others, that he li-

ved 100 years after it. The word is here γενέσθαι, not born, but lived; as *fuisset* is in Latin Writers. For if it signified, *was born* at the time of that War, he could not have been an Eye-Witness of it; for it lasted but 10 years, and he had been a Child when it ended.

Thus we see all along in Clement, ἡλικία is taken for the *flourishing Age*; and so it is generally in o-

(g) Id. p. 42. So in vi-  
ta Lycurgi. And so Xenoph.  
ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος, come  
at Age; So αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλι-  
κίᾳ, Young Men, those  
arrived at the Age of Men,  
Thucyd. Aeschines.

ther Writers. (g) Plutarch in the Life of Homer, after he had spoken of his Childhood, γενόμενος δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, but when he was come at Age, says he, and had already a Reputation for Poetry. I do not believe there is

is any example, that *ἡλικία* means *Nativity*. When *Clemens* would express the time of one's *Birth*, he does not say *ἡλικία*, but *γένεσις*. (b) *Ἀπο* (b) P. 145. *τῆς Μωϋσῆως γενέσεως* and (i) *εἰς ὁπίσθωξιν τῆς τῆς* (i) P. 146. *Σωτῆρος γενέσεως*. So that upon the whole there is no question, but the *ἡλικία* of *Pythagoras*, in the Passage we are speaking of, means the *Flow-er of his Age*. In the Table, it falls upon his *xxiii* year; and this exactly agrees with *Solomon's Age*, when he began his *Reign*; which *Clemens*, as above, calls his *ἡλικία*. But *Pythagoras* himself had a peculiar way of distinguish- ing the Age of a Man's Life. He divided it in- to four Twenties; (k) *A Boy twenty, a Youth twenty, a Man twenty, and an old Man twenty*. And *Antiochus* perhaps might have a respect to this Doctrine, when he put his *ἡλικία* at *Ol. XLIX, 2*. For it's not improbable, that he took his measure from *Ol. XLVIII, 1*. when *Pythagoras* got the Victory at *Olympia*. And if he supposed him to be but *xvi* years old at that time, which was the legitimate Age for Boys Exercises; his Account then pro- ceedes exactly from the *xxth* year of *Pythagoras*. The Reader, if he pleases, may follow this reckon- ing, and place the *Nativity of Pythagoras* at *Ol. XLIV, 2*. But I rather chose in the Table to set it a little higher for the Reasons given above.

(k) *Laert. in Pythag.*  
*Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτα, νεήνισ-  
κος εἴκοσι, γερνίας εἴκοσι,  
γέρον εἴκοσι.*

III. The next Portion of his Life, according to his own Distribution, from his *xxth* year to the *xlth*, was spent in Study and Travelling. While he was (l) young, he was Scholar to *Thales*, and *Bias*, and *Pherecydes*, and *Epimenides*,

(l) *Νέος ὅτ' ἀπεδύμνη-  
σε, Laert. Νεανίας γερó-  
μνος, Porphy. Ἐν ἔφη-  
and*

βος ὄν. Κομῶν π νέος  
ἐπ' ὑπέρχων. Περὶ ὁκ-  
τωρεϊδῆκατον μάλιστα ἔ-  
τες γεγονώς, *Jamb.*

(m) *Laert. in Pherecyde.*  
*Eusebius edit. Pontaci.*  
Some Copies of *Laertius*  
have Olymp. xlvii. And  
so has *Eusebius* of *Scaliger's*  
Edition.

(n) *Suid. V. Ἐπιμενί-  
δης.*

and *Hermodamas*. Indeed when  
he conversed with *Epimenides*, he  
must needs be very young; for  
*Epimenides* died μετ' ἑ πολὺ, not  
long after Olymp. (m) XLVI, when  
he had expiated Athens from the  
Murder of *Cylon*. (n) *Suidas*  
places that Expiation at Olymp.  
XLIV; but 'tis probable μδ' may  
be a fault of the Writer, instead  
of με or μζ. And that he died not

long after it, *Suidas* seems to confirm; for he  
says, he was then old, γνησιός. *Plato* indeed  
makes him to have come to Athens, Olymp.  
LXX, 1. But that great Man did not tie him-  
self in his Discourses to Exactness of Time,  
as I shall shew at large hereafter. His words

(o) *Plato de Legibus* 1. are, (o) *Epimenides* came to you (to Athens) ten  
years, πρὸς τῷ Περσικῶν, before the Persian Affairs;  
and the Athenians being then afraid of an Expe-  
dition from Persia, φοβουμένων τὸ Περσικὸν εἶλον, he  
told them, it would be ten years before they came,  
and then they should be beaten. He means the  
Battle at *Marathon*, which was Olymp. LXXII, 3.

(p) *In notis ad Laert. in Epimenide.* 'Tis true (p) *Aldobrandinus* makes *Plato* agree  
with *Laertius*. For he interprets him, of the  
Persian Expedition into *Lydia*, when *Cyrus* took  
*Sardes*. But why should the Athenians be afraid  
of that into *Lydia*? *Plato* himself in another place

(q) *De Legib. lib. III.* declares his own meaning. (q) Ten years, says he,  
before the Sea-fight at *Salamis*, came *Datis*, Περ-  
σικὸν εἶλον ἄγων, with the Persian Forces. As

for our Philosopher's other Masters, *Thales* and  
(r) *Laert. in Thalete.* *Pherecydes*, the (r) first was born Ol. xxxv. 1.  
and died above 90 years old, Olymp. LVIII. The  
latter is supposed to have died about Ol. LIX :  
and



and being then (f) 85 years of Age, he must have (f) *Lucian* been born about Olymp. xxxvii, 4. So that *Thales* in *Macrob.* was in his xxxvth year, and *Pherecydes* in his xxvth, at the Birth of *Pythagoras*.

IV. In the xlth year of his Life, our Philosopher went to Italy (t). When he was xl years old, says *Aristoxenus*, and was uneasy under *Polycrates's* Tyranny, he made his Voyage for Italy. This year of his Life falls in with Olymp. liii, 3. according to our Table. But at what Period *Aristoxenus* himself placed the Birth of *Pythagoras*, we cannot be certain. There are some Reasons, that make us doubt, whether he set that Period as high as *Eratosthenes* did, whom we follow in the Table. And there are other Considerations, that seem to make it probable, that these two great Persons were both of one opinion. I'll represent the case on both sides, and leave the Determination to the Judgment of the Reader.

*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, a very accurate Writer, seems to countenance that *Epocha*, that is set in the Table. (u) *Pythagoras*, says he, after the lth Olympiad lived in Italy. If after the lth; then the liii, 3. may possibly be the very year that *Dionysius* meant. But the learned (x) *Hen. Valesius* suspects the reading to be false; and for l he corrects lx; because several Writers, and especially Ecclesiastical, have set his Time about Ol. lx,

(t) *Porphyr* p. 184. Γενότα δ' ἐπὶ Πισαράκωντα, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστῆνος, καὶ ὁρῶντα τὴν Πολυκράτους πρηνίδα συντηνῶτιαν ἔσαν, &c.

(u) *Dionys. Hal. lib 2. p. 120.* Ὁ μὲν Νομάς ὅτι τ' ἐκκαίδεκάτης ὀλ. μεσέσης (he says before, ἐν αὐτῇ τεύτῃ τ' 15 ὀλυμπ.) τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. Πυθαγόρας δ' μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα διέτειβεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.

(x) *Valesius not. ad excerpta, p. 41.*

and

and LXII. But the whole Context in *Diomysius* reclaims against this Emendation. The Author's design is to prove *Pythagoras's* Age to be very remote from *Numa's*. *Numa*, says he, came to the Crown, Olymp. XVI, 3. How then could he be acquainted with *Pythagoras*,

(y) *Diomys* ibid. Τῷ με-  
τὰ τεσσάρων γενεῶν ἀκ-  
μαίαντι, — μετὰ τὴν v.  
ὀλυμπιάδα.

(y) that flourished after the 14th Olymp. four Generations after him?

The Interval between these two Olympiads is 134 years. Now three Generations, as I have shew'd before, make 100 years: four therefore are 133 and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , which wants but a small Fraction, of 134. 'Tis plain then, that our Author meant Olymp. the 14th: for to Olymp. LX there are above five Generations from *Numa*; and his business was to make the distance as wide as he could. In Mr. *Dodwell's* Account, who keeps *Pythagoras* out of Italy till Olymp. LXVII, 2. there are above six Generations.

Another, that seems to favour *Eratosthenes*, is no less a Writer than *Livy*.

(z) *Livius* l. 18, *Autorem doctrinae ejus (Numa) falso Samium Pythagoram edunt; quem Servio Tullio regnante Roma, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae ora juvenum catus habuisse constat.*

(z) *Numa*, says he, could not converse with *Pythagoras*, who lived in the utmost Coast of Italy, above 100 years after him, in the Reign of *Servius Tullius*. Now from the Death of *Numa*, Olymp. XXVII, 1. to the Period we speak

of, Olymp. LIII, 3. there are 105 years; which exactly suits with *Livy's* Expression, *centum amplius, above a hundred*. But if *Livy* had been of Mr. *Dodwell's* opinion, he might have said, *above an hundred and sixty*. Besides that *Servius Tullius* was 23 years dead, before Mr. D. allows *Pythagoras* to set foot in Italy.

Plutarch mentions the same Mistake, that Numa was Pythagoras's Scholar.

But he adds, that (a) Numa, as they say, was elected King, Olymp. xvi, 3. and Pythagoras was long after Numa's time, even five Generations. He seems to have taken this Passage out of Dionysius Halicarn. whose words we have cited before. But whereas Dion.

says, four Generations, Plutarch says, five. The reason of this difference seems to be, that the latter allows but 30 years to a Generation; as we may learn from (b) another place. Five Generations then according to Plutarch make 150 years. But from Olymp. xvi, 3. to our Period, Ol. liii, 3. are 148 years; as near the mark, as can possibly be expected.

Within two years of the same Period, the Alexandrine Chronicon says, (c) Pythagoras was famous, Olymp. liv, 1. So that this Writer's Testimony, such as it is, concurs exactly with the others above.

But we must observe the words of Aristoxenus; When (d) Pythagoras, says he, was 40 years old, and saw the Tyranny of Polycrates grow more violent. These last words, if they be not an addition of Porphyry's, make it dubious, whether Aristoxenus set the Philosopher's Birth, as early as Eratosthenes. For by this Account Polycrates must begin his Tyranny about Ol. liii, 3. and 'tis agreed, by all Historians, that he held it till Ol. lxiv, 1. when Cambyses was in Egypt: which Interval is 42 years, and may seem too long a time to be allow'd for his Government. But did not Amasis, his Contemporary,

(a) Plut. in vita Numa. Οι δὲ Πυθαγόρας μὴ οὐδὲ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ Νουμά χροῖον ὁμῶς πέντε γενεαῖς ἀπολειπόμενον — ὅτι τὸ ἐκκαίδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἔτι τετάρτῃ, Νουμάς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστη.

(b) Plut. de Orac. de festu, p. 415. Ἐπὶ τεσσάρωντα ποιεῖσι τὴν γενεάν καὶ Ἡρόκλητον.

(c) Ολυμπ. liv, 1. Πυθαγόρας φησὶν φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο. (d) Ὁρῶντα τὴν Πολυκράτους τυραννίδα συντοναίνεσθαι.



temporary, reign 44 years, after he had usurped the Government in *Aegypt*, just as the other did in *Samos*? If we admit of the present Calculation, they begun their Reigns almost at the same time; and that perhaps might be some reason of their Friendship, that is so spoken of in History. But *Polyænus's* Relation of the Tyranny of *Polycrates* will scarce allow of so early a Beginning.

For he says, (e) *At the time of his Usurpation, he borrowed Soldiers of Lygdamis Tyrant of Naxos.* Now *Lygdamis* got the Government of *Naxos* (f) by the Assistance of *Pisistratus* after his

third return to *Athens*; which could not be before Olymp. LIX, 1. But perhaps it may be answer'd, that *Polyænus* might call him *Tyrant of Naxos* by an Anticipation; meaning that *Lygdamis*, that was afterwards Tyrant there. For *Lygdamis* might assist *Polycrates* with Soldiers, as he help'd *Pisistratus* both with Men and Money, (g) before he got the Government. *Jamblichus* plainly confirms this Account of *Polycrates's*

long Reign. For he says, (b) his Tyranny was beginning at the xviii<sup>th</sup> year of *Pythagoras*; and he speaks of it, (i) as still continuing after his lviii<sup>th</sup> year. Now the lvi of *Pythagoras*, as *Jamblichus* reckons it, falls in about

Olymp. LXII. So that his xviii<sup>th</sup> year, when *Polycrates's* Tyranny commenced, concurs with Olymp. LII, 3. which is just four years, before *Pythagoras* left *Samos*, according to our Table. And to *Jamblichus* we may add *Suidas*,

(k) who

- (e) *Polyænus Strat.* 1, 23. Μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ Λυγδάμωδον τῷ Νάξιον πρῶτον ἐξαπώτασ.  
(f) *Herodotus* i. cap 64.

- (g) *Herod.* 1. c. 61.

- (b) *Jamb.* p. 31. Ὁ ποσειδάωνος δ' ἄστ' ὁ πολυκράτης πρῶτον ἐτος γέννηται.  
(i) *Idem*, p. 90.

(k) who places *Polycrates's* Government about the same Olymp. LII. But the same Author in another place says, that (l) one *Polycrates the Father of the Tyrant govern'd Samos about Olymp. LIV, in Croesus's time.* This is a Piece of History, that I know not what to say to. For the Father of *Polycrates* the Tyrant was called

(m) *Ææces*, and *Croesus's* Reign did not begin (n) See till Olymp. LV, 3. *Herod.*

But though *Aristoxenus* say, our Philosopher went to *Italy* at XL years of Age; yet *Jamblichus* makes him about LX; and whether of them must we follow? If we regard the Authority of the two Parties, I am afraid *Jamblichus* must be laid aside; for he is both inferior to the other, and inconsistent with himself. But let us consider the nature of the thing, and the circumstances of the story. *Hermippus*, a considerable Author, tells us; (n) "That when *Pythagoras* came to (n) *Apud* " *Italy*; he made a private Room under ground, *Laert. in* " and having caused a report to be spread of *Pythag.* " his Death, he hid himself in that Room, or- " dering his Mother to let him down Meat pri- " vately from time to time, with an account in " writing of all Affairs that happen'd in *Crotona*, \* So *Luci-* " and the places about. After a time he comes *an in Gal-* " abroad, \* pretending to be risen from the *lo, p. 252.* " Dead; and tells all the things, that had hap- *Ηκιστα* " pen'd since his suppos'd Death, as if he had *ταύτα, ὡς* " learnt them in the other World. Which *ὡς δὲ ζήσας* " *ἀναβέβηκε* " Project procured him a mighty Authority. *κέναι ἀπο-* " The same Story is told us by (o) *Sophocles's* Scho- *θανόν.* " liast; who thinks the Poet himself alluded to it (o) *Schol.* " in these Verses in his *Elestra*; *ad Ele-* *Heb. Elestr. p. 83*

(k) *Suid. v. Αναξέων.*  
Γέγονε χ'τ' Πολυκράτης ὁ  
Σάμου τὸν ἐξενον ὀλυμπιάδῃ  
νβ'.

(l) *Suid. v. Ιβυκος.* Εἰς  
Σάμον ἦλθεν, ὅτ' αὐτῆς  
ἦρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τῶν  
ἐξενον πατὴρ· κείνος δ' ἔτος  
ὁ δὲ Κερίστῃ, ὀλυμπιάς  
νδ'.

(n) *Apud*  
*Laert. in*  
*Pythag.*

\* So *Luci-*  
*an in Gal-*  
*lo, p. 252.*  
*Ηκιστα*  
*ταύτα, ὡς*  
*ὡς δὲ ζήσας*  
*ἀναβέβηκε*  
*κέναι ἀπο-*  
*θανόν.*  
(o) *Schol.*  
*ad Ele-*

Ἦδ' ὃν εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τὸς σφῆς  
 Λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας· οἷδ' ὅταν δόμους  
 Ἐλθῶν αὖθις, ἐκτεμνῆται πλέον.

And *Tertullian* too, a Man of admirable Wit and Learning, in his Book *about the Soul*, gives the same Account of this Story; and he adds this

(p) *Tertul. de anima c.*  
 28. *Mortem simulat, sub-*  
*terraneo latitat, septenni*  
*se illic patientia damnat*  
 — *cum fraude vitæ sep-*  
*tennio excruciatæ infra ter-*  
*ram.*

Particular, That he staid under ground (p) *seven years*: which without question he speaks from some good Authority; and the design it self, that *Pythagoras* had in it, seems to require so long a time.

For the Cheat might have been suspected, if he had soon appear'd abroad again; neither would there have been Matter of Fact enough, as Deaths, Marriages, and Births, and publick Transactions, the Accounts of which he pretended to have learnt below from the Ghosts of those that died after him. Now I suppose this design of *Pythagoras* will seem a very absurd one; if he was LX years old, when he went to *Italy*, as *Jamblichus* makes him. Besides that he must have lived no little time there, so as to be generally known, before he undertook it: or else they would never have believed, that he had rose from the dead, had they not known him alive before. He must be well advanced then beyond 60, when he began this Design. But what could one of that great Age propose to himself from so tedious a Project?

*Vitæ summa brevis spem cum vetat inchoare longam.*

He might die indeed in Jest, when he went down to his Vault; but he might fear, 'twould be

in



In good earnest, before seven years were over. Or if he was sure to come out alive again, yet the Remainder of Life after LXX Years of Age, when we was to enjoy the Fruits of this pious Fraud, was not worth so long a Penance. For

he came (q) out half starved, a mere Skeleton, to make it the more credible to them, that he rose from the Grave. But there's another Circumstance, that makes it still more unlikely, that

(q) Hermippos, ἱσχυ-  
νός καὶ κατεσκευασμένος.  
Tertul. Corpulentiam inter-  
polasse visus ad omnem mor-  
tui veteris horrorem.

he was LX years old then. For the only Person

privy to his design was (r) his Mother: and was not she then at a fit Age, for the whole Plot to

depend upon? Suppose her to be but 20, when Pythagoras was born, though (s) she had another Son before him: even at this rate she would be about fourscore and ten, before the Intrigue

(r) Herm.  
Τῇ μητρί  
ἐνεπίλα-  
το. Tertul.  
ab unita  
conscia &  
ministra  
matre.

could be finished. This surely was too slender

a Thread, to trust a business of that weight to.

(s) Porph.  
Jamblich.

It is very probable therefore, if this Story be

true, that Pythagoras was but about XL, when

he went into Italy. Nay, though the Story

should be false, it is still a very good Argu-

ment; for it shews at least, that all those that

have reported it, must have believed he was not

much older.

But we have another Piece of History, which

all Writers agree in, that seems to make him

much younger, when he went for Italy, than

Jamblichus's Account does. That is the *mythologia*, (t) The Five years Silence, that was enjoyn'd to

(t) Leont.  
Porphyr.  
Jamblich.

his Disciples; before they were admitted to his

Conversation; or as some say, even to the sight

of him. Now it appears from the whole Con-

text of Pythagoras, that he aim'd to be Found-

er of a Sect; and by the interest of his Scholars to change the forms of several Governments. But would any Man of threescore years age, if he had such designs in his head, have taken such a slow Method of bringing them about? he must surely be a younger Man, and have the prospect of many years before him, when he began such a Discipline. Or else he must needs apprehend, that old Age and Death would be at his Heels, before the ceremonious Silence was over. This *Quinquennium* therefore even alone makes it very unlikely, that he was LX, when he went for *Italy*; but if it be added to the Story above, his *seven years stay in the Vault*, it will make that Account of his Age still the more improbable: for at that rate he was near LXX years old, when he began that tedious Method.

Another Confirmation of *Aristoxenus's* Account, that *Pythagoras* was but XL, when he first came to *Italy*, is his marrying (u) a Wife at *Crotone*, *Theano* the Daughter of *Brontinus*, by whom he had two Sons and two Daughters. About his Love to *Theano* we have these elegant Verses of *Hermesianax*, the *Colophonian* Poet, that lived in *Alexander's* time:

(u) *Laert.*  
*in Pythag.*

(x) Ὅτι μὲρ Σάμιον μάρη κατέδρασε Θεανῶς  
Πυθαγόρην, ἐλίκων κομὰ γεωμετεῖς  
Ἐυεργέμενον, καὶ κύκλον ὅσον περὶ ἀλλεταίαι αἰθῆς,  
Βαίῃ τ' ἐν σφαίρῃ πάντ' ἀποτασσόμενον.

Here we see, he had such a Passion for his Mistress *Theano*, that the Poet calls it *Madness*. Which better agrees, with the Age of 50, than 70, after he had stay'd 7 years in the Vault. For that he had no Wife till after that time, may be fairly gather'd from this circumstance, that his old Mother, and the only, was conscious to his Plot.

Plot. The Names of his two Sons are *Telauges* and *Mnesarchus*. The former is mention'd by (γ) *Empedocles*; whose Verse must be mended thus;

Τηλαυγῆς, κλυτὲ κῆρ Θεανῆς Πυ-  
δαγρεώτε.

(γ) *Laert. in Pyth.* Ἰπ-  
πόβοτις φησι λέγειν Εμπε-  
δοκλῆα Τηλαυγῆϊ, κλυτῷ  
κῆρ Θεανῆς Πυδαγρεώ-  
τε.

and by *Jamblichus*, Τηλαυγῆς κοινὸν ἔχει τὸν Πυ-  
δαγρεὺς δὲνατον ὑπολελειμμένος ἦν περὶ δέαν οἱ τῇ μητεῖ.  
Where the Latin Version has it, *In spectaculo  
matris Deum*. But for περὶ δέαν οἱ τῇ μητεῖ, it  
ought to be corrected, ~~περὶ~~ Θεανῶϊ τῇ μητεῖ. The  
other Son, in *Jamblichus* is called Μνήμαρχος,  
*Mnemarchus*: which perhaps is a Reading not  
to be rejected. For (z) *Festus* tells us, *Pythago-* (z) *Festus*  
*ras* had a Son called *Mamercus*; which seems v. *Emil.*  
to be form'd from the Dorick Pronunciation of  
the Greek word, Μνάμαρχος.

V. Most of the Ecclesiastical Writers date the  
Ἀχμὴ, the flourishing Age of *Pythagoras* at Olymp.

LXII, (a) *Tatian* and (b) *Clement* are the first of  
them; and their very Subject, which was to  
shew the Greek Antiquity to be more recent  
than the Jewish, induced them to bring his time  
down as low as they could. No wonder then,  
that they rather follow'd those Writers that plac-  
ed him at Olymp. LX, than those others, which  
as we have already seen, have put him something  
higher. *Clement's* Computation is subscribed  
to, as in most other Cases, by (c) *Cyril*. *St.*  
*Austin* says (d), he began to be famous at the  
return of the Jewish Captivity; that is, about  
Olymp. LXII. *Eusebius* indeed, according to  
*Scaliger's* Edition, fixes his time at Olymp. LXV, r.  
But some MS Copies of him, which I think

(a) *Tatian.*  
ad Græcos  
pag. ult.

(b) *Clem. 1.*  
*Strom. p.*  
130, &  
143.

(c) *Cyril.*  
contra Ju-  
lian. p. 12.

(d) *Aug de*  
*Civitate*  
*Dei*, xviii,  
37.



are here in the right, set it at Olymp. LXII, 3, or 4. But in all this there is no Contradiction, between those that say, he flourished Olymp. LXII, and those that say, about LII. For since he lived to be above ninety years old; we may truly say, he flourished at 40, 50, 60, nay 80 years of Age.

(e) 1. *Tuscul. Pythagoras, qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset*

(f) Παρεγένετο εἰς Ἰταλίαν κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπ. ξβ. καὶ ἦν Ερυξίδας ὁ Χαλκιδεύς αἰδὼν ἐνίκησεν. *Jambl. p. 47.*

(g) *Catalog. Stadion in Euseb. Scaligeri.*

But Cicero says, (e) he came into Italy in the Reign of Superbus; which could not be before Olymp. LXI, 4. And (f) *Jamblichus* dates his Voyage thither at Olymp. LXII, when *Eryxidas*, or as others call him, (g) *Eryxias* of *Chalcis* won the Race at *Olympia*. These are plain and direct Testimonies against the opi-

nion of those above. And the judicious Reader must consider, which account is the more probable. Only let him remember, that the later he brings *Pythagoras* into Italy and *Sicily*, the more surely he detects the Forgery of *Phalaris's* Epistles. But what if it may be suspected, that *Cicero* and *Jamblichus* or the Authors they had it from, mistook out of forgetfulness? So as, when others had said, he was in Italy Olymp. LXII, these might say, he came thither. We have a near instance of an Error exactly like this.

*Cicero* had said, (b) That *Pythagoras* was in Italy, at the same time that *Brutus* deliver'd his Country; that is Olymp. LXVIII, 1. This seems to have been the sole foundation of *Solinus's* new Doctrine; (i) That *Pythagoras* came to Italy, when *Brutus* was Consul.

As

(b) *Tuscul. iv. Pythagoras, qui fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem, quibus L. Brutus patriam liberavit.*

(i) *Solinus, c. xxi. Pythagoras. Bruto consule, qui reges uel eiecit, Italiam adveniens est.*

As for *Jamblichus*, he has so managed his Accounts, that he has discover'd how little he was versed in ancient Chronology, "*Pythagoras*, he says, went into *Egypt*, and (k) continued there xxii years, till he was carried by *Cambyfes* to *Babylon*, (l) where he staid xii years; and (m) from thence, being about 56 years old, he returned to *Samos*; where not finding things to his desire, he left it and (n) went to *Italy*, *Olymp. LXII*, when *Eryxidas* got the Prize. Here's a Story so well told, that it contradicts it self in the reckoning, no less than xx years. For it was viii years after *Olymp. LXII*, when *Cambyfes* was in *Egypt*; and xii more, he says, were spent at *Babylon*. Who would depend upon such a Computation, or indeed upon any part of it, when the whole is so inconsistent? Yet the learned Mr. *Dodwell* has assumed that 12 years Stay at *Babylon*, that has nothing to vouch it, but this lame and self-confuted Story, for the Basis of all his Calculations in *Pythagoras's* Life. Though at the same time, he makes very bold with the other parts of the Story; for he differs from the Date at *Eryxidas's* Victory, no less than five whole *Olympiads*: and instead of xxii years in *Egypt*, he allows something (a) above one; though *Platarch* says, it's confess'd he was there (p) long time; and (q) no little time, says *Cyrrillus*.

(a) *De Cycl. Vet. p. 138. Spatio plusquam annuo.*  
 (p) *Plus. Symp. quass. viii, 8. Αργυρίων τις σποῖς σφαιρίδας Πυθαγόραν πολὺν χρόνον ἐμολογῆται.*  
 (q) *Cyrrillus contra Jul. p. 15. Πυθαγόρα καὶ Θαλῆς ἐκ ἐναερίδ-μυτον ἐν Ἀργυρίῳ διατετεφότες κρείν.*

*Syncellus* indeed agrees with *Jamblichus* in his Narrative of *Cambyfes*. For he also says,

(r) *Small. Πυθαγόρας*  
*ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐξοδίᾳ διὰ*  
*φιλοσοφίας οὐκ τοῖς αἰχ-*  
*μαλώταις οἷς Πύρρος ἦν.*

(s) *Apuleius Florid. 11.*  
*Sunt qui Pythagoram nunt,*  
*ex temporis, inter captivos*  
*Cambysæ regis Egyptum*  
*cum adveheretur, doctores*  
*habuisse Persarum Magos;*  
*postea, cum à quodam Gillo*  
*Crotoniensium principe reci-*  
*peratum.*

(t) *Herod. lib. iii. cap. 44.*

(r) that Pythagoras was found by him in Egypt, and carried away Prisoner. But Apuleius tells the Story quite another way: For he says, (s) Pythagoras was carried to, and not FROM Egypt, among the Captives of Cambyses. And he seems to refer to that Stratagem of Polycrates (t), when under pretence of sending Forces to the Aid of Cambyses, he selected all the men he was

jealous of; with private directions to the King, that he should let none of them return home. Apuleius therefore adds, in contradiction to this;

(u) *Ibid. Ce-*  
*lebrior fa-*  
*ma obtinet,*  
*sponte cum*  
*petisse E-*  
*gyptias dis-*  
*ciplinâs.*

(u) That the more general report was, that Pythagoras went voluntarily into Egypt; that is, he was not pressed by Polycrates into the Persian Service. This, as I take it, is the true meaning of Apuleius; and the Reader may consider, what credit a Story deserves, that is told such different ways. But what will he say to the other Piece of secret History, that one Gillus a Prince of Crotona, redeemed Pythagoras out of Captivity? Some take this Gillus to be the same with Cylon of Crotona: but he is \* Gillus of Tarentum, who living in exile at Crotona, redeem'd some Persian Slaves there, and carried them into Persia to Darius, about OLYMPIAD. LXV. I. Here we see, how the Story is turn'd. Gillus really redeem'd Slaves at Crotona, and carried them to Persia; but Apuleius makes him redeem one in Persia, and carry him to Crotona. I know it's easy to be said, that He might do both: but he had another errand to Persia, than buying of Slaves, as may be seen in Herodotus.

\* Herod. iii.  
 c. 138.



wonderfull Confirmation of what he had deliver'd. But I am sorry this learned Person should so widely mistake the sense of his Author; who does not mean *Heraclides's* own Distribution of Ages, but *Pythagoras's* own. For *Pythagoras*, as the same *Laertius* relates (a), divided the whole Life of Man into four Ages, ἡλικίας; to each of which he assigned the space of xx years: so that the compleat life of a Man, was according to him LXXX years. *Pythagoras* therefore, says *Heraclides*, died LXXX years old, after his own Description of Ages, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἡλικίαν.

(a) Laert.  
in Pythag.  
sect. 10.

But to determine the year of *Pythagoras's* Death, we must endeavour in the first place to discover the time of *Cylon's* Conspiracy; for they all say, that he either lost his Life at that time, or survived but a few Months after. It could not happen before Olympiad LXVII, 4, if

(f) *Diodor*

Sic p. 7.

(g) *Jambli*

p. 125, 157

(b) *Diodorus* and (c) *Jamblichus* may be believed, who affirm, that *Pythagoras* was then alive, and in Italy, when the *Crotonians* went to war with the *Sybarites*. For that War, by *Diodorus's* Computation, was about that Olympiad. And *Cicero* also concurs with them; for he says,

(d) *Cic. Tus-*

cui quest.

iv.

(e) *Jambli*

p. 112 E-

πελ ὃ Σο-

βακλειῶν

καὶ τῶν

ἐξ ἑρπύων

το σιωπε-

μενον μύ-

τος.

(d) *Pythagoras* was in Italy, when *Brutus* delivered his Country: which happen'd at the very same time, Olymp. LXVII. 4. But that *Cylon's* Villainy was committed presently after that War, it appears from *Jamblichus*, or rather *Apollonius*, whom he cites for it. (e) After the *Crotonians* had destroyed *Sybaris*, says he, then *Cylon's* Faction put their Malice in Execution. And in *Cylon's* Invektive against the *Pythagoreans*, when he incensed the Government against them,

there is this Expression, (f) That it was a shame, that they who had conquered 300 000 men at the River *Tras*, should now be enslaved at home by the 1000th part of that number. By the 1000th part he understands the Disciples of *Pythagoras*, that were in all about (g) 300. And by the Victory at *Tras*, he means, the Battle with the *Sybarites*, (h) who brought into the Field 300,000 Men. Τετρακίστα I read in *Jamblichus*, for τετρακίστα: for I find in

(f) *Jamb* p. 217. Ἀν-  
σχρόν ὃ τὸς τετρακίστα  
μυριάδων περὶ τὴν Τετρα-  
κίστα ποταμὸν περὶ γενόμε-  
νης, ὅπου τὸ χροῖον μὲν  
ἐκείνων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πέλει  
φανῆται κατεστρασιασμένους.

(g) *Jambli* p. 212. *Ju-*  
*stin*. xx, 4. *Athenagoras*.

(h) *Diod. Siculus*, p. 76,  
ὃ 77. Στρατιωσίωντων  
τῷ Σοβακλειῶν τετρακίστα  
μυριάδων, *Strabo* vi. τετρά-

in (i) *Diodorus*, that *Trais* is a River near *Sybaris*. These Passages of *Jamblichus*, will, I suppose, be allowed to prove, that the Conspiracy of *Cylon* must be dated very soon after the Destruction of *Sybaris*, which was Ol. LXVII, 4.

Let it be put then about two years after it, Olymp. LXVIII, 2; and it concurs with the 99th year of *Pythagoras*, according to *Eratosthenes*, and the Calculation in our Table. All which tends to make it still more probable, that the Computation is true. For at that very year of his Age *Pythagoras* died, as the Generality of Authors say. He died, (k) says *Tzetzes*, a hundred years old, wanting only one: Near a hundred, (l) says *Jamblichus*. *Laertius* indeed says (m) at ninety; but *Cassaubon* and *Menagius*, and other judicious Criticks, think the Author wrote it ninety nine; his Copies being now corrupted. And some MSS of *Eusebius* place his Death at (n) the very next year, Olymp. LXVIII, 3.

This last Passage of *Jamblichus*, where he intimates that *Cylon's* Conspiracy came quickly after the *Sybaritic* War, being not only corrupted in the Original, but most miserably handled in the Latin Translation; it cannot be imputed as a fault to the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, that he did not take direction from it, when he made his Computations. He has dated that Conspiracy at Olymp. LXXII, 3; which is almost xx years, after the War with the *Sybarites*. But his

κοντα μυριάσιν ἀνδρῶν  
ὅτι·Κερωνιάταις ἐσε-  
τευσαν.

(i) *Diod.* p. 85. Δια-  
φύροντες τ' ἐν τῇ σαύῃ  
κίνδυνον Συβαρίτας περὶ  
τ' Τραῖντα ποταμὸν κα-  
τῴκησαν.

(k) *Tzetzes*, p. 205. Ε-  
ξήντ' ὡς πέρχων ἑκατὸν πλὴν  
ἕτως ἑνὸς μόνα.

(l) *Jambl.* p. 220. Βιω-  
σαντα ἑπ' ἐγχεῶν ἑκατὸν.  
Read with Mr. D. ἑγχεῶν  
ἑκατὸν· or rather ἐγ-  
χὼς ἑκατὸν, for the MS. had  
it ἐγχεῶν.

(m) *Laert.* in *Pyth.* Ὡς  
ἢ πλείους, ἑπ' βίους ἐνε-  
νήκοντα, they read, ἐνε-  
νήκοντα ἐννέα.

(n) *Euseb.* Edit. *Pontae*.



his reckoning proceeds upon two Suppositions, that perhaps will hardly be granted him. First he assumes, that *Pythagoras* staid a dozen years at *Babylon*, after *Cambyfes's* Expedition into *Ægypt*. But this, I presume, will now appear to be a false Account, by the Authorities I have produced above. Then he adds that *Pythagoras* continued just xx years at *Crotona* in *Italy*; and since according to his Calculation he came thither at Olymp. LXVII, 2; he must consequently be driven out of it at Olymp. LXXII, 3. But the only Voucher for that xx years stay at *Crotona*, is a Passage in *Justin*, which (o) we have cited already. And that seems to be spoken roundly and in the gross, without taking notice of odd years. But *Jamblichus* says, he continued there 39 years; and perhaps it may be suspected that the true reading in *Justin* is XL, and not XX: for the Copies are not much to be trusted, when there is nothing but bare Figures, without circumstances to specify the time.

'Tis true, *Jamblichus* does not say expressly, that *Pythagoras* staid in *Italy* 39 years; but only (p) that he presided over the *Pythagorean School* so long. Mr. D. therefore, comparing these two Passages of *Jamblichus* and *Justin* together, has inferr'd

(p) *Jambl. p. 210.* 'Αυ-  
τὸν καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀφ-  
ηγήσανται λέγεται ἐνδὲς  
δύοτον ἐπὶ τριακοντα.

from them both, that *Pythagoras* liv'd XIX whole years after the Conspiracy of *Cylon*. This is a History entirely new and his own; and I am sorry, it has no better Foundation, than two Figures (XX) in *Justin*, and those also misapplied to a place of *Jamblichus*. For I think nothing can be plainer, than that *Jamblichus* understood the whole 39 years to have been spent before the

Trea,

Treachery of Cylon. For when he first enters upon his Narrative about Cylon, (q) he tells us (q) P. 208. of Pythagoras's Death at Metapontium: and after he has finish'd it, his very next words are an Account (r) of Pythagoras's Successors. See (r) P. 219. several Writers have affirmed;

(f) that Pythagoras himself was burnt at the same time with his Scholars. And the rest that disagree with these, make him die presently after. And some tell us the several Steps of his Escape; that (t) first he fled to Locri, thence to Tarentum, and thence to Metapontium; where he took Sanctuary in the Temple of the

Muses, and was starved there after 40 days fasting. All this they describe, as done without any stop or stay; so as the Locrians met him at the very Confines, and would not let him set foot upon their Territory. Others therefore take no notice of his going to Locri and Tarentum; but (u) carry him immediately and directly from Crotona to Metapontium, where he ended his days. Thus, we see, the whole Stream of Historians runs against Mr. Dodwell.

But the same very learned Person has proceeded yet further; and has told us the place where Pythagoras lived for those XIX years after the Sedition of Cylon. Even in Sicily, where he deposed Phalaris, and rescued Himera, and Catana, and other Cities from the Yoke of Tyranny. The only Fund for this Conjecture is Hermippus's Relation of Pythagoras's Death; which differs from all the rest. He says, When the Agrigentines were at War with the Syracusians

(f) Quidam apud Laert. Suidas Plutarch de repugn. Stoicorum, p. 1051, & de Socratis Genio, p. 583. Arnob. lib. I. Athenagoras. Valer. Max. viii. 7. Firmicus Astron. i. 3. Tzetzes, Chil. xi. 366.

(t) Porph. de vita Pyth. 206. Themistius Orat. iv. Firmicus ibid.

(u) Dicaearchus apud Laert. Justin. xx. 4 Jamblicus, 208.

(x) Laert. Ἐξελθεῖν  
μετὰ τῶν συνήδων τῶν Πυ-  
θαγόρειων, καὶ περὶναι τῶν  
Ἀκρεγαντίνων.

ans, Pythagoras (x) went with  
some of his Scholars, and headed  
the Agrigentines; but his Party  
was routed, and himself slain, be-  
ing overtaken in his Flight, be-

cause he would not go through a Field of Beans.

Now what is there in these words, that shews  
Pythagoras to have lived in Sicily before? Why  
might he not go from Crotona to the Assistance  
of the Agrigentines? Is there any thing more  
common in History, than to have the Sicilians,  
and the Inhabitants of Magna Græcia engaged  
with one another? But allowing he was fixed  
in Sicily before, yet here's nothing determin'd  
about the time of this War: why may we not  
then suppose, it was about the time of Cylon's  
Sedition, rather than as Mr. D. sets it, xix  
years after? Hermippus's own words seem to

(y) Laert.  
ibid. Ἐν  
Τάραντι  
κατακαυ-  
θῆναι.

Scholars, being xxxv in number (all but those  
that were slain in the Fight with the Syracusi-  
ans) were (y) burnt at Tarentum for disturbing  
the Government. Now this burning at Taren-

tum appears to be the same, (z)  
that was contrived by the Cyloni-  
an Faction, presently after the  
Sedition at Crotona. But Mr.  
D. thinks, Pythagoras was slain in  
that War, that Thrasydeus Ty-  
rant of Agrigentum made upon

(z) Porphy. p. 207.  
Ἐν Τάραντι πλεῖναι,  
πάλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν Πυθα-  
γόρειων πλείονα πῶς περὶ  
Κρότωνα. See Jamb. p.  
218.

(a) Diodor. Hiero of Syracuse, (a) Olymp. LXXVII, 1. Which  
Sic. p. 40. is to add another Improbability to all that have  
gone before. For who will believe, that Pytha-  
goras would side with Thrasydeus, a tyrannical

(b) Diodor. and profligate Man, in (b) a groundless and un-  
just War, against Hiero, who was the bravest  
Prince



Prince of his time, and a great Patron of Learning; some of the greatest Wits of that Age residing at his Court, *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Bacchylides*, *Æschylus*, and (which is still a further Argument) *Pythagoras*'s own Scholar, *Epicharmus*.

But Mr. *Dodwell* fetches two new Arguments, from the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School, to confirm his Assertion about the Age of *Pythagoras*.

" (c) For *Lysis*, one of  
" the Scholars of *Pythagoras*,  
" was Preceptor to *Epaminondas*  
" and *Philip* of *Macedon*, both  
" of whom lived after *Olymp. c.*  
" And *Aristoxenus*, a Scholar of  
" *Aristotle*'s had some *Pythagorean*  
" Acquaintance, that were  
" not very remote from *Pythagoras*'s own time.

(c) De Cyclis Vet. p. 148. Conveniunt certe Scholæ Pythagorica Diadochai. a *Lysis* enim *Pythagora* in Magna Græcia discipulus, *Philippum* *Macedonem* *Alexandri* M. patrem *Thebis* instituit atque *Epaminondam*, qui ipsi *Olymp. c.* superârunt, nec admodum remoti erant à *Pythagora* ipso, quos vidit

b *Aristoxenus* *Peripateticus* *Aristotelis* discipulus. a *Plutarch*. b *Gellius* iv, ii.

That one *Lysis* a *Pythagorean* lived at *Thebes* with *Epaminondas*, is a thing not now to be questioned; since (d) so many Writers of good note have affirmed it. But there is good reason to doubt whether this was the same *Lysis*, that was an Auditor of *Pythagoras*; though several of these Authors expressly say, it was he.

(d) *Diod. Sic. in Excerpt.* *Cornel Nepos.* *Pausanias.* *Ælian in Var.* *Plutarch. de Socratis Genio.* *Porphyr.* *Jamblich.* *Hieronymus contra Rufinum.*

For if we compute the Interval of years between the Sedition of *Cylon*, and the Age of *Epaminondas*, they will be found too many to be allow'd for one Life; even in Mr. *D.*'s own reckoning. For let us suppose with Mr. *D.* that *Cylon* fired the *Pythagorean* College at *Olymp. LXXII, 3.* tho' this

this appears to be set xvii years too low. *Lyfis* then at that time may be supposed about xx years of

(e) *Porphyr. Jamb. p. 208.*  
 Οἱ τοὶ τελευτάτοι οὗτοι  
 καὶ ἐνρωσέτατοι. Corrige,  
 Οἱ τοὶ τε νεώτατοι. So  
*Plutarch. de Socr. idem p.*  
 583. Νέων ὄντων ἐπὶ ῥώ-  
 μῃ καὶ κυφότητι διασωμένων  
 τῷ πύρ.

Age; for (e) he and *Archippus* being the youngest and the strongest, are said to have escaped out of the Fire, in which their Companions were burnt. Now *Epaminondas's* Age might be determin'd with sufficient exactness from the time of his Death at

the Battle of *Mantineæ*, Olymp. civ, 2: for he was then in the Vigour of his years, and died fighting (f) heroically. But we can fix it precisely out of *Plutarch* (g); who in-

(g) *Plut. de Λάδῃ Βι-  
 ώταις.* Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἰς  
 τεταραχνοσὲν ἔτος ἀγνο-  
 οῦν, ὅτερον ἢ πένδεκα καὶ  
 ἄρξας.

(h) *Diodorus, 367.*

forms us, that he was xl years old, when he was first made *General*; (b) which was Olymp. cii, 2. He was born then at Olymp. xcii, 1. and we must suppose, he was no less than xx years of Age before

the Death of his Tutor: otherwise he could not have made those mighty Improvements under his Discipline, that Historians speak of. I conceive, all we have hitherto allow'd in our Computation is very fair and reasonable. And yet at this rate from the Nativity of *Lyfis* to the xxth year of *Epaminondas* there are cxix years; too long a time certainly for the Life of *Lyfis*, whom neither *Lucian* nor any one else have mention'd in their Catalogues of long liv'd men. Nay we must still stretch it out longer; for (i) *Plutarch*, telling a Story of one *Theanor* a *Pythagorean*, who upon the News of *Lyfis's* Death was sent by the Society out of *Italy* to *Thebes*, to perform some Ceremonies at his Sepulchre, makes him arrive there the very time that the proscribed *Thebans* return'd

(i) *Plut.  
 de Socras: is  
 Damonio.*

return'd home, (k) which was Olymp. c, 3. If (k) *Diodor.* we admit this account, we must add fourteen <sup>345</sup> years more to *Lyfis's* Life, which is already so much too long: for from the Birth of *Lyfis* to Olymp. c, 3, there are cxxxii years. But we must prolong this Life still further, according to *Diodorus*, who is follow'd by Mr. *Dodwell*. For *Diodorus* says, (l) that *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander*, was educated at *Thebes* under the same *Pythagorean* with *E-paminondas*, and made a considerable Progress in Philosophical Knowledge. But we are certain that it was Olymp. cii, 4, when *Philip* was sent a Hostage to *Thebes*. This is expressly said by (m) *Diodorus*, (m) *Diod.* and clearly intimated by (n) *Plutarch*; and fully <sup>xv. p. 379.</sup> confirmed from the account of *Philip's* Age. For (n) *Plut. in* he died (o) Olymp. cxi, 1. when he was (p) <sup>Pelopide.</sup> *XLVII* (o) *Diod.* years old; and consequently at Olymp. cii, 4. <sup>xvi.</sup> he was but *xiv*; which is an Age young enough (p) *Justin.* in all reason for the understanding of the *Pytha-* ix, 8. *gorean* Doctrines. If the same *Lyfis* therefore was both Scholar to *Pythagoras*, and Master to *Philip*, he must survive the Sedition of *Cylon* (when we suppose him *xx* years old) till Olymp. cii, 4. So that he must live in all cxxxxi years. This is a Life of such an extraordinary length; that I am persuaded, even Mr. *D.* himself, rather than he will believe this, will come over to my opinion, that there were two *Pythagoreans* of the same Name, and that *Historians* have confounded two *Lyfis's* together. And yet in all this Computation, I have follow'd Mr. *D's* own Sentiment about the date of *Cylon's* Conspiracy. But if we place it at Olymp. *lxviii*, 2. which

(l) *Diod. xvi. p. 407.*  
Μετέχον δὲ πλείον ὅς  
Πυθαγορείων λόγων ἀμ-  
φοτέρων δὲ ὅς μαθητῆς,  
&c.



which I conceive I have proved above to be the more probable opinion, then the Longævity of *Lyfis* will be still augmented more extravagantly, even to CLVIII years.

Mr. *Dodwell's* next Argument is taken out of *A. Gellius*, who reporting a thing from *Aristoxenus*,

(q) *Gellius* iv, ii. *Quam rem videtur Aristoxenus cognovisse ex Xenophilo familiari suo, & ex quibusdam aliis natu majoribus; qui ab ætate Pythagoræ haud multum aberant.*

*nus*, a Disciple of *Aristotle's*, says, (q) He seems to have had it from his Acquaintance *Xenophilus*, and other ancient *Pythagoreans*, that lived at no great distance from *Pythagoras's* own age. But as I humbly conceive, this Expression

of *Gellius* is too loose and general to determine so nice a point. For who can tell, whether *Haud multum* shall signify fifty years, or four-score, or perhaps a hundred? This *Xenophilus*

(†) *Suidas* in *Æristo*.

was Præceptor to *Aristoxenus*; who, upon the death, as it seems, of his *Pythagorean* Master, was a follower of *Aristotle*. *Aristotle* set up his School at *Athens* about Olymp. cxi: and without question *Aristoxenus* was one of the first of his Scholars: for he expected to have succeeded him after his death; which he could not have presumed upon a short acquaintance. We will suppose then, that *Xenophilus* might die about Olymp. cx. But he lived above a hundred and five years; as

(f) *Apud Lucianum* in *Macrob.*

(r) *Aristoxenus* himself has told us. He was born therefore about Ol. LXXXIII; which is xxv from *Pythagoras's* days according to Mr. *Dodwell*; and after the other reckoning lx. Either of these Sums is *haud multum*, so that this point cannot be decided from that passage of *Gellius*. But there are other Writers, that speak more particularly of the Successions of the *Pythagorean* School; and they perhaps may enable us to determin the

Controversy.

Controversy. "Pythagoras flourished, (t) says Laertius, about the LX Olymp. and his School continued for Nine or even Ten Generations. For the last of the Pythagoreans were Xenophilus, Phanto, Echecrates, Diocles, and Polymnastus. These were known to Aristoxenus and had been the Scholars of Philolaus and Eurytus. But what does he call a Generation?

The very Argument it self will assist us to find his meaning; for he proves from the Interval between Olymp. LX and the Deaths of those last Pythagoreans, that the Generations were Nine or Ten. He cannot then here allow xxx or xxxiii years to a Generation; as those Authors we have cited above did: for at that rate there would not be above Six Generations. But he seems to take a Generation for xx years, as (u) Hefychius and some others define it. Now if we reckon from Olymp. LX to the Death of Xenophilus Olymp. CX; there are ten such Generations. But Xenophilus being above 105 years of Age when he died, may be supposed to have out-lived all his School-fellows by one whole Generation. So that here appears an evident reason, why our Author says *Nine or even Ten*: for they are but *nine*, if we count to the Deaths of Phanto and Echecrates, and the Generality of them: but if we measure to the long extent of the Life of Xenophilus, who perhaps for xx years together, was the only genuine Pythagorean left in the world, they are even *ten* Generations. Di-

odorus says, (x) *The last of the Pythagoreans*

(t) Laert. in Pythag.  
Ἡμας δὲ ὅτι ἔ. ὁλυμ-  
πιάδα, καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ εὐσημία  
διέμεινε μέχρι νεώτερον  
ῥέα ἢ καὶ δέκα· τελευταῖος  
ὃς ἐγένοντο τοῦ Πυθαγο-  
ρείων, ὅς καὶ Αἰσιόζενος ἑ-  
στὶ, Ξενοφίλος τε, &c.  
The vulgar Edition is ἐν-  
νεακαίδεκα: but the MSS  
have it ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα,  
which is the true reading.

(u) Hefych.  
v. γενεά.  
τὴν ὅτι γε-  
νεάν ὑφί-  
σανται ἐ-  
πὶ οἱ μὲν  
εἰκόσι.

(x) Diod.  
p. 386.  
Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ  
Πυθαγορεί-  
ων φιλο-  
σοφῶν οἱ  
τελευταῖοι  
πέντε.

were alive at Ol. ciii, 3. which wants but half a dozen years of Nine Generations. But the learned Mr. Dodwell's Computation will in no wise agree with this passage of *Laertius*. For Mr. D. sets the Founding of the *Pythagorean* School xxx years later than *Laertius* does: which cuts the account shorter by a Generation and a half. *Tully* says, The *Pythagorean* Sect continued (y) many Generations after the Death of their Master: which Expression seems not to favour those, that would shorten the Duration of it.

(y) *Cicer.*  
*Tuscul. 1.*  
*Multa se-*  
*cula postea*  
*vixit.*

This I take to be a true Explication of this place of *Laertius*; which has given so much trouble to his Interpreters. And I conceive, it may be further confirmed by the testimony of *Jamblichus*; who, when he speaks of the

(z) *Jambl. p. 219.* Α-  
ριστάριος, ἐπὶ τῷ γενεῷ ἐγ-  
γενημένος Πλάτωνος. lege,  
πρὸς Πλάτωνος.

Successions of the *Pythagorean* School, (z) makes *Aristæus*, *Pythagoras*'s immediate Successor, to have been very near vii Generations before Plato. Now let

us suppose *Aristæus* to have been lx years old, when he took *Pythagoras*'s Chair about Olymp.

(a) *Jambl. 220.* Πά-  
ρα δὲ τὸν Αριστάρχον τὴν γο-  
νήν περιεβύτατον ὄντα.

lxviii, 2: for he was the (a) eldest of all the Society, and for that reason succeeded him. He was born then at Olymp. lxi, 3.

And from that time to the Nativity of *Plato* Olymp. lxxxviii, 1, there are 138 years; which wants but two years of vii Generations. But if Mr. D's Computation were allowed, there would be 102 years only between *Aristæus* and *Plato*; that is, five Generations.

The same *Jamblichus* has given us a List of the whole Succession of the *Pythagoreans*: which being very faulty in the present Edition, I hope  
it



It will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see some of it here corrected; and it will supply us with some considerable Hints, about the Age of Pythagoras.

1. Pythagoras.
2. Aristæus.
3. Mnemarchus, Pythagoras's Son.
4. Bulagoras.
5. Tydas.
6. Aresas.
7. Diodorus.
8. Clinias. Philolaus. Theoridas. Eurytus. Archytas.

Aristæus, he says, was not only made Pythagoras's Successor, but (b) he had the honour to marry his Widow Theano, and to be Guardian to his Son: and that because of his extraordinary knowledge in the Pythagorean Doctrines. But this place is very corrupt in the Original; and so is the next, where he says, (c) Mnemarchus the Son of Pythagoras succeeded Aristæus. The name of (d) Tydas too seems to be wrong; but whatever his true name was, He was so much concerned for the sacking of Crotona, which happen'd while he was travelling abroad, that he died with grief not long after his return. (e) And he was the only person in the whole Succession, that had an immature Death, all the rest living to an extreme old age. The next Successor Aresas is quite lost by the Latin Interpre-

(b) Jambl. p. 220. Τῆς παιδοτελείας ἡ τῆς Θεανῆς γαίμυ κατηξιώθη, διὰ τὴν ἐξαιρετικὴν πειρακτικὴν αἰσθησὶν δόγματων. lege, διὰ τὸ ἐξαιρετικὸν: as the Annotator has observed.

(c) Ibid. Μετ' οὗ ἡγήσασθαι Μνήμαρχον τὸ Πυθαγόραν. lege, Πυθαγόραν.

(d) Ibid. Μετ' οὗ γὰρ Τύδακ. forte, μετ' οὗ Γερωνδακ, vel simile quid.

(e) Ibid. Ἐναδύμιον γενέσθαι τῶτον ὡς ὑπὸ λύπης πρέλιπε τὸ εἶον. lege, Ἐνα δὲ μόνον γ. τῶτον ὡς ὑπὸ.

(f) *Ibid.* ἔχοντες οὖν  
τοὶ γε ὕστερον ἀγέσαν ἐκ  
τῆς Λαυραίων στοδίντα.  
lege, Ἀγέσαν.

ter, who translates (f) ἀγέσαν *tulerunt*; as if he had read it ἤσαν. But the passage is plain and easie; if we write it with a Capital Letter, to denote it a proper Name.

Well, We see here are no fewer than eight Lives in the *Pythagorean* Succession; and this very number is attested by another ancient Writer,

(g) *Scriptor vite Pyth.*  
*apud Photium.* Ἐνατος  
ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου διάδοχος  
γέγονε Πλάτων, Ἀρχύτας  
τὸ πρῶτον, μαθητὴς  
γενόμενος.

(h) *Laert. in Platone.*

ter, who says, (g) *Plato was the ninth Successor from Pythagoras; having been the Disciple of Archytas.* Now 'tis known, that *Plato* conversed with the *Pythagoreans* in *Italy*, (h) about Olymp. xcv. to which time, from the death

of *Pythagoras*, according to Mr. D's Scheme, there are no more than LXX years: which without question is too small an allowance; being but x years a Piece to the several Successors. Whereas we know in the *Peripatetic* School, *Aristotle* presided XIII years, *Theophrastus* after him about XXXIV, and then *Strato* XVIII, and then *Lycon* XLII. In the same manner, if we examine the *Platonic*, or *Stoic*, or *Epicurean* Successions; and compute by a middle rate; and allow the same Measure to the *Pythagoreans*: we shall find a necessity of dating the Original of the *Pythagorean* School, as high as it is placed in our Table; which is LXXVI years earlier than Mr. D. has set it.

Now, to sum up the Evidence about the *Pythagorean* Succession; First *Laertius* says, the Sect continued Nine or Ten Generations; then *Jamblichus* says, *Aristæus*, the Second in the *Pythagorean* Line, was about Seven Generations before *Plato*, who was Scholar to the last of the  
Py-

*Pythagoreans*: and *Photius's* Author says, *Plato* was the *Tenth* Successor from *Pythagoras*. All these Accounts, conspiring so together, seem to make the thing pretty certain. But yet in the particulars that *Jamblichus* has given us, relating to this Succession, there are some things unaccountable; whether they be owing to the ill Copies of *Jamblichus's* Book, or to the Author himself, I cannot tell. As when he says, \* *That in the time of Bulagoras, the Fourth in the Succession, the City of Crotona was taken and sack'd*: I suppose he means the time, when *Dionysius* the Elder conquer'd the *Crotonians*, and the neighbouring Cities, and held them in Slavery for many Years; as we are taught by † *Diodorus*, † *Dionysius Halic.* and *Livy*: which happen'd at Olymp. xcviij, i. Now *Plato* was xl years old at the time of this Olympiad: and this *Bulagoras* is but the Second from *Aristæus* in the Line of Succession: how then can this be consistent with what *Jamblichus* has said before, that *Plato* was near Seven Generations from the time of *Aristæus*?

\* *Jamb. p.*  
220. Εφ' ἧ  
διαρπαγῇ  
καὶ συνέλκῃ  
τὴν Κροτωνίαν  
καὶ τὰ πό-  
λιν.  
† *Diod. 317.*  
*Dionys. in*  
*Excerpt. p.*  
539. *Livy,*  
l. xxiv.

Again, † *Jamblichus* puts *Diodorus* the *Aspendian* in the Line of Succession before *Philolaus* and *Eurytus* and *Archytas*: the youngest of whom was *Preceptor* to *Plato*. But this *Diodorus* appears to have been younger than *Plato* himself. For *Plato* died above lxxx years old at Olymp. cviii, i. But ‖ *Diodorus* was an Acquaintance of *Stratonicus* the Musician, \* who was in the Court of *Ptolemaeus Lagi*: which must be after Olymp. cxiv. Again, *Archestratus* the *Syracusan* was junior to *Plato*; as we may gather from *Athenæus's* words; *Archestratus*, says he, knows not, that in *Plato's* Convivium there were xxviii

† *Jamb.*  
220.

|| *Athen. p.*  
163.  
\* *Id. 350.*

*Athen. p. 4.*



*Guests.* But *Archestratus* mentions this *Diodorus*, as a person then alive, in these elegant Verses;

Ἄλλ' ἔπολλοι ἴσασι βροτῶν τόδε θείων ἔδισμα,  
 Οὐδ' ἔδειν ἐδέξασιν, ὅσοι κύβην τελεβώδῃ  
 Ψυχὴν κέκλινται θνητῶν, εἰσὶν δ' ἀπόπληκτοι,  
 Ὡς ἀνδρῶν ποδάγε τῷ θνήσκῃ ἐνθ' ἄπας ὃ  
 Ἰχθὺς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτῆν, ἀν περ πεικύρῃ.  
 Ὡς πρέπει καὶ θαρῶ· ὅποσοι τὰδε μεγαλογῶσι,  
 Τοῖς λαχάνοις προσάγειν, καὶ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἰόντας  
 Τὸν σοφόν, ἐγκρατέως μετ' ἐκείνῃ Πυθαγορίζειν.

They are Fools, says he, that refuse to eat the Dogfish; because it devours Human Bodies: for any Fish will eat Man's Flesh, if it find it. So that they, that are scrupulous upon that account, must live upon Salads, and go to *Diodorus*, and turn *Pythagoreans*. The second Verse the learned *Casaubon* has observed to be faulty;

—— ὅποσοι κύβην τελεβώδῃ

Ψυχὴν κέκλινται for there's no such word as τελεβώδης. He offers a double emendation of it; one, κύβην καὶ ἐρεβώδῃ the other, αἱ κύβην καὶ ἐλλαβορώδῃ. But the first of these cannot be allowed; for it ought to be κερεβώδῃ; and then the first syllable will be long. The second is too remote from the common reading. After so great a Man, it will be pardonable, if I mistake in my conjecture. The same Verse comes again in pag. 310; and there it is — ὅσοι κύβαν καὶ λεβώδῃ. I would correct it,

—— ὅσοι κύβ' ἀπ' ἐλεβώδῃ Ψυχὴν κέκλινται.

Ἀπ' ἐλεβῶ is a Locust, or sort of Grasshopper; He means persons of a light and desultory temper, that skip about, and are blown with every wind, as Grasshoppers are. But I would go a little further, and joyn the words together thus, καὶ κερεβωτέλεβώδῃ. Κέρπῳ is a small light sort of Bird, that is tossed about with the wind; and is metaphorically taken, for a foolish light witted

witted fellow. See *Hesychius* the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* and others. So that *κίρρατ' ἐλεῶδης*, is a very fit compound from *κίρρ* and *ἐτ' ἐλεῶδ*.

But it is time to take notice of another Contradiction in this Account of *Jamblichus*.

For (i) in another place he makes *Philolaus*, and *Eurytus*, and *Archytas* Contemporaries with *Pythagoras*; though here we see he has placed them at seven Generations from him. 'Tis

(i) *Jamb.* p. 103. Οἱ παλαιότατοι καὶ αὐτῶν συγγενίσαντες, καὶ μαθητεύσαντες τῷ Πυθαγόρῃ πρεσβύτεροι, Φιλόλαος τε, καὶ Εὐρυτός, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c.

a wonder, that in so short a work he should be so often inconsistent with himself. But which of his Assertions shall we follow? No doubt, that which he says ofteneft, and which agrees best with what others have said. And what can be more exprefs than his own words?

(k) In so many Generations no body had ever seen one of the Pythagorean Books, till *Philolaus's* time. Does he not here declare there were many Generations between *Pythagoras* and *Philolaus*? And *Laertius* has preserved for us one of *Archytas's* Letters to *Plato*, who had desired to purchase the Writings of *Ocellus Lucanus*:

(k) *Id.* p. 172. Ἐν τοσούτοις γενεαῖς ἔτι καὶ οὐδὲν φαίνεται τῶν Πυθαγορείων ὑπομνημάτων περὶ τετευχέναι πρὸς τὴν Φιλόλαον ἡλικίας. lege, περὶ τετευχέναι.

and there *Archytas* says, (l) He had made an Enquiry after them, and had spoken with the Grandchildren of *Ocellus* about them.

(l) *Laert.* in *Arch.* Ἀνῆλθομεν ὡς Λευκανὸς, καὶ ἐνετύχουμεν τοῖς Ὁκέλλω ἐκγόνοις.

Here are plainly three Generations between *Archytas* and *Ocellus*: and yet no body has said, that even *Ocellus* himself was Contemporary with *Pythagoras*. And so much by way of Enquiry about the Age of that Philosopher.

(m) *De Cy-*  
*clis vet. p.*  
253.

(n) *Phal.*  
*Epist. 77.*  
95, 110.

*Marm. A-*  
*rund.*

THE very learned Mr. *Dodwell* (m) has advanced some other Arguments to establish his opinion about *Phalaris's* Age, which must here be consider'd. In the pretended (n) *Epistles* there is mention of one *Clisthenes*, who was banish'd, it seems, out of some Democratical City, but the name is not set down. This Person Mr. D. supposes to be the famous *Clisthenes* the *Athenian*, who had almost as great a share in driving out the Family of *Pisistratus*, as *Brutus* the *Roman* had in expelling the *Tarquins*. Now *Pisistratus's* Sons were driven out at Olymp. LXVII, 1. And there must be an Interval of some years between that, and *Clisthenes's* Exile. *Phalaris* therefore, who relieves *Clisthenes* after his Banishment, must have been still in the Throne about Olymp. LXVIII. that is, XL years after *Eusebius's* Period, which I follow as a Rule and Standard through all my Dissertation.

But I must here again profess my sorrow, to see this excellently learned Writer so imposed on by these spurious Letters. For all this Affair of *Clisthenes* was no where but in the Sophists head; neither is the Scene of it laid at *Athens*. For our *Phalaris's Clisthenes* was the Son of (o)

(o) *Ep. 95.*

(p) *Herod.*  
vi, 126.

(q) *Ælian.*  
xii, 24

(r) *Herod.*  
vi, 131.

*Plutarch.*  
*in Pericle.*

(s) *Ep. 110.*

*Πατρις α-*  
*υτη μη-*  
*τηρ.*

*Autonoe*, a Kinswoman of the Tyrant's: But the *Athenian's* Mother was called *Agariste*, as (p) *Herodotus* and (q) *Ælian* assure us; and a Niece of the same *Clisthenes*, the Mother of *Pericles*, (r) was called *Agariste*, in memory of the other. Perhaps it may be suspected, that *Autonoe* in the *Epistles* may be only a Mother-in-Law. But this I think would be a sorry Evasion; though we had not that direct answer to it, which the Letters themselves afford us, where they call her (s) *his own Mother*. If the fault



fault be laid on the Copies of *Phalaris*, and *Antonee* be supposed a Corruption of the true word *Agariste*: there will be no dealing upon this Argument with such Masters of Defence. But then again *Phalaris's Clisthenes* was (r) fined three Talents, and all he had was seized on and confiscated to the publick use. Now this Story will never suit with the circumstances of the *Athenian Clisthenes*; who being banish'd, (u) as *Ælian* says, by way of Exostracism, must consequently have the free use and enjoyment of his Estate all the time of his Exile. For this was one difference between Exostracism and ordinary Banishment (x); that the former

allowed to the person the entire right of his own Revenues. *Herodotus* so represents this Transaction, as if *Clisthenes* had quitted *Athens* by order of *Cleomenes*

(x) *Plutarch. in Aristide. Εξουστρίων εἰς τὴν δὴν κατέμεινον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. Suid. v. Οὐστρίων. Schol. Arist. 238, & 344.*

King of *Sparta*, without suffering any Exostracism. But even this account sufficiently proves, that he was not the *Clisthenes* in the Epistles: for here was no Fine nor Confiscation of Goods; if he only retired in obedience to *Cleomenes*.

*Clisthenes the Athenian*, (y) says *Cicero*, having a mistrust of his Affairs, deposited Money for his Daughters Portions in *Juno's Temple at Samos*. II, 16. Cum

(y) *Cicero de legibus. rebus timeret suis.*

This mistrust appears to have been a little before his Banishment: and if he had Money of his own lodged then in *Samos*, it is pretty hard to believe, that he would send a begging to *Sicily*, the quite contrary way, and so much further than *Samos*. But what need of many words? Let but any body read the History of *Clisthenes* in *Herodotus*; and then look upon the Letters, where he will not find one Circumstance mention'd,  
not

not so much as *Athens* named, nor *Cliftbenes*'s Rival *Ifagoras*, nor *Cleomenes*, but some general Heads only, and Common Places: and let him believe if he can, that the Writer of those Epistles speaks of the *Athenian*. Or if he do speak of him; even This may go among the other Arguments to detect him a Sophist.

(2) *De Cy-*  
*clis vet. p.*  
253.  
*Ep. 86, 61.*  
98.

Mr. *Dodwell* (a) adds one little Suspicion more towards settling the Age of *Phalaris*. There is one Epistle directed to *Hiero*, and two to *Epicharmus*. Now if this *Epicharmus* be the Comic Poet, and this *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*; their Ages will agree well with Mr. *D*'s Notion, that makes him alive at Olymp. LXXII. But I will not lose any time in refuting this Suspicion; since Mr. *D.* himself seems not to rely upon it. 'Tis enough, if we remark; that there's not the least hint in the Letters, that the *Epicharmus* there was a Poet: which the Author, had he meant the Comedian, would hardly have omitted; if we may guess at his Humour by his many Letters to *Stesichorus*. As for *Hiero*, the Epistles have represented him as a Citizen of *Leontini*; where the *Hiero* of *Syracuse* had no concern, that we know of.

And now, I think, I have gone through the most memorable Passages that have relation either to *Phalaris*'s or *Pythagoras*'s Age; and I have consider'd all that Mr. *Dodwell* has made use of to support his new Assertions. I do not pretend to pass my own Judgment, or to determine positively on either side: but I submit the whole to the Censure of such Readers, as are well versed in ancient Learning; and particularly to that incomparable Historian and Chronologer,

together, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

## I.

IN the last Epistle, to those of *Enna*, a City of *Sicily*; *Phalaris* says, the *Hyblenses* and *Phintiensēs* had promised to lend him Money at Interest; Οἱ δὲ ὑπέχοντο δανείσκειν, ὡς Ἑλλάδι καὶ Φωπείῃς. The Sophist was carefull to mention such Cities as he knew were in *Sicily*. For so *Ptolemee* places *Φωπία* there; and *Antoninus*, *Phintis*; and *Pliny*, *Phintiensēs*. But it is ill luck for this Forger of Letters, that a Fragment of *Diodorus*, a *Sicilian*, and well acquainted with the History of his Country, was preserved to be a Witness against him. That excellent Writer informs us, that *Phintias*, Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, (the very Place, where *Phalaris* was before him) first built *Phintia*, calling it by his own Name; Κτίζει δὲ Φωπίας πόλιν, ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φωπιάδα· and that this was done, while the *Romans* were at War with King *Pyrrhus*, that is, about Ol. CXXV; which is above CCLXX Years after *Phalaris's* Death, taking even the later Account of *St. Hierom*. A pretty Slip this of our Sophist, who, like the rest of his Profession, was more vers'd in the Books of Orators than Historians,

to



to introduce his Tyrant borrowing Money of a City, almost CCC Years before it was named or built.

THE Preliminaries about *Phalaris's* Age being agreed on between Mr. B. and me; for he consents to place him as I have done, at Olymp, LVII, 3. we are at last come to the Business it self. And what does the learned Examiner advance against our first Argument?

P. 122. *For methods sake, says he, the Doctor begins at the last Epistle. For Modesty's sake the Gentleman begins with a very worthy Cavil. As if I was not to rank my Arguments according to their force, rather than to take them as they happen to rise? But he will find by and by, that I put this Argument in the Front, because it's one of the strongest, and can never be eluded.*

P. 122. *But the Copies of Phalaris have 'Υαλαῖος, and I make use of the Examiner's Conjecture 'Υελαῖος. I conceive it's but a small fault to make use of it in a Citation, if I do not assume it to my self. But he resents, I suppose, that I did not name him, and give him the Glory of his Correction. If that be it, I can heartily excuse him: for his true Emendations being so very few, he has reason to look after them. But to speak freely, the Correction is so very easie, that the Honour of it is but moderate. For if in all the Editions of Phalaris it has been 'Υαλαῖος; the reason was, that before Mr. B. arose, no body of eminent Learning would debase himself by the Publication of those Epistles.*

P. 122. *But granting it to be 'Υελαῖος; whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be here meant, is dubious. Though*

Though all this be wide from the queſtion, for I fetch no argument from *Hybla*; yet it has a worſe Quality than that, for it is not true. I have ſent, ſays *Phalaris*, (a) over ALL SICILY to borrow Money at Intereſt; and ſome freely gave me Money, as the *Leontines* and *Geloans*; others promiſed to lend me, as the *Hyblæans* and *Phinti-ans*. Is it dubious now, whether any of the *Hybla's* of *Sicily* be meant in this place? Does he not ſay expreſſly, that he ſent to borrow in SICILY? I am ſorry, our Honourable Editor is no better verſed in his own Author: I am glad, I would ſay; for 'tis to be hoped he employs his time better.

I may now put in one word about thoſe *Ταλαῖοι*, a People that are not in *Sicily*: ſo that I was unlucky in ſaying, The Sophiſt took care to mention ſuch Towns, as he knew were in *Sicily*. Though the Examiner's Emendation *Τελαῖοι* be ſo obvious and certain; yet he is half in the mind to renounce his own Correction out of pure Contradiſtion to me. Let it then be *Ταλαῖοι*, to humour him a little. What Spoils now does the Examiner carry with him, but a manifeſt Detection, that his *Epistles* are a Cheat? For the Writer declares, that it was *Sicily*, where he borrow'd his Money: but when he comes to name thoſe that lent it, he talks of *Ταλαῖοι*, which are no where in *Sicily*. Now a Sophiſt might be guilty of this miſtake; but the true *Phalaris* could not.

At laſt the Examiner is come to the merits of the Cauſe; for he will prove there were two *Phintia's* in *Sicily*. "For the *Phintia* built "by *Phintias*, which is mention'd in (b) *Diodorus*, was a Maritime Town: but the *Phin-*  
 " *ria*

(b) *Diod.*  
p. 867.  
(c) *Ptol.*  
iii, 4.  
(d) *Plin.*  
iii, 8.

“*tia* of (c) *Ptolemee* and (d) *Pliny* was *Mediterranean*; and this latter may be the place, that is meant in the *Epistles*.

This it is to have a Reach of Thought, and a Sagacity peculiar to a great Genius. These are the very Passages, that I had cited; and yet so dull was I, that I could not discover, that the Authors spoke of different *Phintia's*. For I fancied, if *Pliny* or *Ptolemee* had meant another *Phintia* besides that of *Diodorus*; they would have given us an account of Two: for *Diodorus's* *Phintia* was too considerable to be omitted. Since therefore they mention One only; 'twas a plain Argument to me, that they knew but of one. Nay, I went further, and imagin'd I had found the true Reason, why these Authors disagreed so in the account of its Situation. For when a City is situated but a little within land, near the Mouth of a River, as *Phintia* was: 'tis no wonder that Writers differ, some calling it a Maritime Town, because it is near the Sea, and has a Harbour for Ships; others calling it an Inland Town, because it really lies within Land, and not in the Verge of the Sea-Coast. As in the very same place *Ptolemee* reckons *Agrigentum* among the Mediterranean Towns; though *Pliny*, and every body else call it a Sea-Town: for, as (e) *Polybius* says, it was seated XVIII *Stadia*, one League only, within the Mouth of the River. And the same *Ptolemee* calls *Gela* and *Camarina* Inland Towns for the very same reason: though every Novice in Geography knows they were Maritime. *Virgil* describes the Promontories and Sea-Towns of *Sicily*, that *Aeneas* saw, as he coasted it:

(e) *Polyb.*  
ix.



*Hinc altæ rupes projectæque saxa Pachyni  
Radimus : & fatis nunquam conceſſa moveri  
Apparet CAMARINA procul, campique Geloi,  
Immanisque GELA fluvii cognomine dicta :  
Arduus inde AGRAGAS oftentat maxima longe*

*Mænia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum.*

Here we ſee are three Maritime Cities, *Camarina*, *Gela* and *Agrigentum* : will our Examiner therefore double theſe, as he has done *Phintia*, becauſe *Ptolemæe* calls them Mediterranean? If he pleaſes to publiſh a new Map of *Sicily*, with theſe noble Discoveries in it, he will meet with his deſerved Applauſe.

But the Gentleman proceeds, and tells us, *Phintia in the Epistle muſt therefore be the Mediterranean Town; becauſe Hybla, which is there joyn'd with it, is Mediterranean. This, he ſays, is a way of arguing, that I my ſelf uſe in the next Section* : which I will ſhew him to be miſtaken in, when I come to that Paragraph. In the mean time why ſo poſitive, that this *Hybla* in the Epistle muſt needs be Mediterranean? Did he not newly ſay, *it is dubious whether any of the Sicilian Hybla's be there meant?* and the ſuppoſed *Hybla's* out of *Sicily* might be maritime, for ought he knows. But allow this to be a *Sicilian Hybla* : were all of that name in *Sicily* Mediterranean Towns? This he muſt affirm, or elſe his Argument is lame of one foot, which we ought not to ſuſpect in ſo great a Logician. (f) *V. Megarenſes. Hyblai, quorum urbs Megara Meditæranæa.* To be ſure then, he imagins that all the *Hybla's* of *Sicily* were Inland Cities : as it farther appears from his (f) Index to *Phalaris* ; where that *Hybla*, that was really maritime, is deſcribed to be Mediterranean : a manifeſt Error, (g) See *Cluverius's Sicil. 133.* and plainly refuted by (g) *Thucydides, Cicero, Virgil,*

*Virgil, Ovid, Mela, Pliny, and others. So very happy is our Examiner in every step he takes.*

P. 123.

But he fancies, *I may maintain, that all those Authors, Diodorus, Ptolemee, and Pliny may mean the same Phintia. (And if all his Fancies were as true as this, I would not write one word against him.) If so; why may not Diodorus be mistaken as much in the Date of this Town, as two good Witnesses prove him to be in the Situation of it?*

I have already shewn, that none of them were mistaken in the Situation of *Phintia*; for they all knew, that it was a Port-Town seated a little within Land, near the Mouth of the River *Himera*. The only difference is in the name; some calling such a Situation Maritime, others Mediterranean. But that it was really a Port Town, there are two as good Witnesses

(b) P. 21.

*Per Mari-  
tima loca,  
&c.*

(i) iii in  
Verrem.

*Coge ut ad  
aquam tibi  
frumentum  
metiantur,  
vel Phin-  
tiam, vel  
Halesiam,  
&c.*

(k) Diod.

880.

P. 137.

(l) Diod. in  
Præf.

on *Diodorus's* side; (b) *Antonine* in his *Itinerary*, and (i) *Cicero*: so that we have three Testimonies against two. But let us see what evidence may be produced from matter of Fact. *Carthalo, the Carthaginian Admiral, bearing the Roman Fleet was gone from Syracuse, came towards them with cx Sail: the Romans not daring to engage him, got into the Harbour of Phintia; whither the Carthaginians pursued them, and sunk 67 of their Ships, and disabled 13. Soon after the Roman Consul, knowing nothing of what had happen'd, comes from Messana with 36 Sail, and cast Anchor before Phintia. This Action is told at large in (k) Diodorus: and can we think all this a mere Dream of his, written when he was fast asleep, as our Examiner expresses it? He was born within 60 Miles of Phintia, and surely he that (l) travell'd through Europe and Asia*

*Aſia* to view the Places he wrote of, could ſcarce be ſo ignorant at home, as to make whole Fleets engage and be ſunk upon dry Land. But if the Examiner will ſtill remain obſtinate againſt *Diodorus* and the reſt; I have one Witneſs more in reſerve, whom I dare ſay, he'll allow to be a good one. 'Tis the Honourable *Charles Boyle* Eſquire, the learned Editor of *Phalaris*, who in his Index there has theſe very words; (n) Phintia, now called *Lycata*, a Maritime Town in the Eaſt of Sicily, not a Mediterranean as *Ptolemee* calls it. Here's an Authority beyond all Exception, not only that there was a Maritime *Phintia*, but that *Phalaris* meant it. The Gentleman perhaps may bluſh at this Paſſage: and therefore I will not bear hard upon him, but only ask him one ſhort Queſtion. *Phintia* a Maritime Town, ſays the Editor; a Mediterranean, ſays the Examiner: Now whether's harder to be proved, that the Maritime and the Mediterranean are the ſame Town, or that the Editor and the Examiner are the ſame Perſon?

(n) *Phintia*, hodie *Lycata*, urbs Maritima in Orientali Sicilia latere, non Mediterranea, ut *Ptolemæus*.

But let us obſerve the Inference he makes from this Error, as he thought it, of *Diodorus*: for here we may expect the very Quinteſſence of Logic. Why may not *Diodorus* be miſtaken as much in the Date of this Town, as he is in the Situation of it? Now the Miſtake in the Situation, even ſuppoſing it a Miſtake, might perhaps be five Mile, for that's enough to denominate it an Inland Town. But the Miſtake about the Date muſt be no leſs than cclxx years: for any thing, leſs than that, will do the *Epistles* no Service. So that here lies the true import of our Examiner's Query; If *Diodorus* might miſtake a League or two, why might he not miſtake

P. 123.



cclxx years? that is, If *Milo* the *Crotonian* could carry a Bull, why might he not carry a Brace of Elephants?

But that *Diodorus* has not mistook himself in his account of the *Date* of *Phintia*, any more than in the *Situation*, we may be as sure as any History can make us. (1) For first, he could not mistake in the Age of *Phintias* the Tyrant. He has involved him in so many Circumstances, and link'd him with so many Contemporaries; that a Man must hate his own Reputation, who will presume to say, that this *Phintias* was older than *Phalaris*. (o) He had war with *Hicetas* Tyrant of *Syracuse*; that *Hicetas*, that had another war with *Mæno* the Poisoner of *Agathocles*, and was succeeded by *Thynio*, or *Tbæno*, an Allie of King *Pyrrhus*. He is mention'd with (p) *Decius Jubbilius* the Roman Tribune, whose Age we know from *Polybius*, and *Livy*, and *Appian*. He had concerns with the (q) *Mamertines* of *Messana*, a People never heard of in *Sicily* before the Age of *Agathocles*. He razed to the very Ground the \*City of *Gela*, which a whole Cloud of Historians witness to have been standing long after *Phalaris's* Time. What Man of common Modesty or Sense will say all these Actions are confounded, and that *Phintias* lived three Centuries before? Can so excellent an Historian be suspected of such a grosse piece of Negligence? 'Tis as absurd, as to affirm, that the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Sarum*, in his Immortal *History of the Reformation*, may have mistaken the affairs of *Henry* the III. for those of *Henry* the VIII.

There's a Medal in *Goltzius* and *Paruta*, with this Inscription, BACIAEΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ: on one side it has a Dog, and on the other a Head crown'd

(o) *Diodor.*  
*lib. xxii.*

(p) *Diod.*  
*ibid. &*  
*Excerpt.*  
*Vales 265.*  
(q) *ibid.*

\* *ibid.*

crown'd with Laurel. *Goltzius* thinks it's the Head of *Gelo*: and that ΦINTIA means the City *Phintia*. And the learned *Harduin* (r) concurs (r) *Harduin Nurti- mi Anti- qui illustra- ti.* with him, that ΦINTIA relates to the City, and not to a Person. But I am entirely of *Paruta's* opinion, who interprets it of King *Phintias*. For is not βασιλέως Φιντίας in the Genitive Case, exactly like thoſe other Inſcriptions, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΤΜΟΥ; ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ? And the Inſcription is placed in the ſame manner in all of them; not where the Head is, but upon the Reverse. Beſides, the very word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ſhews, it belongs not to *Gelo*. For in his and his Brother *Hiero's* Coins, that word is not uſed: *Dionyſus*, as it ſeems, being the firſt *Sicilian*, that ſtil'd himſelf βασιλεύς in his Money. Without queſtion there- fore this *Phintias* was a long time after *Phalaris's* Age; as appears not only from the word βασιλέως, but from the Head with the Laurel. For it was not the cuſtom in *Phalaris's* time for Prin- ces to ſet their Images upon the publick Mo- ney.

(2) Neither could *Diodorus*, miſtake in the ſecond part, that this *Phintias* founded the City *Phintia*, and called it after his own Name. 'Tis ob- ſervable, that he ſays it more than (f) once: *Phintias*, ſays he, builds a City, naming it *Phintia*; and in another place, *Phintias* the Founder of *Phintia*. He is very particular in the Circumſtances of it.

(f) *Diod. p. 868.* Κη-  
ζει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν ὀνο-  
μάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα.  
and Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδης  
κτίσας.

(t) *The Mamertines*, ſays he, of *Meffana* having (t) *Diod.* ſack'd the City of *Gela*, *Phintias* King of *Agrigen*-p. 874.  
turn (u) pulls down all the Houſes and the Walls of (u) *Diod.* the place, and removes the People that were left and p. 863.

P. 133.

*builds a City for them* (within the Territory of *Agrigentum*) *with good Fortifications, and a fine Market-place and Temples.* Will our Examiner say, that all these Buildings were Castles in the Air? No, but perhaps there might be a City there call'd *Phintia* before, and *Phintias* might only repair it. No doubt on't: he was at all that trouble and Expence purely for the sake of a *refreshing Quibble.* The Town was a Name-fake of his, and therefore he would rebuild it. By the same Argument, there was an *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and a *Rome* before *Romulus.* But no body heard, you'll say, of these Names before the Times of those Founders. No matter for that. whoever heard of *Phintia* before *Phintias's* time? Yet our Examiner can give you a view of it in the Region of Possibilities.

Ep 148.

Give me leave to add one short remark about the Building of *Phintia.* *Diodorus* has pass'd his word, that the City of *Gela* was quite razed and dispeopled, before *Phintia* was built: and that the Residue of the *Geloans* were transplanted to this new *Phintia*, and from that time were called *Phintiensēs.* But the pretended Author of the Epistles mentions the *Geloans* and *Phintiensēs* as different people; as if *Gela* and *Phintia* were both standing at once. *The Leontines,* says he, *and Geloans gave me Money; the Hyblenses and Phintiensēs promised to lend.* So that here we have a double Discovery, that the Epistles are spurious: first because they talk of the *Phintians*, a Name not heard of in *Phalaris's* Time; and then because they make them quite different from the *Geloans*: though they were both the same people, the new City arising out of the Reliques of the old.

Mr.



Mr. Boyle is pleaſed to end this Paragraph with a little innocent Mirth. *Unless*, ſays he, P. 123. *this Phintia be ſuch another place as Agrigent, a Sea-Port Town in the middle of Sicily.* Thoſe words of mine that he refers to are, *The Letters* Diff p. 50. *are dated in the middle of Sicily*: where there is not one Syllable about *Agrigentum*; but he adds that of his own, to make way for his Jeſt. But pray, Sir, where had you the Secret, that all *Phalaris's Letters* were dated at *Agrigentum*? Does not *Suidas* ſay, (x) he was Maſter of all *Sicily*? Do (x) *Suid. v.* not the Letters pretend, that he conquer'd the *Φαλ.* *Leontines*, the *Tauromenites*, the *Zanclæans*? Did he not vanquiſh (y) the *Sicani*, the Inhabi- (y) *Polyg.* tants of the Mid-land Country? And could he *nos, v. 1.* not write a Letter in any of theſe Expeditions, as well as at home? Or were Ink and Paper ſuch heavy Baggage, that they could not be carried after him? By the Subject of ſeveral of the Letters one would gueſs, they were dated (z) (z) *Diod.* from the Caſtle where his Bull was kept; which 741. was XVIII Miles from *Agrigentum*. But for the moſt part they are ſuch common-place ſtuff, without any note of Place or Time, that one cannot tell where nor when they were written. And the Reader may obſerve this, as another mark of their Spuriouſneſs. But what then, if I had meant *Agrigentum*; when I ſaid, *The Letters are dated in the middle of Sicily*? Is not *Agrigentum* in the very middle of the Iſland, between the Eaſt and Weſt Points of it, *Pachynus* and *Lilybaum*? And I conceive, there's a Middle of a Line, as well as of a Surface. And how if *Agrigentum* be a Mediterranean Town, what will then become of your Jeſt? I have two very good Authors to bear it out: *Ptolemy* in

\* Agrigen-  
tum urbs  
Mediterra-  
nea.  
p. 119.

his Tables that reckons it among the *μεσόγετοι*,  
*Mid-land Cities*; and Mr. Boyle in his Index  
to *Phalaris*; \* *Agrigent*, says he, a *Mediterranean*  
*City*. If Mr. Boyle be so quarrelsome, that he  
cannot agree with himself, how is it possible for o-  
ther people to agree with him?

If the Reader now pleases to review, what the  
Examiner has said upon this first Argument; he  
will joyn with me in this Character of it, That all  
the Authorities he has brought, were already in  
my Dissertation; and that all his Inferences  
are false, and may have the honour to be his  
own.

## II.

IN the XCII Epistle, he threatens *Stesichorus* the Poet, for raising Money  
and Soldiers against him at *Aluntium* and  
*Alæsa*, καὶ εἰς Ἀλέωντον καὶ εἰς Ἀλαίαν: and  
that perhaps he might be snapt, before he  
got home again from *Alæsa* to *Himera*, ἐξ  
Ἀλαίης εἰς Ἱμέραν. What a pity 'tis a-  
gain, that the Sophist had not read *Dio-  
dorus*? for he would have told him, that  
this *Alæsa* was not in being in *Phalaris*'s  
days. It was first built by *Archonides*, a  
*Sicilian*, Olymp. XCIV, 2. or, as others  
say, by the *Carthaginians*, about Two  
Years before. So that here are above  
CXL Years slipt, since the latest period  
of *Phalaris*. And we must add above a  
dozen more to the reckoning, upon the  
Sophist's

Diod. p.  
246.

p. 247.

Sophist's own Score : For this Letter is supposed to bear date, before *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris* were made Friends; which was a dozen Years, as he tell's his Tale, *Epist.* 103 before *Stesichorus* died; and *Phalaris* he makes to survive him. I am aware, that the same Author says, that there were *Diod. ibid.* other Cities in *Sicily*, called *Alæsa* : But it is evident from the situation, that this *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is meant in the Epistles ; for this lies on the same Coast with *Himera* and *Aluntium*, (to which two the Sophist here joyns it,) and is at a small distance from them. And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist, the rest being ruin'd and forgotten long before.

**I**F our Examiner's Performance in the last Section was very poor and jejune ; we may expect an amends in this. For to encourage himself with a small Victory, he begins his Attack upon a fault of the Press ; cxx for cxl ; though it was nothing to his Subject, even allowing it to be my own mistake. And being flush'd with this little advantage over the Printer, he then proceeds with his victorious Forces against the Argument it self. But we shall see by the Event, that not the Author of the Epistles only, but one of his Editors too may be guilty of Sophistry.

*The Doctor*, says he, finds *Stesichorus* in danger of being snapt in his intended Journey from *Alæsa* *P. 123.*



Ep 92.

Ep. 103.

to Himera. Now, with the Examiner's leave, the Doctor was more inclined to think it a *Voyage* than a *Journey*; for both *Himera*, where *Stesichorus* liv'd, and *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*, whither he went, are maritime Towns. And the very words of *Phalaris* confirm'd the Doctor in this opinion; for he makes this Sarcastm upon *Stesichorus*: I hear, says he, you are writing *Nôsus*, the Return of the Greeks from Troy: but you take no thought for your own Return from *Alæsa* to *Himera*. But it shall be hard for you to escape my hands; and that shall be as bad to you, as the Capharean Rocks, and Charybdis were to them. There's a greater Propriety in this comparison, if *Stesichorus* was to come home by Sea; than if he was to come by Land. And 'twas at Sea, as it's pretended, that he was snapt at last; as he was sailing from *Pachynus* to *Peleponnesus*.

I observed, that because there had been several *Alæsa's* in *Sicily*, this Argument would be of no force, unless we could know which of them was meant in the Epistles. And that I thought, might be determined from the very Circumstances of the Action. *Stesichorus* is supposed to sail from *Himera* to *Alæsa* and *Aluntium*. Now the *Alæsa* of *Archonides* being a Sea-port Town, and lying exactly in the way between *Himera* and *Aluntium*; there was no question, as I thought, but this was the place, mention'd in the Epistles. Especially since there is good reason to suppose, that the other *Alæsa's* (if there were any other) were Mediterranean Towns. For if they had been Port Towns, and more ancient than the Age of *Phalaris*; 'tis almost impossible, but that in the *Punick*, or *Athenian*, or *Roman*, or Civil Wars, in *Sicily*, there must

must have been some Naval Action there ; and then the Historians could never have been so ignorant of them, as it appears they all were.

But Mr. B. desires to borrow this Argument for a Moment, and he will prove just the contrary to what I have proved, that this Alæsa is not upon the same Coast with Aluntium. I perceive 'tis dangerous lending this Gentleman any thing. He borrow'd the MS *Pbalaris*, and now he borrows an Argument : but he makes a wrong use of both of them ; and then calumniates him that lent them. First he quite mistakes the Form of the Argument ; and supposes that to be the Conclusion, which is the Minor Proposition. For I do not prove by this way of Argument, That Alæsa is upon the same Coast with Aluntium. That I suppose and premise as known, from Antoninus's Itinerary, Diodorus, and Strabo ; who all describe it in that Situation. Methinks a Man, that had a System of Logic made and printed for his own use, might have been able to reduce an Argument into the Form of a Syllogism. My Argument lies thus :

*Alæsa*, *Himera*, and *Aluntium* are mention'd together in the Epistle, as Sea-Towns and near one another.

But *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is a Sea-Town in the Neighbourhood of *Himera* and *Aluntium*.

Therefore *Alæsa* of *Archonides* is the *Alæsa* mention'd in the Epistle.

But let us see what Exploits he will do, if I lend him the Argument. " Tully says, *Halesini*, " *Catinenses*, *Panormitani*, &c. and again, *Halesini*, *Catinenses*, *Tyndaritani*, &c. 'Tis evident therefore, that *Alæsa* is upon the same Coast with *Catana* ; that is, upon the Coast

P. 124.

P. 124.

Cic. II. in Verrem.

" di-

“ directly opposite to *Aluntium*. This he nicknames *my way of Argument* : though it be just as much like it, as *Planudes's* Picture of *Æsop* is like the Original. When either the design of the Writer, or the Circumstances of the thing it self, plainly intimate, that the places mention'd together are near one another, we may infer that they are so: as first, I know from the design of the Writers (because *Strabo* and *Antoninus* mention the Towns in order) that *Alasa* of *Archonides* is in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*: and again, I know, that *Alasa* in the Epistle is supposed in the Neighbourhood of *Himera*, from the Circumstances of the Action. But what is there like these in the passage of *Cicero*? All *Sicily* had been pillaged by *Verres*; and there were People from all the Towns to inform against him at *Rome*: Now *Cicero* was not obliged, like a Geographer, to mention each of them according to their Situation; but rather according to the Quality and Wealth of the People.

But who is this, that makes all this Controversie about *Alasa* in the Epistle? Is this the same Mr. *Boyle*, that was the Editor of these Epistles? so he gives himself out to be: and yet that Editor has described this *Alasa* in the E-

pistle, to be the very same that I say it is. For he says (a) *Alasa* is a Sea-port Town on the West side of the Island, *Cic. in Verrem* 3. Now this Situation agrees with no other, than the *Alasa* of *Archonides*:

and we are sure *Cicero* meant that very Town, from those words of *Diodorus*;

(a) Inde x. Phal. *Alasa*.  
*Cic. in Ver. 3. Maritima est in occidentaliore insula latere. And again, Aluntium, non procul ab Alasa.*

(b) Διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δοθεῖσαν ἀτέλειαν.  
*Diod. p. 246.*

(b) That the Romans gave to *Alasa* of *Archonides* an Immunity from



from paying Taxes, compared with these of Cicero, (c) Centuripa and Alæsa, free Cities, and exempt from paying Taxes. What shall we say to such an Examiner? He

(c) *Immunes civitates ac libera Centuripina, Halesina, &c. III. in Verrem.*

could speak the Truth freely, as long as Truth was not against him. But when he sees these things turn'd upon him, to expose his admired Author, and pull down the Honour of his Edition; then he reverses his own Judgments, and what was white before, must now be black. But perhaps some white may turn red, when the Examiner pleases to reflect upon these Self-Contradictions.

To shew his Talent once more at misrepresenting; he repeats another Argument of mine thus: *Alæsa of Archonides must be meant in the Epistles, because there was no other Town of that Name in the days of the Sophist.* Now in those words of mine that he refers to, there is nothing like *because*; neither are they brought there as an Argument to prove, what he says they are. After I had fully proved, that the Writer of the Epistles meant *Archonides's Alæsa*; I concluded with this, *And indeed there was no other Town of that name in the days of the Sophist.* Which I did not design for a separate Argument; for that would plainly suppose the thing in Question, That the Epistles were writ by a Sophist. But I added them only as an account *à priori*, How it came about that the Sophist should mention that *Alæsa*. And the Account I take to be good and rational, that no other *Alæsa* was heard of in the days of the Sophist.

P. 114.

The



- The very design then of this Period is misrepresented by the Examiner ; but he is mistaken too incidentally, as he dresses up his Inference. *We find*, says he, *in these Epistles the names of Astypalæa, Himera, Zancle, Towns out of date long before the days of the Sophist.* If
- P. 125. *(d) Phal.* Mr. B. means *Astypalæa (d)*, a City of Crete, *Edit. Oxon.* where he fancies *Phalaris* was born, I can readily agree with him, that that Town was quite out of date, both before and after the days of the Sophist, till *Phalaris's* Editors first found it out.
- P. 125. *But Mr. B. forgets*, that he is disputing with a strange sort of People, who won't allow, that *Astypalæa* in the Epistles is a Town of Crete, but a City and Island in the *Ægean* Sea ; which City, they believe, was not out of date in the days of the Sophist. For it was (e) standing in *Tiberius's* and (f) *Titus's* Time ; and for ought Mr. B. or I know, many Centuries after. But grant it only as low as *Titus* : I believe the Author of *Phalaris's* Epistles might live before that time ; for I find the forged Letters of *Euripides* were extant in *Tiberius's* days. And I can allow the same Antiquity to the counterfeit *Phalaris*. 'Tis a Query therefore, whether I do not think him older, than the Examiner himself does ?
- (e) *Strabo*,  
p. 488.  
(f) *Plin.*  
iv, 23.

I would sum up the Particulars of this second Head, if the Examiner's Performance could bear recapitulating. But it's too thin and tender to endure handling again. I refer it all to the Readers, and let it stand or fall by the Judgment of that Jury.

THE

## III.

THE LXX Epistle gives an account of several rich Presents to *Polyclitus* the *Messenian* Physician, for doing a great cure upon *Phalaris*. Among the rest, he names ποτηρίων Θερικλείων ζεύγη δέκα, *ten couple of Thericlean cups*. But there is another thing, besides a pretty Invention, very useful to a Lyar; and that is, a good Memory. For we will suppose our Author to have once known something of these Cups, the time and the reason they were first called so; but he had unhappily forgot it, when he writ this Epistle. They were large Drinking-Cups, of a peculiar shape, so called from the first Contriver of them, one *Thericles* a *Corinthian* Potter.

\* *Pliny*, by mistaking his Author *Theo-* \* *Lib. xvi.*  
*phrastus*, makes him a *Turner*. The *cap. 40.*  
 words of *Theophrastus* are these, † Τορνέ- *Celebratur*  
 ον δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς (τερμίνου) κιλίας Θερικ- *& Theri-*  
 κλείας, ὥς μὴδ' ἂν ἓνα διαγνώσκει πρὸς τὰς *cles nomine,*  
*calices ex*  
*serobintho*  
*solutus fa-*  
*cere torno.*  
*† Hi. Plant.*  
*l. v. cap. 4.*  
*That the Turners make Theri-*  
*clean Cups of the Turpentine tree, which*  
*cannot be distinguished from those made by*  
*the Potters.* Here can nothing be ga-  
 thered hence, to make *Thericles* himself a  
 Turner; for after He had first invented  
 them, they were called *Thericlean*, from  
 their



their shape, whatsoever Artificer made them, and whether of Earth, or of Wood, or of Metal. But as I said, by the general consent of Writers, we must call him a Potter. *Hesychius*, Θερικλῆς κεραμέως. \* *Lucian*. Καὶ γηγενὴ πολλὰ, οἷα Θερικλῆς ὥπιστα. *Etymologicon M.* Θερικλείου κύλικα, ἣν λέγουσι, πρῶτ' κεραμεὺς Θερικλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐθύλας; ὃ δ' ἔμελλε Κωμῳδίας ποιητής. The words of *Eubulus*, whom he cites, are extant in *Athenæus*.

\* In *Lexi-  
phane*, p.  
960.

*Lib. xi. p.*  
471.

Καταρώτερον γὰρ τὸ κεραμεὺς ἐργαζόμενον;  
Ἡ Θερικλῆς τὰς κύλικας, ἥνι' ἦν νέος.

And again;

Ὡ γὰρ κεραμεὺς, ἥσε Θερικλῆς ποτε  
Ἐπευξε, κοίλης λαγόνος εὐρύνας βάθος.

Now the next thing to be enquired, is the Age of this *Thericles*; and we learn that from *Athenæus*; one Witness indeed, but as good as a multitude, in a matter of this nature. *This Cup*, says he, *was invented by Thericles the Corinthian Potter, who was Contemporary with Aristophanes the Comedian*. And in all probability, he had this indication from some Fable of that Poet's now lost; where that *Corinthian* was mention'd, as one then alive. But all the Plays that we have left of his, are known

*Pag. 470.* Κατασκευά-  
σαι λέγεται τὴν κύλικα τὴν  
τὴν Θερικλῆς ὁ Κορίνθιος  
κεραμεὺς, γηγενὴς τῆς  
χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ Κωμικῶν Α-  
εισοφάνῃ.

known to have been written and acted between the LXXXIIX and XCVII Olympiads, which is an interval of XXXVI years. Take now the very first year of that number; and *Thericles*, with the Cups that had their appellation from him, come above CXX years after *Phalaris's* death.

But I must remove one Objection that may be made against the force of this Argument: for some ancient Grammarians give a quite different account, why such Cups were called *Thericlean*. Some derive the word Θηρίκλεια, ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, from the *Skins of Beasts that were figured upon them*: and *Pamphilus the Alexandrian* would have them called so, ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων κλονεῖν, because *Beasts were scared and frightened, when, in Sacrifices, Wine was poured upon them out of those Cups*. So I interpret the words of *Pamphilus*; ὑπὸ τῆς τῷ Διόνυσῳ τῆς θηρίας κλονεῖν, σπένδοντα ταῖς κύλινξι ταύταις κατ' αὐτῶν. For what is more ordinary in old Authors, than the memory of that custom of pouring wine on the heads of Victims?

*Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido*

*Candentis vaccæ media inter cornua fudit:*

Nor are wild Beasts only called θηρές, but tame too, such as Bulls and Cows;

as the Epigrammatist calls the *Minotaure*,  
 ἀνδρωπον μινωταύρα. I cannot therefore  
 comprehend why the most learned *Is. Cas-*  
*saubon* would read σπεύδοντα in this passage,  
 and not σπένδοντα. For I own, I see lit-  
 tle or no sense in it, according to his Le-  
 ction. And as for the Authority of the  
 ancient Epitomizer of *Athenæus*, who,  
 he says, reads it σπεύδοντα; one may be  
 certain, 'twas a literal fault in that Copy  
 of him that *Cassaubon* used. For *Eustathi-*  
*us*, who appears never to have seen the  
 true *Athenæus*, but only that Epitome,  
 reads it in his Book σπένδοντα, and took  
 it in the same sense that I now interpret  
 it, Η δὲ πὶ θήρας κλονεῖ, σπένδοι γὰρ κατ'  
 αὐτῆς κύλιξι τιεύεται.

P. 1209.  
*Iliad.*

And now for these two derivations of  
 the word Θηρίκλειον; was ever any thing  
 so forced, so frigid, so unworthy of refu-  
 tation? Does not common Analogy plain-  
 ly shew, that as from Ηοράκλῆς comes Ηορά-  
 κλειον, from Σοροκλῆς, Σορόκλειον, and ma-  
 ny such like; so Θηρίκλειον must be from  
 Θηρικλῆς? besides so many express Autho-  
 rities for it, which I have cited before. To  
 which I may add that of *Julius Pollux*,  
 Θηρίκλειον ἢ Κανδασεν ἀπὸ τῆς ποιμαίνων:  
 and *Plutarch* in *P. Æmilii*, "Οἷτε τὰς  
 Ἀντηρονίδας, ἢ Σελευκίδας, ἢ Θηρικλείας  
 ἐπιδεκενύμενοι. and *Clemens Alexand.*  
 Ἐρρέεταν

Lib. vi. c.  
 16.

P. 273.



Ἐρρέτων τούτων Θερίκλειοί τινες κύλικες, καὶ Ἀντιγονίδης, καὶ Κάινδαρος. For one may justly infer, that both *Plutarch* and *Clemens* believed Θερίκλειοι to be from Θερίκλῆς; because they joyn them with those other Cups, all which had their names from Men, that either invented or used them. And so says a Manuscript note upon that passage of *Clemens*; Θερίκλειοι ἀπὸ Θερίκλῆς τῷ ἐφευρέντῳ. So that upon the whole, let *Pamphilus* and those other Grammarians help him as they can, our Sophist stands fully convicted, upon this Indictment, of Forgery and Imposture.

**T**HE Examiner has been frugal and sparing of his Learning upon the former Topics, that he might lay it out more profusely upon this Third; at the same time that his Friend *Phalaris* was exercising his Liberality upon his Physician *Polyclitus*.

And first he endeavours to cut the Knot, that he may save the hard labour of loosing it. The Text of *Phalaris*, as it stands now, is, Καὶ ποτμείων Θερικλείων ζεύγη δέκα. What, says he, if it was heretofore, Ποτμείων δ' Ἡρακλείων, *Heracleian* or *Herculean* Cups instead of *Thericlean*? 'Tis a very inconsiderable alteration, and yet it salves all. I agree with Mr. B. that this alteration of his is every way very inconsiderable. I won't contend with him about the unreasonable Licence he takes in changing a plain Reading against the Authority of three MSS, and the whole Set of Editions,

I

purely

purely to serve a turn. Another man perhaps would have disputed it, but I am willing to encourage Criticism in every well-wisher. The only Exception that I'll now make against his Emendation, is this, That there never was any sort or fashion of Cups, that were called *Herculean*.

'Tis true, *Athenæus* in his Catalogue of Cups reckons the *Herculean*, *Ἡρακλειον*; but he meant not, that it was a Species of Cups of such a shape, so denominated from *Hercules*; but it was one single Cup, that *Hercules* made use of on a particular occasion.

(a) *Athen.* (a) He tells us from *Pisander*,  
p. 469. *Panyasis*, and *Phercydes*, that when *Hercules* design'd to go to *Erythea*, an Isle in the Western Ocean; he forced the Sun to lend him his Cup, that he uses to sail in from West to East every night; and in that Cup he pass'd over to *Erythea*.

And he proves further out of *Stesichorus*, *Antimachus*, and *Æschylus*; that there was such a fabulous Tradition, about the Sun's sailing over the Ocean every night in a (b) Cup.

(b) *Θιάλη, Ἡπας.*

(c) *Apol. lib. ii p. 115.*

*Apollodorus* tells the same Story (c), that the Sun lent *Hercules* his Golden Cup to sail in. *Antiqua historia est*, says *Macrobius*, *Herculem poculo, tanquam navigio, vectum immensa maria transisse.*

The vulgar Editions read it *ventis* instead of

(d) *Macrob. Saturn. v. 21.*

*vectum* (d). 'Tis an old Story, that *Hercules* pass'd over the Sea in a Cup, as if it had been a Ship. And he names his Authors, the same that *Athenæus* quotes, *Panyasis* and *Phercydes*.

(e) *Euvh. χρυσον.*

But *Athenæus* adds, that according to *Mimnermus* 'tis a (e) Golden Bed, and not a Cup, that the Sun uses to sail in; nay, that if we believe the Author of *Titanomachia*, and one *Theoclytus*,

(f) *Λέξικ.*

(g) *Eustach. ad Dionys.*

'tis (f) a Cauldron. And thence it is, that (g) *Alexander Ephesus* says, *Hercules* sail'd to *Erythea* in a Brazen Cauldron.

*Χαλκ.*

Χαλκείῳ ᾧ λέειν μίαν διενύξατο πίνον.

And so say (b) *Servius* and (i) *Albricus* : but (k) (b) *Servi-  
Euphorion* denies this, and calls it a brazen ship, *us ad Æn.*

Χαλκείῳ ἀγάλῳ βεπληθείῳ ᾧ Εὐρυδείης.

If ἀγάλῳ in this place do not signifie a Cup *(i) Albr.*  
in the fashion of a Ship. Now upon the whole, *xxii.* (k) *Athen.*  
I conceive 'tis most evident, that the *Herculean* *fragm. Cæ-*  
was one single particular Cup, used once only by *saub. p. 782.*

*Hercules* upon extraordinary service : not imita-  
ted and multiplied into a sort or fashion, so as xx  
pair of such Cups might be presented by *Phala-*  
*ria*. 'Twas so far from being a vulgar Cup  
for domestick uses ; that as we have seen above,  
'tis not known among Writers, what shape or  
fashion it was of, nor indeed whether it was a  
Cup or no. This Explication of *Athenæus* will  
perhaps seem new to our Examiner ; but he'll  
be satisfied 'tis the true one, if he pleases to take  
that Author, whom he has abused and reviled  
so much, once more into his hand. Or if Au-  
thority goes further with him than bare Reason ;  
I have *Eustathius* to vouch for it ; who, after  
he has set down this very passage of *Athenæus*,  
I mean out of his Epitome, concludes thus ;

(m) So that the *Herculean Cup* is that, which is  
called also the *Sun's Cup*.

(m) *Eust.*  
*ad Odyss.*  
359. Διδ.

In the same manner *Athenæus* puts *Nestor's*,  
the *Nestorean* in his Catalogue of Cups ; not  
that there were a sort of Cups of that name and  
fashion ; but it was a particular Cup of *Nestor's*  
described by *Homer* (n).

ἡ *Ἡρακλέους*  
καλεῖται δὲ  
πρὸς λέγε-  
ται, τὸ ἡ  
Ἡλίου.

Πὰρ ᾧ λέγεται πρὸς Ἡλίου, ὃ οἰκοῦν ἦν ὁ γεραιὸς

(n) *Il. A. v.*  
631.

Χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεποιημένον, &c.

There were many Disputes among the old Gram-  
marians about the shape of this Cup, which  
they gather'd from *Homer's* account of it ; and



(o) *Athen.*  
469.

many Treatises were written upon the Subject: which is a sure Indication, that it was not in common use. (o) *Dionysius Thrax*, a Grammarian of great Note, to shew his Scholars the figure of it, by a more sensible way, than a verbal Description, got a Work-man to make one in Silver according to his Directions, the Metal being provided at the Charge of his Scholars. This, I presume, will convince the Examiner, that no such Cups, called *Nestorean*, were then in fashion. And in truth the *Ἡρακλειον* and the *Nestoeis* were words never heard of, but out of the mouths of Grammarians. *Athenæus* therefore has not brought one single Author, that used either of those names; nor has *Pollux* made any mention of them in his Chapters of *Cups*.

P 146. Ed.  
II.

(p) *Cic. iv.*  
*in Verrem.*

P 147.

But, Mr. B. will say, are not *Heracleian Cups* mention'd in Cicero, among the wealth of Verres, which he had amass'd together out of Sicily, the very place where the Scene of these Letters lay? His words are, (p) *Pocula duo quædam, quæ Heraclea nominantur*. This Passage our Examiner met with in *Salmasius's* Notes upon *Solinus*; and perceiving that that great Man did not approve this vulgar Lession, he thus animadverts upon him: *Salmasius*, says he, *will not allow the present Reading of Heraclea; but, like a true Critic, without any Authority, substitutes Thericlea in the room of it*. He shews, what Class of Critics himself is in, by this little insult upon a true one. But by what Authority does our Examiner affirm, that *Salmasius* did it *without any Authority*? If he had but cast his Eyes upon the most common Editions of *Cicero*, he would have seen there, that two MS Copies have it *Theridia*, and another *Θηριδία*; which a Man of the smallest Acquaintance

quaintance with Books will easily know to be for *Thericia*; *d* being put for *cl* in infinite places. And before *Salmasius* was born, this same Correction was started by *Gul. Canterus* (q); who says, some Persons affirm'd that the MSS have it expressly *Thericlea*. Here, I suppose, is sufficient Authority for substituting this Reading. But the best Authority is what I have newly laid before him, that there were no such Cups call'd *Heracleon*. And if *Cicero* had meant such, he would have call'd them not *Heracleon*, but *Herculean*.

But *Athenæus* talks of a (r) *κεῖνος* *Ἡρακλεωπός*, which the Examiner would interpret, an *Heracleon* or *Herculean Bowl*. This Objection therefore must be removed; and it will be done very easily. Some, (f) says *Athenæus*, call this Bowl *Heracleotick*, from *Hercules*, who first used this sort in his Expeditions. His way is, to set down the several Opinions, though they be false and absurd; as the ridiculous Derivation of *Thericlean* Cups from *Θηρίων*, or *Θηρὸς κλονεῖν*; which we have spoken of above. And thus he has imparted to us that Etymology of *Heracleotic*, though it be against all Rules of Analogy. But he has sufficiently intimated his own Opinion, that they are called so from *Heraclea*, the Town of their Manufacture; and for the same reason they are called also *Bæotic*; because this *Heraclea* was in or near *Bæotia*. 'Tis true, these Cups had the *Herculean Knot* wrought upon the Ears of them; yet that did not give them their name: but it was put there, because *Heraclea*, the Town where the Cups were made, had its Original and Name from *Hercules*. For this was (t) *Heraclea Trachin*, situate near the foot

(q) *Canterus* nov. lect. v. 28. Nam in scriptis quidem Libris *Thericlea* se reperisse sunt qui asserunt.

(r) *Athen.* apud *Cassaub.* 782. P. 146.

(f) P. 500.

*Ἡρακλει-  
ος δισμός.*

(t) See *Athen.* p. 500. & 461.

of Oeta, where *Hercules* was burnt. These Bowls therefore were called *Heracleotic* from the place of their Manufacture; as others upon the same account were called *Rhodian*, *Syracusan*, *Chalcidic*, *Λυκουργεῖς*. So there were *Heracleotic Nuts*, *Heracleotic Crabfish*, so called from another *Heraclea*, a City of *Pontus*.

Our Examiner being thus baffled in his alteration of *Phalaris's* Text; he now resolves to turn about, and try to maintain it as it now stands. *Athenæus* affirms, that *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes's* time: and he, said I, in a case of History and Philology, is a Witness as good as a multitude. The Examiner endeavours to ridicule the very Expression, as far as his puerile jests can help him out. But methinks he might have remember'd his *u* *Homæ*:

(u) *Iliad.*

Λ.

(x) *Anthol.*

iii.

Ἰντεῖς ὡς ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξει & ἄλλων.

Or that Epigram upon (x) *Heracitus*:

Εἰς ἐμοὶ ἄνδρ' ὅσον τεισμένειοι—

One man to me is as good as 30000. Or the

(y) *Cic. in Bruto.*

saying of *Antimachus*, (y) *Plato mihi unus est instar multorum millium*. But for fear he should fall foul upon these Authors; as he has upon

(z) *P. 26, 28, &c.*

*Manilius* and *Laertius* and others (z), because he thought I had an esteem for them, I'll give him his own Favourite Author *Phalaris*, who

*P. 32.*

(a) *Ep. 93.*

Εἰς ἀνδρ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ-  
τ' ὅσον ἀν-  
τις ὅτι Σι-  
κελίας μί-  
σην.

thus complements one *Epicharmus*, (a) *One such man as you is as much to me, as all Sicily is*.

The two next Pages are spent in a tedious insipid Declamation (they are his own words to a better Writer, *Dion Chrysostom*) about *Athenæus's* not citing his Authors to shew the Age of *Thericles*. The short of his Speech is this, That he won't take *Athenæus's* word for a single Farthing, unless he get somebody to be bound for him.



him. But there is one stroke in it, of a more subtle Turn than the rest, that shews the wonderfull Sagacity of our Examiner. *Athenæus* had made this *Thericles* Contemporary with *Aristophanes* the Poet. This, says the Examiner, he had no down-right Witness of: but only he had never read, or did not then call to mind any older Author that spoke of him. *For observable it is* (yes, I pray you Sirs, observe it) *that among the several Quotations, in which he abounds on this head, there is none that runs higher, than the Age of that Poet.* Now certainly there was never such a sharp-sighted Observator, since the famous *Lyneus* saw through a Mill-stone. *Athenæus*, when he enters upon this head, expressly declares, that this *Thericles* lived in *Aristophanes*'s time: and yet *observable it is*, that he quotes no body, that mentions him before *Aristophanes*'s time. Now in my opinion it had been much more *observable*, if he had produced any Testimony before the time of *Aristophanes*. For that would have been as flat a Contradiction to what he had newly deliver'd, as our Examiner's Contradictions are, to what the Editor of *Phalaris* says.

But since *Athenæus* has so little credit with Mr. B. that he won't believe a word he says, without a Voucher: I'll endeavour to produce a Witness for him, *Eubulus* the Comic Poet.

(a) Διένιχα δ' ἔδεν σκαῦθ' ἔδει πώποτε.

Καθαρώτερον γὰρ ἢ χέρον εἰς χαλκῶν,

\* Ἡ Θεικλῆς τὰς κύλικας, ἡνίκ' ἦν νέος.

(a) *Athen.*  
471.

*I made*, says he, *the Earthen Ware purer, than Thericles did his Cups, when he was young.* Those that know Style and Language, will agree with me, that the last words, ἡνίκ' ἦν νέος, must be referr'd to *Thericles*; and not be render'd in the

first Person, as the Latin Translator has mistaken them. And I take them to be an intimation, that *Thericles* was alive, when this Play was acted; and that he was old then and past his Work. This I dare say is the best and neatest Explication, that can be put upon the words, and therefore I believe it the truest. For if *Thericles* had been long dead before the Age of *Eubulus*, (so long, as to be older than *Phalaris*) the Poet would not have added those words, *when he was young*. For how could he know then, that *Thericles* lived so long, that he left off his Trade, or at least did not work at it with his own hands, as the words imply? *Thericles* therefore by this account, was an old Man in the time of *Eubulus*, and flourished,  $\chi\tau\iota \dot{\alpha}$  *Aισοφάνη*, in *Aristophanes's* days. And this is remarkably confirmed by the Testimony of Chronology. For *Eubulus* lived (b) Olymp. ci, in the middle Interval, between the old and the new Comedy: and *Plutus*, the last of *Aristophanes's* Plays, was acted (c) Olymp. xcvi, 4; which is about x years before. So that the same man might be in his Prime in *Aristophanes's* time, and decrepit in *Eubulus's*.

The Examiner has been so perpetually mistaken, since his very first setting out, that I could wish for a little Variety, he would be once in the right. But I find he won't oblige me yet; for he falls into a new Error in the very next Paragraph.

*Athenæus's* words are, (d) One *Thericles*, who lived about the time of *Aristophanes*, is said (or is reported) to have made this sort of Cup. 'Tis the Examiner's own Translation; and he makes this

(b) *Suid. v.*  
*Ευβουλ. Θ.*

(c) *Schol.*  
*vet. ad*  
*Plutum.*

(d) *Athen 470.* Κα-  
τασκευάσαι ὃ λέγεται τὴν  
κύλινδρον ταύτην Θουκυλῆς,  
γεγονώς τοῖς χρόνοις  $\chi\tau\iota$   
 $\dot{\alpha}$  *Aισοφάνη*.

this observation upon the place ; *That the Au- P. 150.*  
*thor says, λέγεται, is said, is reported ; which is*  
*an expression of distrust, and that he was not satis-*  
*fied of the truth of the report.* Now to what  
 purpose our Examiner remarked this, it's hard  
 to understand. For that *Thericles* lived in *Ari-*  
*stophanes's* time , *Athenæus* speaks positively ;  
 witness Mr. B's own Version of his words. And  
 this is all we depended on *Athenæus's* Credit  
 for ; for as to the other point, that *Thericles*  
 invented the Cups, we have ten witnesses at  
 least, besides *Athenæus*. What service then can  
 he do his cause from this λέγεται, though it re-  
 ally signified such a distrust ? But this fancied  
*distrust* is another Error , of near affinity to  
 the former. For λέγεται is so far from being a  
 token of want of Evidence, that it is principally  
 used upon the contrary account, when the gene-  
 rality of Writers are agreed. When a single  
 witness says a-thing, he is commonly menti-  
 on'd by name ; but when the Evidence is nume-  
 rous, and cannot all be brought in, then they  
 say, λέγεται or φασί. Even this passage under  
 debate might have given the hint to the Exami-  
 ner : for after our Author had said λέγεται, he  
 brings three witnesses to that very point. But  
 I'll give him an instance of another Writer.

(d) λέγεται, 'Tis said, says *Laer-*  
*tius, that as Pythagoras chanced*  
*to shew his Thigh naked, it ap-*  
*peared to be Gold.* The reason  
 why he says λέγεται here, when  
 in other places he names his Author , is not  
 the want of witnesses, but the abundance of  
 them ; so that 'twas needless to name particu-  
 lars. And that this is true, it manifestly appears

(d) *Laert. in Pythag.*  
 λέγεται ὅτι αὐτῷ ποτε πρὸς  
 ἐργασίᾳ στήντο ἡ μὴ  
 εἶναι ὁφειλῆαι χρυσῶν.

from



f. Laert.  
ibid.

from the many Writers yet extant that affirm the same story, *Apollonius, Plutarch, Lucian, Ælian, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Ammianus, &c.* Again says *Laertius*; λέγεται, (f) Pythagoras is said to have advised his Scholars to say this Verse every day, when they came home,

Πῦπυρῶν, τίδ' ἔρεξα, τί με δέον ἐκ ἐτελέειν.

Now the Authors, that say the same thing, the Writer of the *Golden Verses, Cicero, Porphyry, St. Hierom*, are a full proof that this λέγεται does not here import a defect of proof; but rather a superfluity of it.

P. 151.

I had said, *Common Analogy plainly shews, that as from Ηεκαλῆς comes ΗεκαλειΘ, from Σοφοκλῆς, ΣοφοκλειΘ, and many such like; so Θνεικλῆς must be from Θνεικλῆς.* The Examiner acknowledges the Derivation is true; but the Argument, he says, is stark naught. For let us try it, says he, in another instance. As from Απαιλῆς comes ΑπείλλειΘ, so from Θαλῆς the Philosopher must come ΘαλειΘ virens. Now with the leave of our pert Examiner, this instance of his is no instance at all. For the Analogy, that I spoke of, does not extend to all words that have termination in ης; but only to the compound words ending in κλῆς, from κλέΘ gloria: as besides the words I named before, Βαδουκλῆς, ΒαδουκλειΘ; Ξενοκλῆς, ΞενοκλειΘ; Διοκλῆς, ΔιοκλειΘ; and so Φιλοκλῆς, Λαμπεροκλῆς, Μεγακλῆς, Θαιμυστοκλῆς, &c. all form their Adjectives in κλειΘ. Now let him give one single instance, if he can, of a word ending in κλειΘ, that does not follow this Analogy; and then his boyish Witticisms and doggeril Rhimes, which he has spured here, will come in more seasonably. But at present he only exposes himself, by breaking his unmannerly Jest upon his own mistakes.

But

But let *Athenæus* be as positive as he will, that *Thericles* and *Aristophanes* were Contemporaries, Mr. B. will confute him out of his own words, (g) Καὶ μύποτε Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ησιόνη Θηε- (g) *Athen.*  
κλίφῃ ποιεῖ τὴν Ἡρακλέα πίνοντα: which he translates, P. 470.

And does not *Alexis* introduce *Hercules* drinking out of a *Thericlean Cup*? Now our Examiner has committed a double Error about this one Sentence. First he has not construed the words right; for μύποτε is not in this place a Particle of Interrogation, which is the most positive way of affirming; but on the very contrary 'tis a word of doubting, *Fortasse, Perhaps, or, it may be, that Alexis introduces.* This the Examiner might have learnt in those very Dictionaries, that he talks so much of; or in *Budæus's* (h) Com- (h) P. 910.  
mentaries, where several Passages of *Athenæus* himself are cited to prove it. And indeed *Athenæus* could not be positive, that *Alexis* meant the *Thericlean Cup*; for the Poet's words are only these, as they now stand:

— Γενόμεν' ὁ δ' εἶνυς μόλις

Ἡίππε κώλην, καὶ λαβὼν ἐξ ἧς πυκνάς ἔλασε —

But the true reading of them is rather thus:

— Γενόμεν' ὁ δ' ἔννυς μόλις Ἡίππε κώλικα.

But at last, coming to himself, he called for a Cup of Wine. The very words γενόμεν' and μόλις confirm the Conjecture about ἔννυς; for so *Plutarch*, Τότε δ' ἔννυς γενόμεν'; and an Author in (i) *Suidas*, Ὅτερον ἔννυς ἐγένετο. And the last (i) *Suid. v.*  
Syllable in κώλικα was lost, because καὶ follow'd it. ἔννυς.

And so much by way of Emendation. But, as I said, *Athenæus* could not be positive; for the whole Stress lay upon the word κώλικα. *Alexis*, says he, introduces *Hercules* drinking in a *Chalice*; and perhaps he meant the *Thericlean*.

(k) For

(k) \*Θη ὅ (k) For that the Thericlean was a Chalice, The-  
 αὐλὶξ ὅτι opbraſtus is a plain itineſs. Theſe are the very  
 Θηρικλεια next words; and this is the true ſenſe of that  
 Θ, αὐφῶς Passage.  
 παρ' ἑστῆσι

Θεόφραſτος. But ſays Mr. B. If Athenæus could ſuppoſe,  
 P. 152.

that Hercules and a Thericlean Cup were brought  
 upon the Stage together; he muſt ſuppoſe too, that  
 the Thericlean Cup was as ancient as Hercules;  
 or elſe it would have been abſurd and ridiculous.

Here's the ſecond Miſtake of our Examiner;  
 for Athenæus knew very well, that the Writers  
 of the Greek Comedies did not tie themſelves  
 ſo ſtrictly to the Rules of Chronology. He  
 might have a thouſand Inſtances of it, which we  
 cannot now come at. But there are enough yet  
 extant, to make the Examiner repent his raſh-  
 neſs, in taxing ſo great an Author. Anaxandri-  
 des in a Play called *Hercules* (becauſe *Hercules*  
 was the chief Perſon brought in upon the

(l) Athen. Stage) (l) mentions *Argas* the Muſician, who  
 638. was alive when the Play was acted. The ſame  
 Poet in another Play called *Proteſilaus*, from  
 the Hero of that name, that was ſlain by He-

(m) Athen. For (m), ſpeaks of the ſame *Argas*, and *Antigeni-*  
 131. *das*, and *Cephiſodorus*, three Muſicians, and *I-*  
*phicrates* the Athenian General, and *Cotys* King  
 of *Thrace*; all of them then living in the Poet's

own time. (n) *Diphilus* the Comedian in his  
 (n) Athen. 599. *Sappho* introduced *Archilochus* and *Hipponax*, as  
 Gallants to that Lady: though one of them  
 was dead before ſhe was born; and ſhe dead, be-  
 fore the other was born. Nay *Alexis* himſelf,

(o) Athen. in his (o) *Linus*, brings *Linus* upon the Stage,  
 p. 164. inſtructing his Pupil *Hercules*, and offering him  
 Books to chuſe of,



Ορφεύς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσιόδῳ, Τεργαστῇ,  
Χοίρει, Ὀμηρῷ, Επίχαρμῷ, Συγγράμματα  
Παντοδαπέ—

Orpheus, Hesiod, Tragedies, Chærilus, Homer, Epicharmus, and all sorts of Authors: but Hercules makes choice of one Simon's Art of Cookery. Can we desire an instance more apposite, and more full against our Examiner? Here's the same Poet Alexis brings the same person Hercules with Epicharmus in his hand: and why might he not as well introduce him with a Thericlean Cup in his hand?

But besides all this, had we no such Examples of this Liberty of the Greek Comedians, we could still defend Athenæus against the insults of our Examiner. For he forgets, that Hercules was a God, and consequently, in the Poet's Creed, he eat and drunk even in Thericles's time. And had not Hercules several Temples? and were not Cups frequently among the Donaries presented to the Gods? Nay the Thericlean are expressly mention'd, as (p) Donaries in the Acropolis at Athens. Hercules therefore might have several Thericleans among his own Plate. For what Present could be more proper to such a Fuddler as he was, than a Thericlean, one of the biggest fashions of Cups, some of them holding (q) above seven Coryb, that is, five of our Pints? (q) Athen.

Nay, allow that Hercules was a Hero only, and no God; even the Heroes too might be introduced drinking in Thericles's Ware. For they also had their Temples and Donaries, and they pass'd their time merrily, eating and drinking (r) and the mischief they were supposed to do (for they were thought to be very quarrelsome and dangerous) was attributed to their being

(p) Polemon apud Athen. p. 472.

(q) Athen. 472.

(r) Athen. 46. Zenob. Ὁ δὲ ἦρω-  
ς καὶ  
ἐπειροί,  
μᾶλλον ἢ  
εὐεργετὴν.

(f) *Macrob.* being so often in drink. But (f) *Hercules* was particularly, and of them all the most addicted to the Juyce of the Grape. So that he was commonly painted with his Cup, and sometimes reeling and tumbling.

But our Examiner makes yet another Assault against *Athenæus*. That Author had said, *Thericles* was a *Corinthian* Potter; but Mr. B. will prove from his own words (which *Athenæus*'s dulness did not suffer him to understand) that he was an *Athenian* Potter; if that Invention

(z) *Athen.* was truly his. *Lynceus Samius* says, (z) *Ἰνδὸς ἀντισημαργήσας τὰς Ἡδυποτίδας πρὸς τὰς Ἀθηναίων*.

P. 469. *σὺ Θερικλέους*, That the Rhodians wrought a sort of Cup, called *Hedypotides*, in imitation of the *Thericlean*, made at Athens. So Mr. B. translates it, but erroneously, as his manner is. For *ἀντισημαργήσας*, is not to work in imitation, but in opposition. Now what will he infer from hence? That the *Thericlean* Cups were invented at Athens? But the words do not imply it, but only that they were in great use and fashion at Athens, when *Lynceus* wrote this Discourse; that is, a hundred years after *Thericles*'s Death. Now the Cups might be invented at *Corinth*; but because they took mightily at Athens, they might afterwards be the best wrought there, and so be accounted an *Athenian* Manufacture. But let us grant, they were invented at Athens; must *Thericles* therefore be an *Athenian*? A very precarious Consequence. For he might be a *Corinthian* born, and yet be settled at Athens. For

(u) *Xenophon*, Περὶ πόλεως.

(x) *Athen.* p. 272.

near half of the Inhabitants there, were Strangers from other places; (u) and the Strangers were commonly such as wrought in the Manufactures. In *Demetrius Phaleræus*'s time (x);

when the Citizens were 21000, the *μῆτοροι* Strangers were 10000. And where now is the *Inconsistency* and *Confusion* that our modest Examiner charges upon *Athenæus*? Has he not reason to make the *Itch* of opposing great Names upon very slight or no grounds, a chief and distinguishing mark of *Pedantry*?

P. 154.

P. 157.

The Examiner will still hang upon the cause; and if we will but allow him, that *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, he has found a very surprizing *Salvo*, to bring off the *Epistles*. "For then perhaps, this *Thericles* was no Potter, but the *Athenian* Archon of that Name, *Olymp. Lxi, 4*; and the Cups might take their Name from him, because he first used them, as the *Ἀντιγονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι* mention'd in *Plutarch* were so called from *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, who delighted in those fashions. And then if *Phalaris* lived till *Olymp. Lxxii, 3*. (as *Mr. Dodwell's* opinion is) the *Epistles* may be an Original still; for by this account the name might be given to the *Thericlean* Cups above *xl* years before *Phalaris's* Death.

P. 153.

What a Parcel of Suppositions are here, one in the neck of another? If *Thericles* was an *Athenian*, which a good Author assures us, he was not; then he might not be a *Workman*, but a *Magistrate*; though no fewer than ten witnesses say expressly, he was a *Workman*, *Pliny*, *Hesychius*, *Lucian*, *Etymologicon M.* *Scholion* upon *Clemens Alex.* *Pollux*, *Athenæus*, *Cleantes*, *Theopompus*, *Eubulus*; not one single Evidence appearing against them. But suppose him to be a *Magistrate*; then suppose too, that *Mr. D's* notion is true; but I have already consider'd that learned Man's opinion; and *Ensebius's* Computation is still



still as firm as ever. What a sorry crippled Argument's here, even lame upon all four? But there's a worse distemper in it still, either to be laugh'd at, or pitied; I mean, that wretched and scandalous Barbarism of *Αντηρονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*. The words of *Plutarch*, which I had cited in my Dissertation, are, *Οἱ τε τὰς Αντηρονίδας καὶ Σελευκίδας καὶ Θεικλείας ἐπιδεικνύμενοι*: which the Examiner having occasion to put into the Nominative Case, calls them *Αντηρονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι* (in both his Editions) as if the Nominatives Singular were *Αντηρονίδης* and *Σελευκίδης*. The man, that has a Controverlie with Mr. B. must do the office of a Schoolmaster, and teach him his Declensions; for the Cups are not to be called *Αντηρονίδαι* and *Σελευκίδαι*, but *Αντηρονίδης* and *Σελευκίδης*, from *Αντηρονίς* and *Σελευκίς*. So (γ) *Clemens Alex.* *Θεικλείοι κύλικες καὶ Αντηρονίδης*, (z) *Athenaus*: *Σελευκίς, Ροδιάς, Αντηρονίς*, (a) *Pollux*; *Σελευκίδα καὶ Ροδιάδα*; see *Hesychius* in *Σελευκίς*. Is not this now a formidable Writer, and born to be the Terror and Scourge of the *Scaliger's* and *Salmasius's*? 'Tis to be hoped that hence-forward he will not make so many awkward Jest upon Lexicons and Dictionaries: any one of which upon this occasion might have done him good Service.

The last Effort, upon this Topic, that Mr. B. makes for his *Sicilian Prince*, is a Memorandum he gives his Reader, that this and all the other Chronological Arguments touch only those particular Epistles, from whence they are taken. So that should those Epistles be found spurious, yet the rest of the Set may, *to his Comfort*, be genuine. What a passionate Concern's here! who can find in his Heart now to deprive the Gentleman of his *Comfort*? I for my part, whom he calls

(γ) *Clem.*

*Padag. p.*

69.

(z) *Athen.*

p 497, 783.

(a) *Pol. lib.*

vi, 26.

calls a Man of *singular Humanity*, will reserve this point to some other Section towards the end of this Book, and let him enjoy his dear Comfort, as long as I can.

And now having exhibited these Specimens of his Learning, he takes the opportunity to shew his Readers a little of his Temper. *He assures them, that I went no farther for ALL this Learning about Thericlean Cups, than my Dictionaries, and what one of those referr'd me to, Casaubon's Notes on Athenæus.* This he assured in his first Edition; but in the second he discovers, that I take some part of it from *Salmasius*: So that there he *assures*, that I went to my Dictionaries, and *Casaubon*, for ALMOST ALL *this Learning*. The Readers without question will allow, that the Examiner's Assurance is good, that shall dare to assure two contrary things, and inconsistent with one another. A Man that accuses at this rate, answers himself. But however, because it's such a matter of Fact, as I can give a direct reply to; I'll shew him that piece of Respect, to return him an answer. He says, I have taken some of it out of *Salmasius*; I answer directly, *I have not*; for I knew not then, that *Salmasius* had said one word about it. *Casaubon's Notes* I own I had seen, and I desire the Reader to see them too; that he may see the Spirit of the Examiner. One main branch of what I said upon this Head, is a refutation of *Casaubon*. And did I gather out of *Casaubon's Notes* a refutation of himself? I wish I could truly own it; for the Reputation of it would be the greater. And lastly, If this Learning lay so very obvious; that, as Mr. B. says, *I went no further than Dictionaries for it*; the greater is the shame for

F. 156.

P. 156.  
2d. Edit.

K

Him;

Him; that when *Phalaris* was published, he was ignorant of such a common thing: for he neither translates the word *Θηέλεια* right; nor appears to have had any knowledge of the Original of the Name.

P. 156,  
157. But now the storm begins to rise higher; and I fall, he says, upon Casaubon, against common Gratitude, common Sense, Truth, Decency, and Reason. The occasion of all this Out-cry is this; Casaubon had endeavour'd to correct the Text of *Athenæus*, and alter *σπένδοντα* into *σπύδοντα*. But in my Dissertation, I plainly shew'd, how that great Man was mistaken; neither has the Examiner offer'd one word to justify his Correction. What is it then, that he is so incens'd at? Casaubon had observ'd, that the MS Epitomizer of *Athenæus* read it *σπύδοντα*; But one may be certain, said I, 'twas a fault only in that Copy of him, that Casaubon us'd. For Eustathius, who appears never to have seen the true *Athenæus*, but only that Epitome, read it in his Book *σπένδοντα*. Here the Examiner swells and blusters; and indeed I must beseech the Reader to read over those Pages of his; they are an Original Strain for Civility and good Manners; and yet he is all-over mistaken in every Paragraph of them.

157, 158,  
159.

It is certain, says he, that Eustathius had seen *Athenæus* himself: and therefore Casaubon says (b) *Sape u-* only of him, that he did (b) OFTEN use the Epitome. *ti Epitome*, And Dr. B. will not pretend ever to have seen it, for it's unprinted to this day: so that he talks of a thing, that he knows nothing of, and can know nothing of, but from Casaubon, and yet ventures to contradict him. Now to stop the Examiner a little in the Carreer of his Confidence; In the first place, that very Copy of the Epitome, that  
Casau-

P. 2.



*Casaubon* used and possessed, among many other Books, was purchased of his Executors soon after his Death, and deposited in the Royal Library: and I had the Book then in my hand, and had newly consulted it, (let the Examiner read this, if he can, without blushing) when I writ this Passage in my *Dissertation*. For suspecting from those Instances, which *Casaubon* had given, that *Eustathius* had only used the Epitome of *Athenæus*, without having the Original, I had the Curiosity to examin near a hundred Passages of *Eustathius*, and I perpetually found, that he had taken them from the Epitome, and never from the true Author. Had I not reason then to say, *That Eustathius APPEARS never to have seen the true Athenæus?* Half of that Examination would have encouraged our Examiner into the positive Style, that he had *certainly* never seen him.

For without any grounds at all he is positive of the contrary, though it be *a thing that he knows nothing of*. It is certain, says he, *that Eustathius had seen Athenæus himself*. Why so? And whence has he this Air of Assurance? Because *Casaubon* says, *He OFTEN followed the Epitome*. A very extraordinary Inference; Because he *often* follow'd the Epitome; therefore he *sometimes* follow'd the Original. If his new System of Logic teaches him such Arguments, I'll be content with the old ones. Mr. *Casaubon* had examined several Passages of *Eustathius*, where he quotes *Athenæus*: and he cautiously says, that he *often* uses the *Excerpta*: because perhaps he had no leisure, or no desire to be satisfied further. I come after him, and examin many more Passages of *Eustathius*; and I find, that he ap-

P. 157. appears to have *always* follow'd the *Excerpta*. Both of our Assertions are true, and consistent with each other. And yet the Examiner says *I contradict* Casaubon. But I would advise him to take one Lecture more in his Logic, to know what a Contradiction is.

P. 157. But I had said, *'Twas a fault only in that Copy of the Epitome that Casaubon used*. By a *Fault only*, I meant, *'twas only a Fault*, nothing but an Error of the Scribe, and a literal Mistake. Here the Examiner argues against me, as if I had said, *'Twas a Fault in that only Copy*: and he presently falls into his old Vein of civil Language. Now this is just as good Construction, as if his own words in this very Page, *And therefore Casaubon says only of Eustathius*, should be interpreted, *That he says it of Eustathius only*. In which Acceptation the thing is false. But a mistake of Syntax is a small fault in our Examiner, after those great ones that have come before.

P. 158. The Examiner now *begs the Reader's Pardon*, while he wanders a moment or two from his Subject; but I am very much mistaken, if he will not find it the greatest Difficulty to *pardon* himself. In my Latin Dissertation upon *Johannes Antiochenus*, I had started a new Observation about the Measures of the *Anapestic Verse*. All the Moderns before had supposed, that the last Syllable of every Verse was common, as well in *Anapests*, as they are known to be in *Hexameters* and others: so that in Poems of their own composing, the last Foot of their *Anapests* was very frequently a *Tribrachys*, or a *Trochee*, or a *Cretic*; or the Foot ended in a Vowel or an M, while the next Verse begun with a Vowel or an H. In every one of which Cases an Error was com-

*Dissert. ad  
Job Anti-  
och. p. 26.*

committed: Because there was no Licence allowed by the Ancients to the last Syllable of *Anapæsts*; but the *Anapæst* Feet run on to the *Paræmiac*, that is, to the end of the Sett, as if the whole had been a single Verse. This, I said, was a general Rule among the Greek Poets; and even *Seneca*, the Latin Tragedian, (to shew he was conscious of this Rule, that I have now discover'd) never ends an *Anapæstic* Verse with a *Cretic*, as *Buchanan*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, &c. usually do; though sometimes indeed he does it with a *Trochee*, but even that very seldom, and generally at the close of a Sentence. Even Envy it self will be forced to allow, that this Discovery of mine, if it be true, is no inconsiderable one. I am sure, had any man found it out, before *Buchanan* and the rest had publish'd their Poems, he would have had their hearty thanks for preventing those Flaws in them. But see the hard Fate of Discoverers! At last the Learned Mr. *Boyle* arises, and roundly tells the World, which had believed me for VIII or IX years, *That nothing can be falser and fuller of Mistake, than what I have there asserted*. One would think, as he says, that a man that talks at this bold rate, *with such an Air of Self-sufficiency*, had need to be perfectly sure of his point. And is that the Case of our Examiner here? Has he wandred from his Subject upon a sure and true Scent? That the Reader shall presently judge of: but I must freely own to him before-hand, that some little Disdain rises within me, to see my self employed in confuting such Stuff, as he has brought on this occasion.

*Semel at-  
que iterum.*

P. 158.

*How durst you oppose*, says he, *Men of Grotius and Scaliger's Character with such groundless Assertions? For it is usual among the Greek Tra-*

P. 159.



gedians to end their Anapaests with a Trochee or a Tribrach: and Seneca has done it at least forty or fifty times, where there is no close of the Sense. The Instances he gives, are five out of *Æschylus*, and as many out of *Seneca*. The first from *Æschylus*, is,

( I. )

Τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἰσιχνεῦσι

Prom. v. 122.

Διὰ τὴν λίαν —

And the III. like it,

Τὸν ὃ χαλινοῖς ἐν πετεινοῖσι

v. 565.

Χειμαζόμενον —

These two Verses, as our Examiner imagines, are ended with *Trochees*, the last Syllable being short. Now methinks a Man of half the Learning of Mr. *Boyle*, might have known, that σ may be long here, by adding ν to it before a Consonant, as Poets frequently do; εἰσιχνεῦσιν, πετεινοῖσιν. This very Fable, that Mr. B. quotes, might have taught it him;

Ἐποιδᾶσι θέλξει σιρέας.

v. 173.

Or that Verse in *Supplic*.

Ὀμβροφόροις ἀνέμοις ἀγείας.

v. 36.

Or these of *Aristophan*.

Ἄλλοι δασυμυχθεὶς ὄναϊ' ἂν ἐπεί.

Plut.

Ἰατρὸς ὦν καὶ μάντις ὡς φασι σφόδρ.

Nub.

In all which places, and a hundred more that it's easie to allege, the Syllable σ is long; as if it was pronounced, ἐποιδᾶσιν, Ὀμβροφόροισιν, ὄναϊν, and φασίν. And these Examples are all found in the middle of Verses, lest the Examiner should make any Exceptions, if they were in the end of *Anapaests*.

( II. )

But he may have better Success with the next Passage that he produces from *Æschylus*;

Ἔις ἀρδμὸν ἱμοὶ καὶ φιλόπτη

Σπεύδων —

Prom. v. 191.

Here

Here too he supposes the last Foot is a *Trochee*, because *τα* is a short Syllable. But I must tell the Learned Examiner, that *τα* in this place is long, because the next word *σπύδων* begins with two Consonants. There's nothing more common among the Poets, than this; as I will shew him out of his own Author *Æschylus*, and that in the middle of *Anapaestic* Verses:

Πῆμα σενάχω πῆ ποτε μόχθων. Prom. v. 99.

Γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν αὖθις. Sept. Theb. 1064.

Οὐς πρὶ πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσπίι. Pers. 61.

Ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμνες ἀγνοί. 630.

Have not *πῆμα*, *ὠλέσατε*, and *πᾶσα*, and *ἀλλὰ*, their last Syllables long here, because two Consonants follow them? Has our Examiner forgot his *Virgil* too?

*Terrasque, tractusq; maris, cælumq; profundum.*

*Æstusq; pluviasque, & agentes frigora ventos.*

*Ferte citi flammam, date tela, scandite muros.*

Another of his Instances out of *Æschylus*, (III.)

is,

—Στεγμοῖσι ᾗ κόνιν

v. 1084.

Εἰλίωσσι—

Where he thinks the last Foot of the Verse is a *Tribrachys*: *νιν* in *κόνιν* being short. But under favour, I say it's an *Anapaest*, and the last of *κόνιν* may be long. So *Homer*.

Εὖθρον ἔπιτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆπν ἀτάλαντον.

Τῶν αἶψ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἦρχε Διὶ μῆπν ἀτάλαντῳ.

And *Aristophanes* in his *Θρηνίδες*;

Ὅπῳ ἔξελθοι Πείραμός τις ἔχων ὄρνιν ἐν τοῖσι τετραγυδοῖς.

Let us see now the remaining Example, that (V.) he fetches out of *Æschylus*;

Νῦν δ' αἰδέσιον κίνυγμ' ὁπάλας.

v. 156.

This also is one of his *Tribrachs*; for he is so well versed in Greek Poetry, that he believes the last Syllable of *τάλας* is short. What says he then to this *Anapaestic* of the same Poet?

Τεύξῃ κείνῳ δ' ὁ *τάλας* ἄρος. Sept. Theb. 1071.

Will he make *Tribrachs* in the middle of the Verse, as well as at the end? And what says he to these of *Euripides*?

Καὶ μὴν ὁ *τάλας* ὅδε δὴ σείχει.

Hippoi.

Ἀπόλωλα *τάλας* οἶμοι, οἶμοι.

Or to those *Iambics* out of the same Play?

Οὐ τλητὴν, ὅδε λεκτὴν ὦ *τάλας* ἐγώ.

Ἄρῃσιν ὡς ἔοικεν ὦ *τάλας* ἐγώ.

Or to these out of *Sophocles*?

\*Οἶμοι *τάλας* ἀλλ' ἔχ' ὁ Τυδείας γόνῳ.

Philoct.

\*Ἰσσι δουδρήνητον ὦ *τάλας* ἐγώ.

Antigone.

\*Οἶμοι *τάλας* ἔοικ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς.

Oed. Tyr.

\*Ὡς ὦδ' ἐχόντων, ὦ *τάλας* ἐγὼ *τάλας*.

Ajace.

I believe, there is scarce one Play extant, either Comedy or Tragedy, that does not afford us an instance against the Examiner. But let him find if he can, or his Assistant that searches for him, one single Passage there, that makes *ας* in *ταλας* to be short. Where had he his Eyes then? or what was he thinking on, when he made this Observation? Perhaps he might remember that Verse of *Theocritus*,

\*Ὅς μοι δωδεκαταῖῳ ἀφ' ὧ *τάλας* ἐδεπόθ' ἦκει. Id. 2.

For there indeed *τάλας* is short; but surely such a Learned Græcian would know, that this was the *Doric* Idiom, and not to be drawn into Example, where that Dialect is not used. For the *Dorians* abbreviate even *ας* in the Accusative Plural; as the same *Theocritus*,

Βόσκονταί κατ' ἑσθς, καὶ ὁ Τίτυσος αὐτὰς ἐλαύνει.

Τίτυρ' ἐμὴν τὸ καλὸν φιλαμένε, βόσκει τὰς αἶγας. Id. 3.



I have now gone over all the Instances, that the Examiner has thought fit to produce out of the *Greek Poets*: and I must own, that when I look back upon them, I cannot think without some astonishment upon the hardiness of this forward Writer; who, when he was utterly unfurnish'd of this part of Learning, could venture so beyond his depth, without any necessity. He has gone, as he says, *out of his way*, to seek an occasion to expose himself: which was a very needless Ramble, for he can expose himself in every page without stirring a foot from his Subject. And what provocation could He have to be meddling with *Greek Anapaests*, who has shewn his ignorance of the most vulgar measures in *Latin Iambics*? In the LXXXI Ep. of his *Phalaris* he has thus translated a Greek Distich:

*Multo videtur satius, timentem nihil  
Futura fata, quam timentem, perpeti.*

The first of which is a false verse, and betrays the skill of its Author; who, if he had been in the least sensible that his verse was lame, might have had another word, *Metuentem*, ready at hand for him.

But our Examiner not content to have less'n'd his Reputation for Verses by an unfortunate essay upon *Aeschylus*, seems resolv'd to be prodigal of that little which is yet left him, and lose it all with playing the Critic upon *Seneca's Tragedies*. His first attempt is upon a passage in *Agamemnon*,

P. 159.

(1.)

— *Trucibus monstros Stetit imposita  
Pelion Ossa: pinifer ambos Agam. v. 337.  
Pressit Olympus.*

This

This he produces as an instance, that a *Tribrachys* may be the last foot of an *Anapaestic* Verse; which supposes that he thought *Imposita* had its last Syllable short here; and consequently *Imposita Offa*, in Mr. B's Construction, are the Nominative Case. Now I would desire a small favour of him; that, if it be not too great a secret, he'll acquaint us, how he construes this passage. Is it *Offa imposita stetit Pelion*? but the word *stetit* with an Accusative after it will be a very great rarity. Or is it, *Offa stetit imposita Pelion*? but this *imposita* before an Accusative will be a greater rarity than the other. Besides, if *Imposita* be a *Tribrachys* at the end of the Verse; then *Offa* will be a *Trochee* in the middle of the Verse; which will not only be contrary to my new Discovery about *Anapaests*, but to all the old ones, that ever were heard of. But one may suspect from this passage, That Mr. B. has a particular Grammar made for his use, as well as a particular Logic. When he obliges the Public with it, we shall be ready to receive instruction. But till then, we shall take *Imposita*, as every body, before he arose, understood it, to be the Ablative Case,

*Stetit impositâ                      Pelion Offâ——*

It has now been in the world, about xvi whole Centuries; and it's hardly to be believ'd, that such an awkward Construction has ever been put upon't before, except perhaps in some lower Class at a Grammar School.

Of the Four Passages, yet behind, which he cites as out of *Seneca*, no fewer than Three are taken out of *Hercules Oetaeus*, which is not a Play of *Seneca's*; as the Learned *Daniel Heinsius* has prov'd fourscore Years ago: so  
that

(V.)

hat the Examiner cannot cry out in his usual Strain, that this is a Paradox of mine. There is *one* single Example left then, out of *Seneca's Medea*, to confute me for asserting that he does it *once or twice*. A very gentle and civil Antagonist! Though I must tell him, if he had brought six Instances, and all of them legitimate ones; he had only shew'd his good will to cavil and carp. For *semel atque iterum*, ἀπὸς καὶ δις, are not strictly tied up to denote *twice* and no more: they often signify *seldom*; as *δις καὶ τρίς*, *bis terque*, *iterum atque tertium*, mean not *thrice* only, but *often*. Ten times therefore may be *seldom*, *semel atque iterum*, if the whole number, that they relate to, be some hundreds or a thousand.

And now I have follow'd our Learned Examiner, while he has been wandring from his Subject: and I leave him to reflect at his leisure, how much Honour he has acquired by this same Ramble of his. It seems He, with his *fidus Achates*, sifted all that I had publish'd in Latin; and he singled out this Passage, as the weakest place, where he might make a successfull Attack. And the Victory seeming to be worthy of a Digression, he went out of his way to fetch it. But I suppose he may be sensible by this time, *that 'tis not in EVERY BODIES power to confute me, that do but cast their Eye on Seneca and the Greek Tragedians*.

P. 160,

A man, that does not only *cast an Eye on*, but thoroughly reads the Books that he pretends to discourse of, would have been able to bring several seeming Examples, where an *Anapaestic* is terminated with a *Trochee*, or a *Tribrachys*, or a *Cretic*. This I was aware of, when I publish'd my Observation; and yet I enter'd no caution about



about it to the Reader; but left the thing entirely to his own Judgment and Sagacity: supposing, that if he took notice of any such Exceptions, he would be able of himself to give an account of them. But now because this observation of mine has been openly assaulted; and lest any body should think, that not it's own Truth and Solidity, but the weakness of the Assailant, may be the reason of its holding out: I will here produce every single Exception, that I can meet with in the three Greek Tragedians, and *Aristophanes*, and *Seneca*; and shew they are all Errors only, and mistakes of the Copyers. And the very facility and naturalness of every correction will be next to a Demonstration to an ingenuous mind, that the Observation must needs be true.

(1.)

*Æschyl. Prom. v. 279.*

Καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῶ ποδὶ κρηπινόσουτον  
Θῶκον περιπῶσ' —

Here's a *Cretic* terminates the Verse; and if the reading be allow'd, it plainly proves against me, that the last Syllable is common. But we must correct it, κρηπινόσουτον with a single σ; and then it is an *Anapæst*. The Poets use either the single or double Consonant, as their Measures require. *Hesychius*, 'Αυτόστυθ, ἀυτκίλευς, Σοφοκλῆς Σκυείοις.

(2.)

*Æschyl. Eumen. v. 1008.*

Πρὸς φᾶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε περπομπὸν  
Ἴτε, καὶ σφαγίων ἧδ' ἐπὶ σμινῶν  
Κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀπείριον  
Χώρας κατέχειν —

The first Verse here ends with a *Trochee*, and the third with a *Cretic*; both of which are seeming

ing instances against my Assertion. But in the first Verse we must read *ωεπομπών*, as the learned Mr. Stanley guesses'd from the Sense of the place; and his Conjecture is now confirmed by the Measure of it. And in the third Verse, for *ἀπείον*, I correct it *ἀπερὸν*, which is a word of the same Signification, and of more frequent use than the other: witness *Æschylus* himself;

*Δυσχεύμερὸν γὰρ πέλαγ' ἀπερὸς δῖος.* Prometh. 745.

*Sophoc. Elect. v. 112.*

*Σεμναίτε θεῶν παῖδες Ἑρινύες*

*Τὸς ἀδίκως θνήσκοντας ὀεῖτε.*

(3.)

Here again is a *Cretic* in the close of the first Verse: but it will be a *Dactyl*, if the second Verse be read as it ought to be, without *τὸς*;

*Ἀδίκως θνήσκοντας ὀεῖτε.*

'Tis the *Versus Paræmiacus*, which always comes at the end of a Set of *Anapæstics*: and there the *Trochee* in *ὀεῖτε* is right and lawfull.

*Soph. Antig. v. 129.*

*Ὅτι περὶ χαίρει καὶ σφᾶς εἰσιδόν.*

(4.)

This *Cretic* Foot, *εἰσιδόν*, is an Error of the Copyer, instead of the *Anapæst*, *εἰσιδών*.

*Soph. Philoct. in fine.*

*Χωρῶμεν νῦν πάντες ἀολλέες*

*Νύμφαις ἀλιδίον ἐπυξάμενοι.*

(5.)

This *Cretic* too will become a *Spondee* by the ease and slight alteration of *ἀολλέες* into *ἀολλεῖς*, which is the true reading.

*Eurip. Medea, v. 1087:*

*Πᾶσιν δὲ γέν' ἐν πολλαῖσιν*

*Ἐυεργεῖς ἂν ἴσως —*

(6.)

Here's a *Trochee* in the end of a Verse: but if we correct it, *πολλαῖσιν γ'*, it will then be a *Spondee*, as it ought to be.

*Ibid.*

(7.)

Ibid. v. 1103.

Ἐπὶ δ' ἐκ τέτων, εἴτ' ὅπῃ φλαύρει,  
 εἴτ' ὅπῃ χρῆσθ' ἰς μοχθῶσι, τίδ' ἐστὶν ἄδηνον.

The middle Verse here, as it is vulgarly read ; is an instance against me : but the measures ought to be alter'd and distinguish'd thus,

εἴτ' ὅπῃ χρῆσθ' ἰς  
 μοχθῶσι, τίδ' ἐστὶν ἄδηνον.

Where the last Verse now is a *Paræmiac* ; and the little Verse called the *Anapaestic Basis* commonly comes before it.

(8.)

Ibid. v. 1405.

Ζεῦ τὰ δ' ἀκούεις, ὅς ἀπελαυνόμεθ'.

This *Cretic* in the close is easily cured, by reading ἀπελαυνόμεθ'.

(9.)

Ib. v. 1413.

Οὐς μὴ ποτ' ἐγὼ φύτας ἄφελον  
 Πρὸς σὺ φθιμένους ὀπίσθαι.

Correct it ὄφελον in the first Verse, and then the *Cretic* will be an *Anapaest*, as it should be.

(10.)

Eurip. Hippol. v. 257.

Πολλὰ διδάσκει γὰρ μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.  
 Χρὴν γὰρ μετείας εἰς ἀλλήλας, ὅς.

Here again is a *Cretic* in the first Verse : but the word γὰρ there is superfluous, as the very sense evinces. For this Sentence is not given here as a Reason of the other, that precedes it : as it must be, if γὰρ be allowed for a true *Lection*. I correct it therefore,

Πολλὰ διδάσκει μ' ὁ πολὺς βίος.

And I do not question, but men of judgment will subscribe to the Emendation.

Eurip.



*Eurip. Troad. v. 781.*

Λαμβάνετ' αὐτ', τὰ δὲ ποιεῦτα χεῖρ

Κηρυκεύειν, —

(11.)

A small change of a word, by reading it, τὰ δὲ ποιεῖτε χεῖρ, will substitute an *Anapæst* in the place of the *Cretic*.

*Aristoph. Nub. pag. 106.*

Γνωθῆσιν πότ' Ἀθηναίοισιν,

Οἷα διδάσκεις τὸς ἀνοήτους.

(12.)

If we add γ to the end of the first Verse, this little Flaw will be heal'd.

There, I believe, are all the Verses in the Four Poets of the Greek Stage, that are Exceptions to my Observation about the measure of *Anapæsts*: or if perhaps I have overlook'd one, I dare engage before-hand, that it may as easily be corrected, as these that I have noted. But if the Examiner thinks fit to cast his Eye again to search for more, that he thinks may have escaped me; I would advise him to take care, that his instances be not of the same Stamp with those he has brought already. For it's good to understand a matter first, before we pretend to confute it.

As for *Seneca*; among all the Plays that judicious Persons suppose to be his, I have not once observed a *Tribrachys*, nor a *Cretic* at the end of an *Anapæstic*: Nor have I met with a *Trochee*, without a Pause or Close of the Sense after it, except in these two places.

*Herc. Fur. v. 170.*

*Fluctuque magis mobile vulgus*

*Aura tumidum tollit inani.*

*Medea, v. 334.*

—Spargeret astra

Nubesque ipsas—

These

These two, I believe, are the only Examples: and had I not reason then to say, that *semel atque iterum*, once or twice only, he made use of a Trochee? 'Tis true, there may be an instance or two; where a Verse ends in a long Vowel, and the following begins with another Vowel; as,

*Thyest. v. 946.*

*Pingui madidus crinis amomo*

*Inter subitos stetit horrores.*

But in this case the measure is right and agreeable to our Observation; only the Vowels must be supposed to stand and to be pronounced, without a *Synalapha*: as they often are in *Virgil*;

*Glauco, & Panopeæ, & Inoo Melicertæ.*

*Nereidum matri, & Neptuno Aegeo.*

Upon the whole then, there is not one true and lawfull Exception in all the Greek Poets, and but two in the genuine Pieces of *Seneca*. But the Writers that came after him, degenerated more from their Greek Masters, and did not so strictly observe the measures, that the Rules of their Art prescribed to them. For in the Tra-

(a) *Agam.*

v. 79, 89,

356, 380.

(b) *Herc.*

*Oet. v. 181,*

594, 1210,

1282, 1876,

1988.

(c) *Oetav.*

v. 27, 62,

93, 289,

306, 315,

318, 331,

336, 809,

899.

gedy *Agamemnon* this measure is (a) four times broken; and in *Hercules Oetæus* (b) six times; and in *Oetavia* no less than (c) eleven. Which may pass for a new Argument, that *Seneca* is not the Author of them. But if one cast his Eyes upon *Buchanan's* Pieces, or *Scaliger's*, or *Grotius's*, or indeed of any one of the Moderns, (for none were aware of this Observation) he will not find ten Lines together, where this measure is not violated. Which I take for an infallible Demonstration; that it was Design, and not mere Accident, that kept the Ancients from breaking it.

To put an end therefore to this long debate, about the *Thericlean Cups*; If the Examiner's Cavils against *Athenæus* are all fully and seriously answer'd: if his Quirks and Witticisms upon Me are all grafted upon his own mistakes; and by being falsely applied to another, become *true Jest*s upon himself: and if *his wandring from his Subject*, to seek an occasion of refuting me, has proved a very unfortunate Excursion, and sent him back with loss and disgrace; if this, I say, be the Issue of this present Section, I conceive, there appears no good reason as yet, why I should repent of my Judgment about *Phalaris's* Epistles.

## IV.

**I**N the LXXXV Epistle, he boasts of a great Victory obtained over the *Zanclæans*; Ταυρομενείτας ἢ Ζακχλείας συμμαχίσαντας Λεοντίνοις εἰς τέλος νενίκηκα. But the very preceding Letter, and the XXI, are directed to the *Messenians*, Μεσσηνίοις, and the City is there called Μεσσήνη; and in the First Epistle, he speaks of Πολύκλειτος ὁ Μεσσήνιος. Here we see we have mention made of *Zanclæans* and *Messenians*; as if *Zancle* and *Messana* were two different Towns. Certainly the true *Phalaris* could not write thus; and it is a piece of ignorance inexcusable in our Sophist, not to know that both those names belong'd to one and the same City, at



(a) Lib. vi. Μεσσηνίη, Ζάγκλην περὶ τὴν ἐλασίαν.

(b) Herod. vii. Ζάγκλην, ἣ ἐς Μεσσηνίην μεταβλήσκει τὸ ὄνομα.

(c) Diod. iv. Ζάγκλης, τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνίης ὀνομαζομένης.

different times. *Messana*, says (a) *Strabo*, which was before called *Zancle*. See also (b) *Herodotus*, and (c) *Diodorus*, and others. Perhaps it may be suspected, in behalf of these Epistles, that this change of Name was

made, during those XVI years of *Phalaris's* Tyranny; and then supposing the LXXXV Letter to be written before the change, and the other Three after it, this argument will be evaded. But *Thucydides* will not suffer this suspicion to pass, who relates, *That the Zancleans were driven out by the Samians and other Ionians, that fled from the Medes*, (which was, about Olymp. LXX, 4.) and that ἔκ πολλῶ ὕστερον not long after (perhaps about the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into Greece, Olymp. LXXV, 1.) *Anaxilaus King of Rhegium, drove the Samians themselves out, and called the Town Messana, from the Peloponnesian Messana, the Country of his Ancestors.* The first part of

(a) Lib. vi. this account is confirmed by (d) *Herodotus*: and agreeably to these Narratives,

(e) Lib. xi. (e) *Diodorus* sets down the death of this *Anaxilaus*, Olymp. LXXVI, 1. when he had reigned XVIII years. Take now the latest account of *Phalaris's* death, according

ding to *St. Hierom*; and above LX years intervene between that, and the new naming of *Zancle*. So that unless we dare ascribe to the Tyrant a Spirit of Vaticination, we cannot acquit the Author of the Letters of so manifest a cheat.

But I love to deal ingenuously, and will not conceal one testimony in his favour, which is that of (f) *Pausanias*, who places this same *Anaxilaus* of *Rhegium* about CLXXX years higher than *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* do; and tells the story very differently; That he assisted the Refugees of *Messana* in *Peloponnesus*, after the second war with the *Spartans*, to take *Zancle* in *Sicily*; which thereupon was called

*Messana*, Olymp. xxix. (g) *These things*, says he, *were done, at the xxix Olympiad, when Chionis the Spartan won the Olympic Race the second time, Miltiades being Archon*

(g) Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ Ὀλυμπιάδῳ ἐπελάχθη τὸ ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοσῆς, ἣν Χιόνις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκη, Μιλτιάδου πατρὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντου.

at Athens. Now if this be true, we must needs put in one word for our Sophist; that *Phalaris* might name the *Messenians*, without pretending to the gift of Prophecy.

(h) *Cluverius* indeed would spoil all again; for he makes it a fault in our Copies of *Pausanias*, and for εἰκοσῆς the xxix Olymp. reads ἐξηκοσῆς the LXIX; which is too great a number, to do our Author any service.

(h) Sicil. Antiq. p. 85.

But we will not take an advantage against him, from a mistake of *Cluverius*; for without question, the true *Lectio* is εἰκο-  
ς; the *xxix*; because the time of the *Mes-*  
*senian War* agrees with that computation,  
and not with the other: and the ancient

(i) *Euseb. Scalig. p. 39.*  
Ὀλυμπίας εἰκοστὴ οὐατὴ.  
Χιόνος Λακων στίδιον Τει-  
ακοστὴ. ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτε-  
ρον.

(i) Catalogue of the *Stadio-*  
*nica* puts *Chionis's Victory* at  
that very year. So that if  
*Pausanias's Credit* is able to  
bear him out, our Author,

as to this present point, may still come  
off with reputation. But alas! what can  
*Pausanias* do for Him, or for himself, a-  
gainst *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, that  
liv'd so near the time they speak of? a-  
gainst those other unknown Authors that  
*Diodorus* transcribed? against the whole  
tenor of History, confirm'd by so many  
Synchronisms and Concurrences, that e-  
ven demonstrate *Anaxilaus* to have lived  
in the days of *Xerxes*, and his Father;  
when *Theron*, and not *Phalaris*, was (k)  
*Μένερχος*, *Monarch of Agrigentum*? Nay,  
though we should be so obliging, so par-  
tial to our Sophist, as for his sake to cre-  
dit *Pausanias* against so much greater Au-  
thority; yet still the botch is incurable;  
'tis running in debt with one man, to pay  
off another. For, how then comes it to  
pass, that the *Messenians* in another Let-  
ter,

(k) *Hero-*  
*dot. lib. vii.*  
*p. 438.*



ter, are in this called *Zanclæans*; which, by that reckoning of *Pausanias*, had been an obsolete forgotten word, an hundred years before the date of this pretended Epistle.

THE main Controversie in this Section between the Learned Mr. Boyle and me, is, whether *Pausanias*, who stands alone, or *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and others, are to be followed in the Story of *Anaxilæus* Tyrant of *Rhegium*. Mr. Boyle says, he has Ubo Emmius, Lydiat, Scaliger, Petavius and Meursius on his side, (all of them great Names in the Commonwealth of Learning) besides half a dozen more, that he'll throw into the Scale, the next time he and I talk together. Hitherto, as I think, he has had nobody on his side; and yet his Style has been as pert and positive, as if he carried Demonstration in every Sentence. No wonder then, that in this Section, where he is so powerfully back'd, his bold Air and his scornfull Language rise so much the higher. But this I easily neglect and forgive: 'tis my business now to shew my Reasons, which oblige me to dissent from those Great Men, that have follow'd *Pausanias*: and the Examiner's Cavils and Exceptions shall be all consider'd in the Rear.

P. 131.

In the first place therefore, I will prove, that (1)  
*Pausanias* and the rest do all mean the same Person; the only difference being about the time when he lived, and some circumstances of his story. For *Pausanias's* *Anaxilæus* was (a) Tyrant of

(a) *Paus.* p. 133. Εὐ-  
γενὲς ὡς Πηγιό. p. 175.  
Πηγιό τελευτήσας.

L 3

Rhe.

(b) P. 134.

(c) *Ibid.*(d) Πηζίωνα τῷ ἑγγυος,  
*Thuc.* p. 114.(e) *Ibid.*

Rhegium, and (b) he besieged and took Zancle, and on (c) that occasion the name of Zancle was chang'd into Messana. And so the Anaxilas of Thucydides was (d) Tyrant of Rhegium, and (e) took Zancle, and

call'd it Messana from the Country of his Ancestors. These circumstances are a plain demonstration, that Pausanias and Thucydides speak of one and the same man. For it's incredible, that there were two Anaxilas's Tyrants of Rhegium, and that both of them took Zancle; and it's impossible, that both of them should first name the Town Messana.

And then the Anaxilas of Herodotus is the same Person, that Thucydides and Pausanias speak of. For Thucydides's Anaxilas took Zancle, (f) not long after the Samians, who had fled from the Medes, settled there. And Herodotus's Anaxilas was then Tyrant of Rhegium, (g) when the Samians fled from the Medes, and was the man that perswaded them to settle at Zancle. And He had a Servant and Steward, (h) call'd Micythus the Son of Chœrus; but the same man was Servant too to the Anaxilas of Pausanias, who cites Herodotus to witness it. This too is a clear argument, that Pausanias in (i) both places means one and the same Anaxilas.

The Anaxilas too in Diodorus is the very same, that is mention'd by Herodotus and Pausanias. For he also was (k) Tyrant of Rhegium and Zancle; and had a Steward called Micythus, the Guardian of his Children.

Macrobius says, that (l) Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium, who built Messana in Sicily, made Micythus his Servant; a Trustee for his Sons, till they

(f) Οὐ  
πάλαι ὅτε  
ἔγεν, *Thuc.*  
*ibid.*

(g) *Herod.*  
p. 341.

(h) *Her.* p.  
440.

*Paus.* p. 175.

(i) P. 133,  
175.

(k) *Diod.*  
37. ὁ Πηζί-  
ωνος Ζάγ-  
κλῆος τῷ  
ἐγγυος, &  
p. 50.

(l) *Macrobi.*  
1. *Satur.*  
p. 203.

they were of Age to come to the Government. So that this too is the same Person, that is spoken of by the others.

Among the Sicilian Tyrants, says (m) Justin, Anaxilas was as eminent for his Justice, as the others for their Cruelty, and he left his Sons in their Minority under the Tutelage of Mitythus his Servant. Here again is the very same person.

(m) Justin. iv. 2. Anaxil-  
laus justitia cum cætero-  
rum crudelitate certabat.

Stobæus gives us a saying of Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium; (n) That to be never out-done in Beneficence, was a more happy thing, than to wear a Crown. This is the same that Justin speaks of, as it appears from the Character of his Justice.

(n) Stob. Serm. xlv. Τυ-  
ραννίδος μαχαιρώτερον,  
τὸ μὴδέποτε εὐεργετῆντα  
νικηθῆναι.

In the Scholiast of Pindar, we are told too of (o) one Anaxilas the Tyrant of Rhegium and Messana; who must needs be the same with him, that Thucydides, and Diodorus, and Herodotus mention, because the time of the Tyranny exactly agrees. There is mention there of a Son of his, called (p) Cleophron.

(o) Pyth. 1. & Pyth. 2.  
Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίου καὶ Μεσση-  
νῆς τὴν γεννέσθαι.

(p) Pyth. 2. Ἀναξίλας  
καὶ Κλεόφρων ὁ τῆς πατρὸς.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, (q) That one Anaxilas seized the Castle of Rhegium, and so became Tyrant there, and left the Government to his Son Leophron. Which is a clear intimation, that he means the same person, that the Scholiast of Pindar does: for Cleophron in the Scholiast is the same that is here called Leophron. Justin too mentions this (r) Leophron the Tyrant of Rhegium; so that it seems, that the name in the Scholiast should be corrected from these two Authors.

(q) Excerpt.  
Vales. p.  
539. Ἀναξί-  
λας τὴν  
κυριότητα.

(r) Just.  
xxi. 3. Leo-  
phron Rhe-  
ginorum  
Tyrannus.



(f) *Polit.* Aristotle tells us, (f) That the Government of Rhegium was once an Oligarchy, and was changed into a Tyranny by Anaxilaus. And this was the same Anaxilaus with Him in *Dionysius*; for He too had not the Tyranny from his Father by Succession, but usurp'd it by seizing the Citadel.

(t) *In Polit.* And lastly, *Heracclides* says, (t) That the Rhegians were formerly under an Aristocracy, till Anaxilas the Messenian made himself Tyrant there. Which shews him to be the person already mention'd by *Dionysius* and *Aristotle*.

Thus, I conceive, I have made it clear and beyond all rational doubt, That all these Authors mean one and the same man, *Anaxilaus* the Tyrant of *Rhegium* and *Messana*. For all their Testimonies are here link'd one to another by some certain Circumstance and Characteristic, that specifies and determines him to be the same Person.

(2) In the next place, I procede to enquire about the Age that he lived in: and I am very much in the wrong, if it will not presently appear, that *Anaxilas* was alive, not Olymp. xxix, as *Pausanias* says, but near cc years after it, in the Reigns of *Darius* and *Xerxes*.

First *Herodotus* gives a particular account; (u) that when *Miletus* was sack'd by the *Persians* in *Darius's* time, (about Olymp. lxx, 3.) the *Zancleans* invited the remainder of the *Milesians* to come and plant themselves in *Sicily* at a place call'd *Calacta*: The *Milesians* accept the offer, and taking the *Samians* to be Partners with them, set sail for *Sicily*; but by the way they touch at *Locri* in *Italy*: where *Anaxilaus* Tyrant of *Rhegium*.

gium hearing of their design, perswades them to quit the thoughts of founding a Town at *Calatæa*, and to seize upon *Zancle*, a brave City, ready built to their hands. For it hapned, that at that juncture the *Zancleans* were employed abroad in besieging some other Town, and had left their own without defense. The *Samians* and *Milesians* take his advice, and possess the empty City without opposition.

And the substance of this whole Narrative is confirmed by *Thucydides*; who expressly says, (x) *That the Zancleans were dispossessed of their* (x) *Thuc.* City, by those *Samians* and other *Ionians*, that vi. p. 414. fled from the *Medes*; that is, after the Destruction of *Miletus*, Olymp. LXX, 3. The same is intimated too by *Aristotle*; where he says, (y) (y) *Arist.* *That the Zancleans, permitting the Samians to* Polit. v. dwell with them, lost their own City. But *Thucydides* goes on, and informs us, (z) *That not* (z) *Of* long after, these *Samians* themselves were beat out *πολλῷ ὕ-* of *Zancle* by *Anaxilas* Tyrant of *Rhegium*, who *σεβν.* planted a new Colony there, a medly of several Nations; and named the City *Messana*, from *Messana* in *Peloponnesus*, whence his Ancestors were derived. Now this last particular, is not touched upon by *Herodotus*; but only the former, that had hapned not long before it. Neither is there any Inconsistency, as the Examiner imagins, in the accounts of these two Authors.

We have lost those Books of *Diodorus's* Annals, where these Actions ought to be recorded; for what is extant of them commences at the Expedition of *Xerxes* Olymp. LXXV, 1. But however we have enough of him preserved, to demonstrate what side he was of. For he places the death of this same *Anaxilas* (a) at Ol. LXXVI, 1. (a) *Diod.* and p. 37.

and says that he had reigned *xviii* years; that is from Olymp. *lxxi*, 3. This is positive and full against *Pausanias*'s reckoning. 'Tis true, there's a seeming disagreement between *Diodorus* and *Herodotus*: for the latter calls him *Tyrant* at the time of his Congress with the *Samians*, which is supposed to be a year or two before Olymp. *lxxi*, 3. But if the number in *Diodorus* be not an Error of the Copyer; we may compound the difference thus; That *Herodotus* might call him *Tyrant*, because he knew he was so afterwards: though at that time he was only a leading Man, and had not actually seiz'd the Government.

(b) *Herod.*  
vi, 23.

(c) *Herod.*  
vi, 24.  
*Ælian Var.*  
*Hist.*  
viii, 17.

When *Anaxilas* advised the *Samians* to set upon *Zancle*, (b) one *Scythes* was at that time Tyrant of the *Zancleans*. Now the Age of this *Scythes*, and consequently of *Anaxilas*, is well known by his Story. He (c) was kept a Prisoner at *Inycum*, a *Sicilian* Town; but made his escape into *Persia*, and there lived in the Court of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and having got leave to make a Visit to *Sicily*, upon a promise to return when his affairs were dispatched; he was as good as his word; and was much esteemed afterwards by the King for his Honesty and Veracity. But *Pausanias*'s date is above a hundred years, before this *Darius* was born.

(d) *Herod.*

*Anaxilas* married (d) *Cydippe*, the Daughter of *Terillus* Tyrant of *Himera*; who was driven out of his Government by *Tberan* of *Agrigentum*, and fled for Succour to *Carthage*. And *Anaxilas* endeavouring the Restauration of his Father-in-Law, invites *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* General to make a Descent upon *Sicily*, and gives him his Sons to be Hostages for his Fidelity. Upon these

(e) *Herod.*  
*Diod. &c.*



these Invitations *Hamilcar* comes with a mighty Fleet, and having landed them at *Himera*, was entirely routed by *Gelo* the *Syracusan*, at the very same time, that *Xerxes* was beat by the *Greeks*. All Historians are agreed upon the year, when this Action was done; which is almost two whole Centuries after Olymp. xxix. Even (f) *Pausanias* himself affirms, that this *Gelo* got the Government of *Syracuse*, Ol. LXXII, 2. and enjoy'd it at the time of *Xerxes's* Expedition. (f) *Pausanias* p. 186, & 272.

When the *Samians* invaded *Zancle*, a (g) great Agent in that affair was *Hippocrates* Tyrant of *Gela*; for he betrayed the *Zanclæans* his Allies, and shared the Booty with the *Samians*. But we know *Hippocrates's* time from one certain Circumstance among many others, that the famous *Gelo*, afterwards Monarch of *Syracuse*, whom we have just now spoken of, was (h) Master of his Horse, and afterwards succeeded him in the Government of *Gela*. (g) *Herod.* vi, 23.  
(h) *Herod.* vii, 154.  
*Timæus* apud *Schol.* *Pindari* Nem. 9.

Our *Anaxilas* had war with the *Locrians* of *Italy*, and was resolved to extirpate them, had not *Hiero* Tyrant of *Syracuse* interposed. This is intimated by *Pindar*, who lived at the very time, in two Odes to *Hiero*: But the (i) *Scholiast*, who is a very credible Writer, says it expressly; and he adds, that one of *Hiero's* Wives was *Anaxilas's* Daughter, and (k) that (i) *Pind. Schol.* ad *Pyth.* i & ii.

*Epicharmus*, in a Play of his called *The Islands*, relates, how *Anaxilas* had a design to ruin the *Locrians*, and was hinder'd by *Hiero*. What can be said against so clear and convincing a Testimony? *Epicharmus* lived in *Hiero's* Court, he tells a thing done within his own Memory, and he might be personally

(k) Ὅτι ὁ Ἀναξίλας  
Λοκρεῖς ἐθέλησεν ἄρδην  
ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς  
τῶν υἱῶν, ἰσορρεῖ καὶ Ἐπι-  
χάρμου ἐν Νάουσιν.

nally

nally acquainted with *Anaxilas*, whom we are speaking of. Now *Pausanias* himself, as well as other Historians, declares, that (l) *Hiero* was Contemporary with *Xerxes*: and that *Epicharmus* was (m) Contemporary with *Hiero*, is as certain, as the other.

*Aristotle* tells a pleasant Story of *Simonides* the Lyric Poet, (n) that when one, that had got the Prize at *Olympia* with his Chariot of Mules, offer'd him a small Fee to make an Ode upon his Victory; he pretended he would not disgrace his Muse by so mean a Subject as Mules: but when the Person advanc'd a great Price, he could presently call them, not *Mules*, but the *Daughters of Mares*.

Χαίρειτ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατέρες ἵππων.

*Aristotle* indeed does not say, who it was that had won the Prize, but his Scholar *Heraclides* does; When *Anaxilas*, (o) says he, the *Messenian*, the Tyrant of *Rhegium*, had got the Victory with his Mules at *Olympia*, he gave a Treat to the Spectators; and *Simonides* made a Copy of Verses upon his Victory;

Χαίρειτ' ἀελλοπόδων θυγατέρες ἵππων.

And in Memory of this Prize, as the Antiquaries suppose, some of the Coins of the *Messinians* (p) have on their Reverse an Ἀπῆν or Chariot drawn by Mules. Now the Age of *Simonides* can never agree with *Pausanias's* Date, *Olymp. xxix*; for he was not born till *Olymp. lv, 3*. (q) as we have it under his own hand; but it exactly hits with the other reckoning; for he was in mighty esteem in *Greece* during the whole Reign of *Anaxilas*, from *Olymp. lxxi, 3*, to *Olymp. lxxvi, 1*.

Again,

Again, we have another Argument from this Olympian Victory, which will confute the account of *Pausanias*, even from his own words. For the Ἀπὶν, the Chariot that was (r) drawn (r) *Paus.* with Mules, instead of Horses, was not used at the P. 155. ἡ-  
Olympics till Olymp. LXX, as *Pausanias* confesses; μόνος ἀν-  
and it was cried down again Olymp. LXXXIV. And πὶ ἵππων.  
the first, he says, that won the Prize at this  
Match, was one (s) Therfias a Theffalian. So (s) Θερσί-  
that *Anaxilas's* Victory cannot possibly be dated ας, *ibid.*  
before Olymp. LXXI. And besides *Pausanias*, we  
have another very good Authority for the first u-  
sage of the Ἀπὶν. For *Pindar*, it seems, whether  
he was less scrupulous, than *Simonides*, or else as  
well see'd as he, has left us (r) two Odes upon Victo- (r) *Olymp.*  
ries by Mules: and the first Victory was gotten (u) v. & vi.  
Ol. LXXXII; and there the Scholiast informs us, (u) *Schol.*  
Ὁπ' Ἀπὶν ὅσιν ἄρμα ὅξ ἡμιόνων ζευχθέν· εἰρησμένον  
ἢ ἵπποις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, Ἀσάνδρατος ἐπέθενσε καὶ ἡμιό-  
νοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι· χρόνον δὲ τις ἢ μακρὸς ἀλλὰ δεκάε-  
της ᾗτε διέλυσε, διελύθη γὰρ πρὶ ὀγδοηκοσὴν ἐνάτην ὀ-  
λυμπιάδα: That the ἀπὶν was a Chariot drawn by  
Mules: and the old custom at the Olympics being  
only to use Horses, *Asandra* first introduced  
there the Chariots with Mules. But they did not  
continue long, for they were left off in Ten years  
time about Olymp. LXXXIX. There's a fault, 'tis  
true, either in one or both of these Numbers;  
for if *Psaumis's* Victory, which *Pindar* here cele-  
brates, was Olymp. LXXXII; there's above Ten  
years from that time to Olymp. LXXXIX. Yet  
however this Passage, even taken with its faults, is  
sufficient for our purpose; for it implies, that the  
Ἀπὶν could not be in use in the Olympic Games,  
Ol. XXIX. The great *Scaliger* (x) has made a (x) *Scalig.*  
great slip here: for by mere carelessness, he has in ἑαυμῶν.  
placed *Αναγρ*



(y) P. 431.  
Not. ad  
Græcæ Eu-  
sebio.

(x) Pyc. h. vi.  
κατελύθη  
δὲ Ἀπὸν, say,  
ἀς τινὲς  
φασιν, πὲ  
ὀλυμπιά-  
δης, κατ' ἐν-  
ίης ὅς περ.  
(a) Κέρυγ-  
μα ἐπιτί-  
σαντο.  
Paus.  
(b) Διελύ-  
θη, Schol.

placed this passage of the *Scholiast* at Olymp. LXXIX; which, without doubt, he design'd to set at Olymp. LXXXIX: and this has produced errors upon errors. The Learned *Meursius*, who has confounded several of his own Books by unfortunately mistaking that *Αναγεγραφὴ ὀλυμπιάδων* for an ancient Piece (though *Scaliger*, (y) had expressly own'd it to be of his own composing) makes strange work with this passage. If I may venture after such great men, I would correct in the *Scholiast* δώδεκαετίας, a dozen years, for δεκάετης ten years; and instead of ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἐνάτην the LXXXIX Olymp. I would read ὀγδ. πέμπτην, Olymp. the LXXXV. For this latter alteration I have a good Voucher, even the *Scholiast* himself; who says in another place, (z) That the Ἀπὸν was put down, as some say, at Olymp. LXXXV; as others δὲ Ἀπὸν, say, at Olymp. LXXXVI. And this agrees punctually with *Pausanias* quoted above. For if it was (a) cried by the publick Crier at Olymp. LXXXIV, that thenceforward there should be no more Races with Mules; then the first time, that it (b) was left off was Olymp. LXXXV. Now if we reckon from Olymp. LXXXII, the date of *Psaumis's* Victory, which was the subject of this Ode of *Pin-*  
*dar's*; there are exactly a Dozen years to Olymp. LXXXV. But who is that same *Ἀσάνδρατος*, that the *Scholiast* says was the Author of these Mule Races? *Scaliger*, I see, and *Meursius* have let the name pass for good; though I verily believe that both of them suspected it to be faulty: for it has not the Turn and Composition of a Greek Name, as those that know the Language will readily acknowledge. The words as they lie together, are ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀσάνδρατος ἐπιτίδουσι; which I would read, ἀγωνίζεσθαι Θέσταις εἰς πρὸς ἐπιτίδουσι;  
One

One Thersander was the Author of it. Θας, which in Pronunciation and old Writing was Θε, stuck to the preceding word : as in that famous passage of *Plutarch*, Ἀρμονίαν καλεῖσθαι μέγαν, I have shown (c) formerly, that the true reading is ἄρμονίαν καλεῖ θεμεγῶν. And then the Particle τις is almost necessary in this place ; for being to mention an obscure unknown person, he was obliged to say *One Thersander*. But to confirm and establish the whole Conjecture ; This *Thersander* of the *Scholiast* is the very same person with *Pausanias's Thersias* : So that both the Writers are agreed about the first Introducer of Mule Races at *Olympia*. For the Greek Names of this Form are equivalent, and are frequently confounded together, Θερσίας and Θέρσανδρος, as Νικίας and Νίκανδρος, Ἡγησίας and Ἡγήσανδρος, Ἀλεξίας and Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀναξίας and Ἀνάξανδρος, and many more like them.

(c) See Disfert. ad Joh. Malal.

Though I perswade my self, that I have already effectually confuted *pausanias's* date of *Anaxilas* ; yet I have one Argument more, that will quite overthrow his opinion, and every part of it shall be taken from his own Book. *Micythus*, (d) says he, the Servant and Steward of *Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium* set up a great many Statues and other Donaries at *Olympia*. And the workmen, that made them, were *Dionysius* and *Glaucus*, Natives of *Argos*. Who was the Master of these two statuaries, they give us no account : (e) but we know the Age they lived in, from *Micythus* that employed them to work for him. This Inference is very true, and by consequence the Reverse of it is true too ; that we may know the Age of *Micythus*,

(d) Paus. p. 175.

(e) Τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ ὃ τὰ ἔργα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεῖς ὁπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Σμίκυδος.

if

if we can discover the Age of those Workmen.

(f) P. 176. But *Pausanias* himself acquaints us, (f) that one of them, *Dionysius*, did a piece of work for *Phormis* the *Syracusan*, the General of *Gelo* and

(g) P. 272. *Hiero*. And he is positive, (g) that *Gelo* and *Hiero* lived at the Expedition of *Xerxes*; the very time when I state the Tyranny of *Anaxilas*. There's no Evasion to be made from this Argument, for that *Micythus* was our *Anaxilas*'s Steward, we have, besides *Pausanias*, a whole crowd of good Witnesses, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Justin*, *Macrobius*. And that he gave these Donaries

(h) *Herod.* at such a time, not only (h) *Herodotus*, but the very Inscriptions of them declare; for his own and the Workman's Name were engraven on them before their Dedication; and *Pausanias* read them with his own Eyes.

P. 440.  
*Ἀνέθηκεν ἐν  
 ὀλυμπίῳ  
 τὴν πολ-  
 λὴν ἀνδρι-  
 ἀντας.*

P. 128.

To return now to our Examiner, who has thus stated the present Question, *That Anaxilas chang'd the name of Zancle into Messana is agreed between Dr. B. and Me; the only Question is about the date of this Change.* Now if that was agreed between us, that *Anaxilas* chang'd the name, I presume the Question about the Date of the Change will be at an end. But to take no advantage of this Concession: I'll remit it to him again; and suppose in his favour, that tho' *Pausanias* was mistaken in introducing *Anaxilas* as an Agent with the *Messenians*; yet for all that he may be in the right, that the *Messenians* took *Zancle* and call'd it *Messana* at Ol. xxix. But even in this part of the Story (without bringing in *Anaxilas*) the whole current of History bears against *Pausanias*: for no body besides him, relates, that the *Messenians* went directly to *Zancle*; but they all say, to *Rhegium*. And they all call



call the Town by the name of *Zancle* for CL years, after He says, 'twas called *Messana*. *Hip. Herod. Theocrates* besieged the *Zancleans*; *Cadmus* the *Coan* *cyd.* came to the *Samians* at *Zancle*; the *Zancleans* invited the *Milefians* to settle themselves in *Sicily*; (i) *Xenophanes* the *Colophenian* left his native Country, and dwelt at *Zancle*. The Dates of all these are many Generations belcw Ol. xxix. Neither is there one single Example of its being called *Messana*, before the Age of *Anaxilas*.

Let us see now the Examiner's Cavils, and dispatch them as briefly as we can. *Thucydides* says, the *Samians*, flying from the *Medes*, possessed *Zancle*. This business of the *Medes*, the Examiner says, *Dr. B* calls *Xerxes's Expedition*; as if the *Medes* had never made an *Incurfion* upon Greece till the time of *Xerxes*. Whether he has wilfully or innocently thus misrepresented me, I know not: but if he had compared my words with *Thucydides's*, he might have spared this little Cavil. Not long after, ὅτι πολλὰ ὕστερον, says *Thucydides*, that the *Samians*, who had fled from the *Medes*, possessed *Zancle*, *Anaxilas* beat them out of it. My own words are, That at the time of *Xerxes's Expedition*, *Anaxilas* took *Zancle*. Now how could *Mr B.* infer from hence, that I took the *Samians* affair with the *Medes* to be *Xerxes's Expedition*? On the contrary they must needs be different, for it was at the time of the one, and not long after the other. And it was an inference which I made, that if it was not long after the first (Olymp. LXX, 3.) it was likely to be at or about the latter (Ol. LXXV, 1.) But the Reason our Examiner gives is pretty remarkable, As if the *Medes* had never made an *Incurfion* upon GREECE before: which implies

NA

that

that he took the *Medes* affair with the *Samians* to be an Invasion upon *Greece*; but it was only upon the *Ionians* and the *Asiatic Towns*, when *Miletus* was taken.

P. 127.

He says, Herodotus *contradicts the Story that Thucydides tells*; which I have already disproved: *That Anaxilas assisted the Samians to take Zancle*; which he did not, but only *advised them to attempt it*: *That he will deal ingenuously, and give my Authorities all the force that they will bear*: and yet he quite drops that of *Thucydides*, the most positive and full, of all that I had produced. He has spent two pages in a sort of *Declamation*, to dress up and to varnish the Story of *Pausanias*; which he may now be pleased to call home again, for he may have need of such declaming eloquence to excuse his own errors.

P. 129,  
130.

P. 130.

*He supposes, that I keep by me in reserve those Synchronisms and Concurrences, that fix the Age of Anaxilas*: and now to oblige him, I have produced some of them, but have a few still behind that shall be at his service. And I hope, he'll be so kind in requital, as to *throw into the scale those half a dozen he speaks of, besides his Scaliger's and Petavius's, that have fallen in with the account of Pausanias*. The more he *throws into his scale*, the greater Complement he will make me; by telling the world, that I have hit upon the Truth, where so many, and such great Men have fail'd before me.

P. 131.

There's another small Controversie upon this Topic between the Examiner and Me; that must be debated before we conclude this Section. I had observ'd, that the pretended *Phalaris* in one Epistle mentions the *Zancleans*, and in another

ther the *Messenians*. Now if Historians say true, that the name of *Zancle* was changed into *Messana*, after Olymp. LXX; the Tyrant *Phalaris*, that died at Olymp. LVII, could not call them *Messenians*: or if *Pausanias* say true, that *Zancle* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX; then the Tyrant that lived above c years after, could not call them *Zanclæans*: chuse which way you will therefore, the Epistles are a Cheat. The first part of this Dilemma we have sufficiently establish'd; but to the latter Mr. B. has made an Exception, that shall here be consider'd.

He observes very acutely, that the Epistles do not expressly say *Zancle, the Town*; but only *the people, Zanclæans*: and he conceives, that though *Zancle* was called *Messana* at Olymp. XXIX according to *Pausanias*; yet there were *Zanclæans* left still, and might be called so by *Phalaris*, at Olymp. LVII. If the Author of the Letters had named *the Town*, he would not have justified him; but nothing can be justly inferr'd to his disadvantage from his naming *the People*.

This is so ingenious a distinction; that I desire to borrow it of him for one moment, and apply it to a passage of his Author *Pausanias*. He has borrow'd several things of me, and I hope he won't take it ill, if I once use the same freedom with him. *Pausanias* among other Donaries at *Olympia*, describes a Statue of *Hercules* fighting with an Amazon. The man that dedicated it was (k) *Evagoras* a *ZANCLÆAN*, and the Workman one *Aristocles* a *Cydonian*. Now the Age, says he, of this *Aristocles* cannot be exactly known: (l) but 'tis evident, that he lived

P. 126.

(k) Paus. 175. Ἐυαγόρας γὰρ Ζάγκληος.

(l) Δὴλα ὅτι, ὡς παρὰ πρὸν ἐπ' ἐγένετο, πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐπ' ἡμῶν Μεσσηνίας.



before Zancle was called, as it now is, Messana. Now Mr. B. may tell *Pausanias*, that his Inference, like mine, is very erroneous; for the Town Zancle not being named here, but only Ζάγκλιθ, a ZANCLÆAN; he cannot infer, as he does, about the Age of *Aristocles*; because *Evagoras* might be a Zanclean, long after the name of Zancle was chang'd into *Messana*. What now has *Pausanias* to say for himself? for it's plain, that he was not aware of the Examiner's distinction. When *Pausanias*'s Friends will condescend to give an answer to so poor a Cavil; the same Apology will serve both for him and my self.

P. 126.

(m) *Paus.*  
179. Εἶναι  
δ' οἱ Σικελῶται καὶ  
τέτρες τῶν  
ἀρχαίων  
Ζαγκαί-  
ων, καὶ ἡ  
Μεσσηνί-  
ος.

(n) Λεόντι-  
σκος καὶ  
Σύμμαχος  
τῶν δὲ πρὸ  
δμῶν Με-  
σσηνίων.

Mr. B. has another passage of the same *Pausanias*; by which he will make it appear, that there were a people Zancleans, when there was no City Zancle. *Pausanias*, says he, where he observes, that during the Messanians absence from Peloponnesse, but two of their Nation, Leontiscus and Symmachus, Messanians of Sicily, won the Prize at the Olympics; adds, (m) That the Sicilians say, these were not Messanians, but descended from the old Zancleans. This implies, says Mr. B. that the Zancleans kept their Families unmix'd with their new Conquerors. But I am sure this Argument implies, that Mr. B. has not read his System of Logic so well as he ought to do. For allow him, that the Families were unmix'd for a while; does that imply, that those Families had still the name of Zancleans? Is it not evident from *Pausanias* himself, (n) that Leontiscus and Symmachus registred themselves MESSANIANS at Olympia? but if the old name was still kept up, why did they not stile themselves ZANCLÆANS? The Catalogue of the Sta-  
dionica

*dionica* enters this *Symmachus* at Ol. LXXXVIII. *Ὀλυμπ. ὀγδοήκοντὶ ὀγδὸν. Σύμμαχος & Μεσσηνίου & σιδίου.* Here we see he is recorded a *Messanian*, and not a *Zanclæan*. Nay, I think the passage of *Pausanias* does more than *imply*, that there were none call'd *Zanclæans* in *Symmachus's* time: for he says, *he was descended of the ANCIENT Zanclæans*. As if I should say, Mr. B. is descended from the *ancient Piets*: would this imply that there is now a Nation call'd *Piets*, or rather the quite contrary?

But pray how does Mr. B. prove, that the *Zanclæan Families* continued *unmix'd*? Because the *Sicilians* could know, that *Leontiscus* and *Symmachus* were descended from them? But this is a consequence too nearly related, to some we have lately parted with. For we have seen already, that *Symmachus's* Age was Olymp. LXXXVIII. And *Leontiscus's* was about the same time, or before it. For his Statue (o) was made by *Pythagoras* (o) *Paus.* p. 181. *Rhegius*, who, as *Pliny* says, (p) lived Olymp. LXXXVII; but as *Pausanias* says, (q) made the Statue of *Euthymus*, who got the Prize at the Olympics, Olymp. LXXVII. Now the remotest of these Olympiads is but 1 years from *Anaxilas's* time, who chang'd the name of *Zancle* into *Messana*. So that for ought Mr. B. knows, both *Leontiscus's* and *Symmachus's* Parents might be married before the time of that change: and where then is his consequence, that the *Families* continued *unmixt*? Nay although the Interval had been much longer, yet the *Sicilians* might easily guess, that those two were not descended from the *Messenians* of *Peloponnesus*. Because in truth, there was no such Colony of *Messenians* that had settled at *Zancle*, as *Pausanias* be-  
M 3 liev'd.

P. 126.

(o) *Paus.* p. 181.  
 (p) *Plin.* xxxiv, 8.  
 (q) *Paus.* p. 183.

liev'd. For though the name was given by *Anaxilas* in memory of his ancient Country; yet the people that he planted there, were (r) a medley of several Countries.

(r) Σύμμι-  
κτοι Ἀν-  
δρωποι,  
Thucyd.

P. 125.

(f) Diod.  
p. 37.  
(t) P. 58.

His next argument to prove that the *Zanclæans* continued many Ages in a distinct Body, and under the old Name, after the City was called *Messana*, is taken out of *Diodorus*; who tells us, says Mr. B. that in the LXXIX Olympiad, the *Zanclæans* recovered their City out of those Strangers hands, that had possessed it so many years. So many years? Pray how many had they possess'd it, according to *Diodorus*? *Anaxilas*, that changed the name of *Zancle*, died, as he says, (f) at Olymp. LXXVI, 1. And his children were dispossessed of it (t) at Ol. LXXIX, 4. Which is but the short Interval of xv years. What does the Examiner mean then by his *so many years*, and *continuing many Ages*? I'll open the Case a little, and shew his mistake; for I am perswaded, he is very innocent in this place, and does not wilfully deceive his Readers. *Diodorus* says, the *Zanclæans* recover'd their Liberty at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. This the Examiner took notice of; and at the same time there run in his head the account of *Pausanias*, that the *Zanclæans* lost their Liberty Olymp. XXIX, 1. The Gentleman, out of his great circumspection, racks these two accounts together, and argues from them, as if *Diodorus* espoused them both. But I have already shewn, that *Pausanias*'s date differs from *Diodorus*'s, almost two whole Centuries. There is nothing therefore in *Diodorus*, about *possessing it so many years*. That's the Examiner's Commentary upon the Text. His words are onely these, at Olymp. LXXIX, 4. Ῥηγῖοι καὶ Ζαγκλαίων, *The Rhegians with the Zanclæans*



Zanclæans drove out the Sons of Anaxilas, and freed their Countries from their Tyranny. The Rhegians had been under the Tyranny of *Anaxilas* and his Children for the space of xxxii years only; and the Zanclæans not so long. Which is the true reason, why *Diodorus* here calls them ZANCLÆANS, though the Town was then called *Messana*. The Zanclæans, says he, delivered their Country. Because they were really the very same Persons, that were formerly called Zanclæans. For the same Generation saw both Revolutions; both the conquest of their City by *Anaxilas*, and the recovery of it from his Children. This once therefore he calls them Zanclæans; but ever after they are *Messenians*, and the Town is *Messana*; as at (u) Ol. xci, 2. (u) *Diod.* (x) xcii, 4. (y) xcvi, 1. So in *Herodotus's* time, about Olymp. lxxxiii 'twas not Zancle, but *Messana*. And when *Thucydides* relates the Athenian Invasion of Sicily, Ol. xci, 2. he talks all along of *Messana* and the *Messenians*; never naming Zancle, but once only, when he was treating of the Antiquities of the Country.

But we are sure, says Mr. B. the Zanclæans preserved themselves in a separate body even till (z) *Pliny's* time, who expressly distinguishes them from the *Messenians*, and tells us *Messana* was a

Free City, but the Zanclæans were Tributaries.

The first Edition of Mr. B's Book has only a reference to the passage of *Pliny*: but the second thus sets down the words in the Margin: *Messana Civium Romanorum, qui Mamertini vocantur, Latine conditionis, Zanclei*. Thus, as I say, the words of *Pliny* are cited in the Margin. But the passage of *Pliny* is really in this manner: *Intus Latine conditionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani*.

*gestani*. *Stipendiarii*, *Afforini*, *Aetnenses*, (and so through the whole Alphabet, to) *Zanclei Messeniorum in Siculo Freto*. Here I think 'tis as plain as the Sun, that Mr. B. the Writer of the first Edition took *Stipendiarii* in *Pliny* to signify *Tributaries*, as it truly does: but the Marginal Writer in the second Edition believ'd, that *Latinae Conditionis* signified *Tributaries*; and that *Stipendiarii*, like the other words on each side of it, was the name of a People of *Sicily*. Which I think, without any Aggravation, to be a brace of such monstrous and infamous Blunders, as can hardly be matched again, but by him that made these. But that which troubles me more is this, that the Learned Mr. B. in his Letter from *Paris* before the second Edition, gives out all those Alterations, of which this is one, to be his own. Now how shall we reconcile these matters together? for the Text, we see, looks one way, and the Margin another. If Mr. B. be a man of Honour and Veracity, as he is, he made this Marginal Note: If he be a Man of Wit and Judgment, as he is too, it's impossible he should make it. Here's a terrible Quarrel between his Honour and his Judgment; and I could wish the matter was fairly ended; I have this expedient to offer towards it, That the Text being writ at *London*, and the Margin at *Paris*, may perhaps be a Physical account, why the Sense of them is so wide asunder.

But what do I say to the passage of *Pliny*? Why, I will give Mr. B. an answer, when he pleases to tell me the meaning of it. *Cluverius*, a man of Learning and other Abilities not much inferior to Mr. B. knew not what to make of it. *Hinc mira brevitate*, (a) says he, & *histori-*

(a) *Sicil. Idem. p. 81.*

*arum confusione Plinius, Zanclei Messeniorum in Siculo Freto.* This great Man, it seems, could see nothing in it, but *Darkness and Confusion*. But I have the less reason to be concern'd about it; because I have plainly shew'd, that *Pausanias* is quite out in his reckoning: so that I do not charge it as the Sophist's Error, that he names the *Zancleans* (which *Pliny* is cited for) but that he talks of *Messanians*, who were not heard of in *Sicily* in the days of the true *Phalaris*.

And so much about the *Zancleans*. For I hope this Article is sufficiently settled. And I would make bold to ask my Learned Examiner, the next time He and I talk together, if he still retains his Loyalty to his *Sicilian Prince*. If he does, much good may it do him: he shall adore his *Perkin Warbeck* as long as he pleases.

P. 131.

P. 41.

V.

THAT same XCII Letter, which has furnish'd us already with one detection of the Imposture, will, if strictly examin'd, make a second confession, from these words, ὅς αὐτοὺς ἐκτελέσῃ πῖτον & δῖον; 'tis a threat of *Phalaris* to the *Himeræans*, That he would extirpate them like a *Pine-tree*. Now here again am I concerned for our Sophist, that he is thus taken tripping. For the Original of this Saying is thus related by \* *Herodotus*: When \* *Lib. vi.*  
the *Lamp/aceni* in *Asia* had taken captive *cap. 37.*  
*Miltiades* the *Athenian*, *Cræsus* King of  
*Lydia*



*Lydia* sent them a Message; That if they did not set him free, he would come and extirpate them like a Pine; σφέας πίνυα τρόπον ἀπειλὰς ἐκτέλειεν. The men of *Lampsacus* understood not the meaning of that expression, like a Pine; till one of the eldest of them hit upon it, and told them, That of all Trees, the Pine, when once it is cut down, never grows again, but utterly perishes. We see the Phrase was then so new and unheard of, that it puzzled a whole City. Now if *Cræsus* was upon that occasion the first Author of this Saying, what becomes of this Epistle? For this, as I observed before, being pretended to be written above a dozen years before *Phalaris's* death, carries date at least half a dozen before *Cræsus* began his reign.

Nay, there is good ground of suspicion, that *Herodotus* himself, who wrote an Hundred Years after *Phalaris* was kill'd, was the first broacher of this expression. For 'tis known, those first Historians make every body's Speeches for them. So that the blunder of our Sophist is so much the more shamefull. The Third Chapter of the VIII Book of *A. Gellius*, which is now lost, carried this Title; *Quod Herodotus parum vere dixerit, unam solamque pinum arborum omnium cæsam nunquam de-*

*nuo ex iisdem radicibus pullulare* ; “ That  
 “ *Herodotus* is in the wrong, in saying,  
 “ that of all Trees, a Pine only, if lopt,  
 “ never grows again. I suppose, *Gellius*,  
 in that Chapter told us, † out of *Theo-* † *Hist. Pl.*  
*phrastus*, of some other Trees, beside the *lib. iv. c. 19.*  
 Pine, that perish by lopping; the *Pitch-* *Caus. Pl. l.*  
*tree*, the *Firr*, the *Palm*, the *Cedre*, and *v. c. 24. Pl.*  
 the *Cypress*. But I would have it obser- *l. xvii. c. 24.*  
 ved, that he attributes the Saying, and  
 the Mistake about it, not to *Cræsus*, but  
 to *Herodotus*: after whom, it became a  
 Proverb, which denotes an utter Destru-  
 ction without any possibility of flourish-  
 ing again. See Πεύκης τέρον in *Zenobi-*  
*us*, *Diogenianus*, and *Suidas*. And ’tis re-  
 markable, that our Letter-monger has  
*Herodotus*’s very words, πίτυς and ἐκτε-  
 λει; when all the other three Writers  
 have πεύκη for πίτυς, and κόπλει instead of  
 ἐκτελεῖται: which shews he had in his eye  
 and memory this very place of *Herodotus*.  
 A strange piece of stupidity, or else con-  
 tempt of his Readers, to pretend to  
 assume the garb and person of *Phalaris*,  
 and yet knowingly to put words in his  
 mouth, not heard of till a whole Century  
 after him.

**M**R. B. goes on, and begins his remarks up-  
 on this Article with his common-place  
 Eloquence, about the uncertainty of this way of  
 proof

proof from Sentences and Sayings. In his opinion, his *Sicilian Prince* may make use of the very Phrases, not the Thoughts only, but the Expressions too, of *Herodotus*, *Euripides*, and others; and yet come a whole Century or two before them. This, as weak and absurd as it is, shall not pass without an answer, in a place that is more proper for it than this.

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He asks, *How do I prove, that the Expression puzzled the whole City?* and he answers himself, *Plainly! because one of the eldest Citizens hit upon it, and told the meaning of it. This is very nice reasoning.* If he was half as nice in his representing, he would not fill his Papers with such mean and unworthy Frauds, as he would put upon his Readers; if any of whom will but look upon my words, as they stand in the Dissertation; they will see his fair dealing. They are the express words of *Herodotus*, that the whole City was (a) puzzled a good while, even the Old-man himself, who at last (b) with much ado found out the meaning.

(a) Πλα-  
νόμενον ὃ  
Λαμψακη-  
νών.

(b) Μόγος  
ποτε μα-  
ζών.

P. 135.

I had observ'd, *That the first Historians make every bodies Speeches for them.* Mr. B. takes me up; *For this of Croesus is no Speech, but only a message.* Wonderfull exactness! Pray, Sir, accommodate us out of your new Logic with a Definition of a Message. I thought formerly, that a Message was a Speech sent: and when Neptune rebukes the Winds in *Virgil*:

*Maturate fugam, regique hac dicite vestro,  
Non illi imperium pelagi, &c.*

I believ'd it was both a Speech and a Message at once. And surely there are infinite such in Poets and Historians and common Life. Nay *Herodotus's* own Phrase is a sufficient warrant for me;



me; for he says, that *Cræsus* (c) SPOKE to the *Lampsaceni* by a Messenger. (c) Πίμ-  
των αἰ-  
σηρῶσιν.

But 'tis probable, said I, that *Herodotus* invented this Phrase himself. Here Mr. B. insults, and briskly asks me these questions; Does *Herodotus* tell us, that the *Lampsacenes* were puzzled with an Expression invented by *Herodotus*? Were the men of *Lampsacus* in *Cræsus's* time at a loss to understand a Phrase, that was not thought of, till *Herodotus* 100 years afterwards coin'd it? 'tis wonderfull to Me, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into a Head, that has Brains in it. Who can deny, but that the Wit of this Expression is as great as the Civility of it? But to let that pass, I am afraid it would not much tend to the Examiner's Reputation, if the World should determin from this very passage, whether his own Head be so very full of Brains, as he and I think it is.

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The falseness of his reasoning lies open enough. I argued from a double Supposition: first, If *Herodotus* give us the very words of *Cræsus*, they are six years at least younger than the Epistle pretends to be: or secondly, if *Herodotus*, as his and other Historians custom is, father'd a saying upon *Cræsus*, which he invented himself, then it is a hundred years younger than the Epistle. Now our Examiner, in his wisdom, racks both these together; and disputes, as if I had maintain'd, that both parts of the Dilemma were true at once; That both *Cræsus* us'd the Expression, and *Herodotus* invented it? Was there ever such a piece of reasoning to be met with in print, till his Examination bless'd the World, and furnish'd it with more of them?

To shew Mr. B. a Picture of his reasoning in a Light that is clearer. *Homer* makes *Achilles's* Speeches for him, just as, according to my opinion, *Herodotus* makes *Cræsus's*. And the Learned World has all along consider'd some Passages in those Speeches, as the inventions of *Homer*. Say you so, Gentlemen, starts up our Examiner, does *Homer* tell us, that *Agamemnon* was affronted with an Expression invented by *Homer*? Were the men of *Troy* frightned with Language, that was not thought of, till *Homer* five hundred years afterwards coin'd it. 'Tis wonderfull to me, Sirs, how such a piece of reasoning as this could ever enter into Heads that have Brains in them. This is a true representation of the Examiner's Argument: and I might tell him in another of his civil Phrases, That surely the man that writ this must have been fast asleep, for else he could never have talk'd so wildly. But I hear of a greater Paradox talk'd of abroad, that not the wild only, but the best part of the Examiner's Book may possibly have been writ, while He was fast asleep.

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P. 137.

Mr. B. goes on; If *Herodotus* is to be believ'd, *Cræsus* us'd this Expression; if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing? Wonderfull again! By the same way of reasoning, he may ruin at one blow the Reputation of *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Livy*, *Salust*, and almost all the Historians. For their manner is, before their Speeches, to say, Such a one spoke thus and thus in these very words: though every body knows, they are the Historian's own Speeches; and it happens not seldom; that into the mouth of the same Person, and on the very same occasion, one Historian puts one Speech, and another a quite different one. Now

to

to argue in our Examiner's words; *If Thucydides be to be believ'd, Pericles us'd such Expressions; if he is not, why is he brought to prove any thing?* By the same way he may casheer *Xenophon*, and the rest. And we are in danger of losing the noblest parts of ancient History, if Mr. B. be not mercifull, and put his Syllogism into its Sheath again.

But would *Croesus*, who expected his Message should immediately be obey'd, put it into such a Phrase, as they were not likely to apprehend? If this Argument had any force in it, it would fall upon *Herodotus* himself; who expressly says, that the Message was sent, and yet was hardly understood. The *Lampsacenes* understood in general the import of the Message: *Miltiades* was to be set free; or else they were to be extirpated. The word ἐκτείνω alone implied some terrible threat; for to be cut down like any Tree whatsoever, was a vengeance severe enough. But the Metaphor πέντε δὲ δὴν was not plain to them at first; why a Pine rather than any other Tree. However this would not have defeated the design of the Message, had the *Lampsacenes* never found the reason of that Metaphor: but we see, they did hit upon't, after they had cast about for't; which is a full justification of *Herodotus* from this Cavil of the Examiner.

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The Command, we see, was clear enough, that they should release *Miltiades*; but the Threat had something of dark in it. And this is censur'd by Mr. B. as a piece of absurd management. But see the difference among great Wits. For *Demetrius*, in his elegant (d) Book of (d) Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς, extolls the Conduct of *Dionysius* of Syracuse in a case exactly like this. He sent a Message



(e) Τὴν  
γῆν, which  
sing upon  
the tops of  
Trees, not  
our Eng-  
lish Graf-  
hoppers.  
P. 135.

sage to the *Locrians*, That they should do such a thing, or else their (e) *Cicadae* should sing upon the ground. A Command plain and express; but a Threat new and obscure: and perhaps, as the facetious Examiner has it, it might puzzle the Mayor and Aldermen, nay, and the Recorder too of *Locri*. Now there's something great in Allegory, says *Demetrius*, especially when it's used in Threatnings: as when *Dionysius* said, That their *Cicadae* should sing upon the Ground. For if he had said plainly, That he would ravage their Country, and destroy their Wood; he had appear'd more angry and less terrible. But he used the Allegory, as it were a Covering to his Threat. For a Threat, that has a hidden meaning, is so much the more dreadful; one man apprehending one thing, and another another.

(f) *De Rhet.*  
lib. ii, &  
iii.

Ἀσπίον, αἰ-  
νισματικόν.

(f) *Aristotle* attributes this saying to *Stesichorus*; but that difference is not material. 'Tis enough, that he agrees with *Demetrius* in his character of it, that it is no less ingenious, than *enigmatical*. And has not Mr. B. then a particular taste about good Sense and Decorum?

*Gellius*, as I remark'd, ascribes that saying to *Herodotus* himself, and not to *Cræsus*: Mr. B's answer is, That *Gellius* might not speak accurately, nor nicely examin what he was about: which is an excuse fitter for the crude Pieces of one that I know, than so exact a Writer's as *Gellius*. But besides him, *Eustathius* says, " That ἐχέμυρος in *Homer* signifies (g) *deadly*; because μύρον the Pitch-tree, when once it is cut down, grows no more. We must take notice therefore, says he, (h) of that Saying of *Herodotus*; That a Pine, of all Trees, will not grow again after the felling. For if the Pitch-tree, and Cypress live no more, after they are cut down;

(g) *Eustath.*  
ad *Iliad.*  
p. 32.

(h) Τὰ τῶ  
Ἡρόδοτου.

Now

“ How comes *Herodotus* to say this of the Pine-  
“ tree alone? Here’s another Author, we see,  
that was no *nicer* than *Gellius*: and Mr. B. per-  
haps will be no nicer towards them, but roundly  
tell them, as his plain manner is, that both their  
Heads had no Brains in them.

But before he quits his hold, he will have one  
fling at my Translation of *Gellius*, *Pinum caesam*,  
in my Language, a Pine-tree lopt. This, says he, is  
falsly rendred, instead of cut down. For that a  
Pine-tree perishes by lopping is News to the Natu-  
ralists. To such Naturalists as I have to deal  
with, I believe it may be News; but not to those  
that have read either *Pliny* or *Theophrastus*: Lop-  
ping, says (i) *Pliny*, is fatal to the Cypress, the (i) *Plin.*  
Pitch-tree, and the Cedre. For these die, if the xvii, 24.  
top be lopt off, or burnt with Fire. The other *Decac-*  
says, (k) That the Beech, the Pitch-tree, the Pine, (k) *Theophr.*  
the Palm, and as some say, the Cedre and Cypress *de Caus.*  
die with Lopping *καὶ τὸ ἀποκομίζον.* And that is v. 24.  
*τεμνόμενον* (Lopping) when the side bran-  
ches are stript, and the top is cut off. This it  
seems is News to the Examiner; I hope there-  
fore I shall have his Thanks for it, for I have  
a great deal more to tell him, before I take my  
leave of him.

One of the main things that I here pointed at,  
as a plain detection of the Sophist, was his using  
the very expression of *Herodotus*, *πέντε δὲ δὲν ἐστὶν ἑστὶν*;  
when some others, that mention’d the Pro-  
verb, yet differ’d a little in the Phrase, having  
it *πέντε δὲ δὲν ἐστὶν ἑστὶν*. This I observ’d as a plain  
token, that he had *Herodorus*’s passage in his Eye;  
as (l) *Eustathius*, when he brings that saying, ex- (l) p. 323  
pressly cites him for it. And so *Ælian* appears  
to have had him in his Thoughts, when he  
N says,

(m) Var. says, (m) τὸ δαμνόνιον παρὰ χεῖμα ἐντεῖβον πρῶτον  
 Hist. vi, 13. πῖτον δίκην. Now the Examiner, that he might  
 do one discreet thing in this Chapter, has dropt  
 this, and taken no notice of it. And he was  
 P. 134. tempted, he says, to leave this whole part of my  
*Dissertation unexamined*. An innocent Tempta-  
 tion indeed! How much better had he yielded  
 to it, than have made such miserable work both  
 with Logic and Critic.

## VI.

**I**N the LXXXV Epistle, we have already  
 taken notice of our Mock-Tyrant's  
 triumph; ὅτι Ταυρομενίτας καὶ Ζακχλεῖας εἰς  
 τέλῃ νενίκηκε, *That he had utterly routed*  
*the Tauromenites and the Zancleans*. But  
 there's an old and true Saying, Πολλὰ  
 καινὰ τῷ πολέμῳ, *Many new and strange*  
*things happen in War*. For we have just  
 now seen these same routed *Zancleans* rise  
 up again, after a Thousand Years, to give  
 him a worse defeat. And now the others  
 too are taking their turn to revenge their  
 old losses. For these, though they are  
 called *Tauromenites*, both here, and in  
 the xv, xxxi, and xxxiii Epistles, make  
 protestation against the name; and de-  
 clare they were called *Naxians*, in the  
 days of the true *Phalaris*. *Tauromini-*  
 Plin. iii, 8. *um, quæ antea Naxos, says Pliny, Tau-*  
*rominium, quam prisca Naxon vocabant,*  
 says



says *Solinus*. Whence it is, that *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, because they writ before the change of the name, never speak of *Taurominium*, but of *Naxos*, and the *Naxians*. A full account of the time, and the reason, and the manner of the change, is thus given by \* *Diodorus*. \* *Lib. xiv. p. 282.* Some *Sicilians* planted themselves *Olymp. xcvi, 1.* upon a Hill called *Taurus*, near the ruins of *Naxus*, and built a new Town there, which they called *Tauromenion*, *ὡς τὸ τῆ ταύρου ἢ μένεν*, from their settlement upon *Taurus*. About Forty Years after this, *Olymp. cv. 3.* † one † *Lib. xv. p. 411.* *Andromachus* a *Tauromenite* gathered all the remnant of the old *Naxians* that were dispersed through *Sicily*, and persuaded them to fix there. This is such a plain and punctual testimony, that neither the power and stratagems of the Tyrant, nor the Rhetoric of the Sophist, are able to evade it. Where are those then, that cry up *Phalaris* for the florid Author of the Letters? who was burnt in his own Bull, above *CL* Years before *Taurominium* was ever thought on.

But I shall not omit one thing in defense of the *Epistles*; which though it will not do the work, let it go, however, as far as it can. We have allowed, that *Pythagoras* was contemporary with *Pha-*



places were not yet called so in the times of *Dædalus* and *Æneas*. The same Excuse we may make for *Ovid*, when he tells us, that *Taurominium*, and *Himera*, and *Agrigentum* were as old as the Rape of *Proserpin*;

*Himeraque & Didymen Acragantaque* IV. *Fest.*  
*Tauromenenque.* v. 475.

So when *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus* name *Taurominium* in the story of *Pythagoras*, and *Conon* in the story of his *Milesian*, meaning *Naxos*, which was afterwards called so; the same figure acquits Them. For 'tis no more, than when I say, *Julius Cæsar conquered France, and made an expedition into England*: though I know that *Gaul* and *Britain* were the names in that age. But when *Phalaris* mentions *Taurominium* so many generations before it was heard of, he cannot have the benefit of that same *Prolepsis*. For this is not a Poetical, but a Prophetical Anticipation. And he must either have had the *Præscience* and *Divination* of the *Sibyls*, or his *Epistles* are as false and commentitious as our *Sibylline Oracles*.

**M**R. B. is pleased to object, That *Diodorus* is in two Stories, about the founding of *Tauromenium*. In one place he says, the *Sicilians* first called it *Tauromenium*, *Olymp. xcvi, 1.* in another, that *Andromachus* named it so, about *xl*

P. 132.

N 3

years



years after. Either of these accounts, he confesses, would serve my purpose; but since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on. That's hard indeed. What, neither of them to be depended on? Not so much as This to be concluded from them, That at least the City was not built above *CL* years before the earlier date of the two? This is just such a strain of Reasoning, as he treated us with in the last Section. The best refutation of such Arguments is not to answer them, but to use them: for by a short trial, they shew their bad metal, and quickly lose their Edge. Let us make therefore an Experiment or two. There are different accounts about the year of our Saviour's Nativity; and since they contradict one another, neither of them is to be depended on: so that we cannot justly infer from them, That he was not as old as the *Macchabees*. Some say (*n*) *A-lefa* in Sicily was built by *Archonides*, Olymp. *xciv*, 2. but others say, by the *Carthaginians*, Olymp. *xciii*, 4. These Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: Therefore the Town may be as old as *Troy*. One man told me in Company, that the Examiner was *xxiv* years old; and another said *xxv*. Now these two Stories contradict one another, and neither can be depended on: we are at liberty therefore to believe him a Person of about 1 years of Age.

(*n*) *Diod.*  
p. 246.

As for the two Stories of *Diodorus*, I believ'd the former was the true one; and therefore I represented the latter, so as to make it consistent with it. *Cluverius* indeed prefers the latter account; but I cannot yet be of his opinion, because *Diodorus* calls the place *Tauroninium* at (*b*) Olymp. *xcvi*, 1. and (*c*) *xcvi*, 3. and (*d*) *xcvii*, 1.

(*a*) *Diod.*  
p. 282.  
(*c*) 305.  
(*d*) 309,  
310.

xcvii, 1. three several times, before *Andromachus* is mention'd.

But there were People of old, that inhabited the hilly parts about Naxos, where Taurominium stood. Right again; and therefore *Taurominium* was built long before *Diodorus's* Date of it. I'll make bold to use this Argument too, and that will serve for an Answer. *Arrian*, (e) in his History of *Alexander*, has the face to tell the world, that that Prince built *Alexandria* at Mount *Caucasus*. But there were people of old, that inhabited those hilly parts, as that writer himself confesses; (f) *Ἐπὶ καὶ τὸ πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, The Mountain, says he, had many Inhabitants. 'Tis plain then, that there was an *Alexandria* at *Caucasus*, before ever the *Macedonian* set foot there. Is not *Arrian* cut down now with this mighty Argument? And which of the Historians may not be in the same condition, when a fit of disputing takes the Examiner?

Alas, but the People might be called *Tauromenites*, before the City was built, and 'tis observable, that *Phalaris* names the People, but not the City; nor uses any such expression, as implies they were form'd into a politic Body, or belong'd to any City. I remember, Mr. B. says somewhere, that there's a Quaintness of Pedantry in some Observations. He might have observed too, if he had pleased, that *Phalaris* mentions the *Syracusians*, but never names the place *Syracuse*: must the *Syracusians* therefore belong to no City? If so small an observation can raze Cities at this rate; the Tyrant, by Mr. B's Conduct, will be more terrible now, than when he was alive.

The reason, why he mention'd not the place *Tauromenium*, but only the People, is no secret

at all. For he neither took the Town, nor besieged it, nor carried his Bull thither for a Rarree Show, nor had any other concerns there, and why then should he mention it? The people indeed he had some Transactions with; for he says, *They began an unjust War with him; they redeemed their Captives by a price in common, and he remitted to them that price in common at the request of Stefichorus.* And surely this is a hint broad enough, that they were form'd into a politic body, and belonged to a City. Unless Mr. B. will have nothing less, than the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Recorder to be nam'd, for a proof that it was a City.

Mr. B. adds a passage of *Vibius Sequester*; That *Taurominium* had its name from the River *Taurominius*, that runs by it. And he inferrs, That there might be a People *Tauromenites*, as well as a River *Taurominius*, before there was a City *Taurominium*. The Gentleman loves to surprize us with a Consequence: A River *Taurominius*; Ergo, a People *Tauromenites*. Now if the *Tauromenites* were a sort of Fish, this Argument drawn from the River would be of great force. But with Submission to Mr. B's better judgment, I humbly conceive, the *Tauromenites* were Flesh and Blood like the rest of the *Sicilians*.

But the Examiner's expression deserves our remarking, *If Vibius Sequester be to be credited.* I doubt not, but he tacitly answered himself, that he is not to be credited. For Mr. B. appears to have had this notice of *Vibius* from (g) *Cluverius* in his *Sicily*; but with great Candor and Integrity he suppresses what *Cluverius* proves there; That *Vibius* is quite mistaken: for the River had  
that

(g) *Cluv.*

*Sicil.* p 90,

91.



that name from the Town, and not the Town from the River; which was called, not *Taurominius*, but *Onabala*, till after the time of Augustus, that is 'till cccc years after the date of *Taurominium*.

The words of (b) *Vibius Sequester* are these. (b) *Vib Se-quester de Fluviiis.*  
*Taurominius, inter Syracusas & Messanam, à quo oppidum Taurominium; quod oppidum aliter Euseboneora dicitur.* It had become Mr. B's great Learning to have cited this passage at large, and have given the world an emendation of it. The fault, I suppose, is manifest enough; for who ever heard of *Euseboneora*? *Cluverius* endeavours to correct it, *Eusebio Naxos*. I will give no character of that learned man's correction, but only propose another of my own, which is, *Eusebon Cora*. The Author meant *Ευσέων Χώρα*, *Regio Piorum*; a place so called in the Neighbourhood of *Taurominium* and *Catana* from the famous Story of the two *Pious Brothers*: who, upon an Eruption of *Aetna*, when the liquid fiery Mass ran down towards their dwelling, took their aged Parents in their Arms and escaped with them, neglecting all their own Goods and Treasure. *Conon* gives us a Narrative of it, which he closes with this, (i)

That the Sicilians from that occasion called ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΑΡ, the Place of the Pious. *Lycurgus* the Orator tells the same story, and adds, (k) That from thence the place was yet called ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΣ. (l) *Aristotle*, (m) *Strabo*, and (n) *Pausanias* call those Brothers, ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ; and (o) *Claudian*, *PII FRATRES*; and (p) *Salinus* names the place, *CAMPUS PIORUM*. (q) *Ælian* says, this

(i) *Conon Nav. 47. Δια ταύτα οἱ Σικελῖαι τὴν ἑκείνων Ευσέων χῶραν ἐχόμεσαν.*

(k) *Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 60.*

(l) *Arist. Θαιμ.*

(m) *Strabo vi.*

(n) *Pausan. Phoc.*

(o) *Claud. Epig. 35.*

(p) *Solin. c. 5.*

(q) *Æl. apud Strab. Serim.*

77.

Eru-

Eruption happen'd at Olymp. LXXXI; but I suspect there's a mistake in the number.

- To return now to the subject under debate; we have other evidence unquestionable, that confirms the Narrative of *Diodorus* about the origin of *Taurominium*. For *Pliny*, and *Solinus* say expressly, That *Taurominium* was the City which was formerly called *Naxos*. *Taurominium* therefore cannot be older than the Destruction of *Naxos*. But we are certain, that that City was destroyed by *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, (r) at Olymp. XCIV, 2. And seven years after, says *Diodorus*, *Taurominium* was founded, OL XCVI, 1. The whole account is clear, and every part of it is consistent with and confirmed by the rest. And agreeably to this, (s) *Herodotus* calls the City, *Naxos*, and the Inhabitants, *Naxians*, about Olymp LXX; and so does (t) *Thucydides*, at Olymp. xci, 2. Nay the very Medals of the *Tauromenites* are an infallible proof, that they came from the *Naxians*: there are five several Pieces in *Paruta*, that have on one side TATPOMENITAN; on the Reverse *Apollo's* Head with an Inscription APXAGETA. Now *Apollo Archagetas* was the Tutelar God of the *Naxians*. The *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*, says (u) *Thucydides*, founded *Naxos*, and built an Altar to *Apollo Archagetas*, which is yet standing, on the out-side of the Town. And we have (x) *Appian's* Testimony, that the *Tauromenites* were under the Patronage of the same *Archagetas*; the very same that had an Altar and Statue built by the *Naxians*. But the original Money of the *Tauromenites* is a surer evidence of it; and 'tis allow'd by all Antiquaries, that the Inscription is in Memory of their *Naxian* Ancestors.

Our Examiner hinted at this Objection against the Epistles, from the date of *Taurominium*, in his Preface to *Phalaris*. And 'tis an unusual piece of Moderation in him, that he has not charg'd me with stealing it from him. He had as good pretense to do so, as when he accuses me of pillaging his poor Notes, and robbing *Vizzanini* and *Nevelett*, of which hereafter. But I'll give the Reader the Secret, why he dropt this opportunity of calling me a Plagiary. Both (x) in his Preface and his Index, he says, *Naxos was destroyed by Dionysius the YOUNGER, as Diodorus relates it.* Now if a man dips only into *Diodorus*, or casts his Eye on him, as Mr. B. says, he may possibly mistake so: because the story (y) is touched upon in the Annals of *Dionysius the Younger*. But the truth is, that *Naxos* was razed by (z) *Dionysius the ELDER* at *Ol. xciv, 2.* which is xxxv years before the other came to the Crown. Now some kind Assistant, I suppose, had inform'd Mr. B. of this shamefull Flaw in his Preface; and so the consciousness of his own Guilt made him slip this fair occasion of traducing me. But if the Reader pleases to see, how each of us have manag'd this Topic; I'll ask no other justification.

But he asks me, *Where do I find that Phalaris was burnt in his Bull?* I find it in *Ovid's Ibis*. P. 133.

*Utque ferox Phalaris, lingua prius ense resecta,  
More bovis, Paphio clausus in ære, gemas.*

and in the old Scholiast upon the place; *Phalaris ipsemet resecta lingua in taurum æneum conjectus est.* But do you take up, says Mr. B. with the trifling Author of the Verses upon *Ibis*? A little while ago *Ovid* was one of the greatest Wits of the Ancients; and as much above *Manilius*, as *Nireus*. P. 28.



- reus was handsomer than Therfites. But now the Wind is changed again, and he's a trifling Author. Mr. B. I see, will let no body else contradict him, but reserves that for a Complement, which he'll pay to himself. But why, I pray, so severe upon Ovid? Why must he have no credit in a matter of History? Will Mr. B. stigmatize him for a *Ly-maker by Profession*; such as he obligingly declares all *Poets are a-kin to*? Of all the various Histories that are touch'd on in Ovid's *Ibis*, there's not one in forty, but what we have at this day other good vouchers for, besides the Poet himself. And without question he had Authors for the rest, though they are not now extant. But Mr. B. requires some *grave Writer's Testimony*, and not a *trifling Poet's*. I had quoted a very grave and learned Writer for it, *Heraclides Ponticus*; but he tells me, I cite him *falsly*; or else I use some *Copy of Heraclides, that he has not seen*. What Mr. B. has, or has not seen, his Assistant knows better than I do. But in all the Copies of *Heraclides*, 'tis I think sufficiently hinted, that *Phalaris* was burnt in his Bull: I mean the Greek Copies; for the Latin Translation, which is sometimes easier *seen* than the Original, does not express it. *Phalaris*, says *Heraclides, burnt several Persons in his Brazen Bull; but the People took vengeance on him, (a) and they burnt his Mother too, and his Friends*. If they burnt his Mother too, then surely that implies, that *Phalaris* himself was burnt. And indeed how could the *Agrigentines* forget to burn him? The Revenge was so proper and natural, and the Thought so very obvious and uppermost; that 'tis hardly credible, they should not burn him in his Bull, if they had him alive in their power.

(a) *Heraclides*  
in *Polit.*  
*Ἐνέπρον*  
*ὁ καὶ τὸν*  
*ἄνθρωπον*

power. Tully says, (b) *That the whole Multitude of the Agrigentines fell upon him.* This is consistent enough with Ovid's account of him; for they fell upon him, and siezed him, and so haled him to the Bull. As for *Valerius Maximus*, who says, (c) *He was stoned to death at the Instigation of Zeno Eleates*: 'tis plain, (d) he mistakes *Phalaris* for *Nearchus*; who was Tyrant of *Velia* in *Italy* a hundred years after *Phalaris*. *Jo. Tzetzes* says, (e) *He was starved to death in a Coat of Lead*; but He scarce deserves our consideration: or if he did, yet here are three Authors for his burning, and he alone for his starving.

(b) De Offic. ii, 7. *Universa A-grig. multitudo im-petum fecit.*  
(c) Val. Max. iii, 3.  
(d) See Larent. in Zen. Eleate.  
(e) Chil. p. 95.

But to take leave of this Topic; let us see how the Balance stands here between the Examiner and me. In the one Scale there are *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and the Original Medals of *Taurominium*: In the Examiner's Scale, there are two false Surmises, two vicious Consequences, and one refreshing Quibble; for the Quibble's his own, by the old Rule, *Qui capit, ille facit.*

P. 133.

## VII.

THE xxxv Letter to *Polygnotus* presents us with a Sentence of Moral, ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἐργα σκιά παρὰ τοῖς σωφροσύναις περὶ σκιάς, *That wise men take Words for the shadow of Things*; that is, as the Shadow is not alone without the presence of the Body, so Words are accompanied with the Action. 'Tis a very notable Saying,

Saying, and we are obliged to the Author of it; and if *Phalaris* had not modestly hinted, that others had said it before him, we might have taken it for his own. But then there was either a strange jumping of good Wits, or *Democritus* was a sorry Plagiary; for He laid claim to the first Invention of it, as \* *Diogenes Laertius* says, Τέτα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λόγιον ἔργον σκῶν: and † *Plutarch*, Λόγιον γὰρ ἔργον σκῶν κατὰ Δημόκριτον. What shall we say to this matter? *Democritus* had the character of a man of Probity and Wit; who had neither inclination nor need to filch the Sayings of others. Besides, here are *Plutarch* and *Diogenes*, two witnesses that would scorn to flatter, and to ascribe it to *Democritus*, had they ever read it in others before him. This bears hard indeed upon the Author of the Letters: but how can we help it? He should have minded his hits better, when he was minded to act the Tyrant. For *Democritus*, the first Author of the Sentence, was too young to know even *Pythagoras*: καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ μάχεται, says || *Diogenes*; and yet *Pythagoras* survived *Phalaris*, nay, deposed him, if we will believe his Scholars. We may allow Forty Years space for *Democritus*'s writing; from the LXXXIV Olymp. to the XCIV, in which he

\* *Vita Democrit.*

† *De Educ. Puer.*

|| *Vita Democ.*



he died. Now the earliest of this is above an Hundred Years after the last period of *Phalaris*.

I am sensible that \* *Michael Psellus* re-<sup>\* De Dam.</sup>  
fers this Saying to *Simonides*; and † *Ist-*<sup>† Epist.</sup>  
*dorus Pelenf.* to the *Lacedæmonians*. But<sup>252, &  
259.</sup> these two are of little authority, in a case of this nature, against *Plutarch* and *Dio- genes*. Neither would the matter be mended, should we accept of their testimony. For *Simonides* was but Seven Years old, when *Phalaris* was kill'd. And were it a *Lacedæmonian* Apophthegm, though the date be undetermined, it might fairly be presumed to be more recent than He.

**M**R. B. animadverts, that among the several Pretenders to this Sentence, Λόγος ἔργου σουά, I decide in favour of *Democritus* for a very good reason; because otherwise it would be of no use to me in the present Debate. One half of which words are a misrepresentation, and the other half a mistake.

P. 138.

I decided in favour of *Democritus*, not to serve a present turn; but for just and perpetual reasons. There are Two, that ascribe it to *Democritus*; and but One to each of the others. Nay I will now add a third in *Democritus*'s behalf, (a) Πένταδλος, ὁ Διουόκερτος ὁ Ἀβδηρῆς, &c. Τέ-  
τε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λόγος ἔργου σουά : which, according to the present reading, is *Oratio Mercurii flagellum*, as *Wolffius* and *Portus* translate it: but it ought to be corrected, Λόγος ἔργου σουά. And

(a) *Suid.*  
in v. Πέρλ.

besides

besides the number, even the quality of *Democritus's* Witnesses is greater than the other's, in a case of this nature. For *Isidorus*, a Christian Writer, was not versed so well in Heathen Authors, as *Plutarch*, and *Laertius*; and *Pfellus*, I suppose, is too Modern, to be set in Competition with them; being a thousand years younger than *Plutarch*, and nine hundred than *Laertius*. In this part therefore Mr. B. has misrepresented me.

P. 139.

The other, as I said, is a mistake; where he says, *otherwise it would be of no use to me, and, if any of them have it, except Democritus, Phalaris might have used it after them.* What will not a man say, that can say such things *with equal regard to Truth and Honour*? If we attribute it to *Simonides*, could *Phalaris* use it after him?

\* See here  
p. 42, 43.

Though it be evident beyond all question, \* that *Simonides* was a very Child at the latest Period of *Phalaris's* Life? I had observed this in my Dissertation; Mr. B. has not one word in refutation of it, and yet could suffer these crude Assertions to drop from his Pen. Nay further, if we allow *Isidorus's* account, and give the Saying to the *Lacedamonians*; yet it's very great odds, that it's younger than *Phalaris*. For if we examine the *Laconic Sentences* collected by *Plutarch*, we shall find four parts of five there to be later than *Phalaris's* time.

P. 138.

But Mr. B. adds, that the words of *Plutarch*, *καὶ Δημοκρίτου*, do not imply, *That he thought Democritus to be the Author of the Saying, but only that he had met with it in Democritus's Works.* I am weary of dealing with such poor Objections, that have no Sap nor Spirit in them. In another place the same Author says, that

(b) ac-

(b) according to Simonides,

Ἀθλῶ ἵππῳ πῶλῶ ὡς ἄμα τρέχιν.

And (c) according to Plato, Λόγῳ κυφοτάτῳ  
περί γματῶ βαρυτάτῃ ζημία. Does not *Plutarch*  
here intimate, that *Simonides* and *Plato* were the  
first Authors of these Sayings? There is nothing  
more common in him and others, than  
χρὶ τῷ Αἰσχύλῳ, χρὶ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ, χρὶ τῷ Μένανδρῳ, &c.  
Now if we allow of Mr. B's exception, That  
these may not be the Authors of the Passages  
there attributed to them, but may have pillag-  
ed them from others; we shall have as many  
Plagiaries, as Writers.

(b) χρὶ τῷ

Σιμωνί-

δην. ●

(c) χρὶ τῷ

Πλάτωνι.

He insists further, That *Laertius* tells us, So-  
lon used to say, Λόγον εἰδωλον ἦν ἔργων; so that  
he does not make *Democritus* the Author of the  
Sentence we speak of. But with the Examiner's  
leave, there is a difference between Λόγῳ εἰδωλον  
ἦν ἔργων, and Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σκιά: and if *Laertius*  
had not thought so, he would not have named  
them both. If the words in *Phalaris's* Epistle  
had been Λόγῳ εἰδωλον ἦν ἔργων; I had never  
made an Objection from them, against the Epi-  
stles: because *Solon* was as old as the true *Phala-*  
*ris*. But since the words are, Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σκιά;  
which, as *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and *Suidas* assure  
us, was the peculiar Phrase and Turn that *Demo-*  
*critus* gave to that Thought, 'tis an Objection  
unanswerable.

P. 138.

But by virtue of an old Saying, as he calls it,  
*Nihil est dictum, quod non dictum prius*; he be-  
lieves, that Λόγῳ ἔργῳ σκιά might be lit upon a  
hundred times, before *Democritus* made it fa-  
mous. I perceive the Gentleman understands  
not the old Saying he speaks of. The first that  
used it, was *Terence* in the Prologue to *Eunuchus*:

P. 137,

139.

O

where



where he excuses himself for borrowing some Characters from *Menander*, in these elegant Verses,

*Quod si Personis iisdem uti aliis non licet;  
Qui magis licet currentes servos scribere,  
Bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,  
Parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,  
Puerum supponi, falli per servum senem,  
Amare, odisse, suspicari? denique  
Nullum est JAM dictum, quod non dictum sit  
prius.*

His excuse is this, That all Characters were already exhausted by the numbers of Poets, that had gon before; (there being at that time above 2000 Greek Comedies extant, besides the Latin ones,) so that nothing could NOW be said, that was not said already. NOW, he says, that is, in his own time, in the Rear of so many Poets: but it had been very absurd in *Epicharmus's* Mouth, or any other of the first Writers of Comedy. And 'tis as absurd in our Examiner, to infer from this *Saying*, that a *Saying* could not be first lit upon by *Democritus*, who comes so early in the Chronology of Learning. Surely every *Saying* had some Beginning; unless Mr. B. will suppose, that the World and Humane Race have been eternally as they are now. But he himself affords a full Refutation of his *Nihil est dictum*: for there are many such *Nostrum's* in his Book, such proper and peculiar Mistakes, as were never thought on, nor said by any Man before him.

VIII:

IN the LI Epistle to *Eteonicus*, there is another Moral Sentence: Ὀνητὰς γὰρ ὄντας ἀδάνατον ἐργῶν ἔχειν, ὡς φασι τινες, ἔδεσθαι; *Mortal Men ought not to entertain Immortal Anger.* But I am afraid, he will have no better success with this, than the former. For \* *Aristotle*, in his *Rhetoric*, among some other sententious Verses, cites this Iambic, as commonly known;

\* Lib. ii. cap. 21.

Ἀδάνατον ἐργῶν μὴ φύλαττε θυητὸς ὢν.

This, though the Author of it be not named, was, probably, like most of those Proverbial *Gnomæ*, borrow'd from the Stage; and consequently, must be later than *Phalaris*, let it belong to what Poet you please, Tragic or Comic.

But because it may be suspected, that the Poet himself might take the Thought from common usage, and only give it the turn and measure of a Verse; let us see, if we can discover some plainer footsteps of Imitation, and detect the lurking Sophist under the mask of the Tyrant.

† *Stobæus* gives us these Verses out of *Euripides's Philoctetes*:

† Tit. xx. Περὶ Ὀφ. γῆς.

Ὡς περ ὃ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σώμα ἡμῶν ἔφυ,  
 οὕτω θεωρήσει μηδὲ πλὴν ὀργῶν ἔχει  
 Ἀδάνατον, ἕως σωρηνεῖν ὀπίσσει.

Now to him that compares these with the words of the Epistle, 'twill be evident, that the Author had this very passage before his Pen; there is ἔχει and θεωρήσει; not only a sameness of sense, but even of words, and those not necessary to the Sentence: which could not fall out by accident. And where has he now a Friend at a pinch, to support his sinking credit? for *Euripides* was not born in *Phalaris's* time. Nay, to come nearer to our mark; from \* *Aristophanes* the famous Grammarian, (who, after *Aristotle*, *Callimachus*, and others, writ the *Διδοσκαλίαι*, *A Catalogue and Chronology of all the Plays of the Poets*; a Work, were it now extant, most usefull to ancient History,) we know that this very Fable, *Philoctetes*, was written Olymp. LXXXVII; which is CXX Years after the Tyrant's Destruction.

\* Argument.  
 Medea Eur.

I Had said, that the *Iambic Verse* quoted by *Aristotle*,

Ἀδάνατον ὀργῶν καὶ φύλαπτε θνητὸς ὢν,

was probably borrowed from the Stage. This does not please the Examiner; for he comes upon me with this gravelling Question, *Why more probably borrow'd from the Stage, than from Archilochus's*



chilochus's Iambics? *the Fragments of which are full of those Proverbial Sentences.* I'll tell you, Sir, why more *probably* from the Stage than from *Archilochus*. First, because in *Aristotle's* time there were a thousand Iambics of the Stage for one of *Archilochus's*. The Plays of the old Comedy were (a) CCCLXV; of the middle Comedy DCXVII: nay *Athenæus* says, (b) That he himself had read above DCCC Plays of the middle Comedy. Add to these all the Tragedies, which in all probability were more than the others; and it will be reasonable to suppose, that there were as many whole Plays in *Aristotle's* days, as there were single Iambic Verses in all *Archilochus's* Poems. And secondly, Because *Aristotle* in the very same place, where he cites this Sentence, brings several others: all of which, except one, we are sure are fetched from the Stage, out of *Euripides* and *Epicharmus*: and even that One is very likely to be taken from the same place. And now I would beg leave, in my turn, to ask the Examiner a question: What he means, when he says, *The Fragments of Archilochus's Iambics are full of those Proverbial Sentences?* For I believe, there are not ten Iambics of *Archilochus's* now extant; and but two of them are Proverbial Sentences. He tells me in another place, *That collecting Greek Fragments is a fit Employment for me, and I have succeeded well in it.* But when he pleases to produce those Iambics of *Archilochus's* full of such sententious Sayings, I'll acknowledge his Talent at that Employment to be better than mine.

My Inference was, that if this Iambic came from the Stage; it must be later than Phalaris,

(a) *Prolog.*  
ad *Arist.*  
(b) *Athen.*  
p. 366.

P. 285

P. 140.

let it belong to what Poet soever, Tragic or Comic. This Consequence, says Mr. B. I can never allow; because I am very well satisfied, that there were both Tragic and Comic Poets before the days of Phalaris. The Age of Tragedy he reserves for another Section; but for Comedy he produces *Sufarion*, who is said to have invented it before the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

'Tis the Examiner's good fortune, to be never more in the wrong, than when he talks most superciliously, and with the greatest assurance. He can never allow my inference, and he is very well satisfied. But I must tell him, to his further satisfaction, That though we suppose Plays were acted a little before or in *Phalaris's* time; yet it does not presently follow as a Consequence, That *Phalaris* could cite that Verse out of a Poet, whether Tragic or Comic.

First, Because it is an *Iambic Verse*; and it was a good while after the invention of Comedy and Tragedy, before that Measure was used in them.

(c) Poet. c.  
iv. Τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον τε-  
τραμέτρον  
ἔχοντο.  
So also in  
Rhet. iii, 1.

*Aristotle* assures us of this, as far as it concerns Tragedy; (c) *The measure*, says he, in Tragedy was changed from Tetrametres to Iambics. For at first they used Tetrametres, because the Trochaic foot is more proper for dancing. And the same reason will hold for Comedy too: because

(d) Donatus, *Comædia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim Tragedia, simplex carmen fuit, quod Chorus cum Tibicine concinebat.*

that, as well as Tragedy, was at first (d) nothing but a Song perform'd by a Chorus dancing to a Pipe. It stands to reason therefore that there also the Tetrametre was used, rather than the Iambic;

(e) Poet. c. which, as the same (e) *Aristotle* observes, was xxiv, & iv. fit for Business rather than Dancing, and for Discourse rather than Singing.

And

And secondly, Because both Comedy and Tragedy in their first beginnings at Athens were nothing but *extemporal* Diversions, not just and regular Poems; they were neither publish'd, nor preserv'd, nor written; but like the Entertainments of our Merry-Andrews on the Stages of Mountebanks, were bestow'd only upon the present Assembly, and so forgotten. Aristotle declares this expressly; (f) *Both Tragedy and Comedy*, says he, *were at first made* EX TEMPORE: *iv. Γενόμεναι* and another very good Writer, *Maximus Tyrius* *vn ὅν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ* tells us, (g) *That the ancient Plays at Athens were* *αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ* *nothing but Chorus's of Boys and Men, the Husbandmen in their several Parishes, after the labours* *TOΣΧΕ-ΔΙΑΣΤΙ-ΚΗ, καὶ αὐ-* *of Seed-time and Harvest, singing* *EXTEMPORAL* *τὸ καὶ ἡ καὶ* *Songs.* Donatus, or whoever is the Author of *μυστήρια* that Discourse about Comedy, says, (h) *Thespis was the first that writ his Plays, and by that* *(g) Dissert. xxi. Ἀσ-ματὰ ἄ-δοντες* *means made them public.* But He was younger *TOΣΧΕ-ΔΙΑ* than the Tyrant's time, as it will appear more manifestly anon. So that *Phalaris*, as I conceive, *(h) Thespis autem pri-* could not meet with this Verse in those days, *mus hac* when the Plays were not written; unless Mr. B. *scripta in* will bring him over the Sea *incognito* to the *omnium no-* *titiam pro-* *tulit.* Merriments in the Attic Villages.

And This perhaps may be the true reason; why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of Comedy, make no mention of *Susarion* or his Contemporaries; but ascribe the invention of it to *Epicharmus*. For as it seems, nothing of that kind was written and transmitted to Posterity before the time of that *Sicilian*. *Theocritus* therefore is express and positive, *That Epicharmus INVENTED Comedy.*

(i) Ἀπὸ τῶν Δωδεκα, καὶ τῶν Κωμῶν  
Εὐεργετῶν Ἐπίχαρμος.

(i) Theoc.  
Epig. 17.



- (k) *Them. Orat. xix.* Comedy, says (k) *Themistius*, BEGAN of old in Sicily; for *Epicharmus* and *Phormus* were of that Country. *Epicharmus*, says (l) *Suidas*, together with *Phormus*, INVENTED Comedy at Syracuse.
- (m) *Solin. Hic primum inuenita Comædia.* And *Solinus* in his description of *Sicily*, (m) *Here*, says he, was Comedy FIRST INVENTED. Some are of opinion, says (n) *Diomedes*, That *Epicharmus* FIRST made Comedy. *Aristotle* makes some small intimation of *Susarion's* Pretenses; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of *Epicharmus*. I'll give the Reader his own words: (o) *The Pretenders*, says he, to the invention of Comedy are the *Megarense*s, both those *Here* (he means the *Magarense*s near *Attica*) and those in *Sicily*: for *Epicharmus* was of that place, who is much older than *Chionides* and *Magnes*. When he says, *The Megarense*s that are *Here*, he may hint perhaps at *Susarion*, who was born at that *Megara*: but he plainly signifies, that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the Author of some *extempore* Farces, that may be called the first Rudiments of Comedy; and that's all that with justice can be granted him. And with this opinion all those fall in, who assert that Comedy is more recent than Tragedy: for the same persons suppose *Thespis* to be the inventor of Tragedy, who lived about Olymp. LXI. *Horace*, after he had given an account of the rise of Tragedy and Satyr;
- (p) *Art. Poet. v. 281.* (p) AFTER these, says he, came the old Comedy: *Successit vetus his Comædia*. *Hic*, says the ancient Scholiast, *scil. Satyris & Tragædia*. And
- (q) *DeCom.* (q) *Donatus* is very positive, That Tragedy is senior to Comedy, both in the Subject of it, and the time of its Invention.

Well

Well then; if *Epicharmus* was the first Writer of Comedy, it will soon appear, that the true *Phalaris* could not borrow an Iambic from the Stage. For it's well known, that (r) *Epicharmus* lived (r) *Plur.* with *Hiero* of *Syracuse*: and the Author of the *Schol. Pind.* *Arundel Marble* places them both at *Olymp.* &c. LXXVII, 1. when *Chares* was Archon at *Athens*: which is LXXVIII years after *Phalaris's* death. 'Tis true, *Epicharmus* lived to a very great age, to xc years, as (f) *Laertius* says, or to xcvii, as (f) *Laert.* (t) *Lucian*. Now allow the greater of these *Epich.* numbers for the true term of his Life; and suppose too that he died that very year, when he is (t) *Luc. in* mention'd in the *Marble* (though it cannot fairly be presumed so) yet he would but be xviii years old in the last year of *Phalaris's* Reign: which perhaps will be thought too young an age to set up for an Inventor; for all great Wits are not so very early and forward, as \* a Young Writer that I have heard of. *Macrob.* \* *Præf. p. 3.*

Or again, if *Phormus*, who is join'd with *Epicharmus*, be supposed the first Poet of the Stage; the matter will not be at all mended: for even He too is too young to do the Epistles any service. His name is written different ways, *Athenæus* and *Suidas* call him (u) *Phormus*; but *Aristotle*, (u) *Φόρμος.* (x) *Phormis*. In *Themistius* 'tis written (y) *A-* (x) *Φόρμος.* *morphus*, which is an evident Depravation. *Poet. c. v.* Some learned men would write it *Phormus* too (y) *Ἀμορ-* in *Aristotle*: but if that be true, which *Suidas* φθ. relates of him, (z) that he was an Acquaintance of (z) *Suid. in* *Gelo the Syracusan's*, and Tutor to his Children; *Φόρμ.* the true reading must be *Phormis*. For he is the same *Phormis* that, as (a) *Pausanias* tells at large, (a) *Elis. c. 1.* came to great honour in the service of *Gelo*, and of *Hiero* after him; and that I think is a proof sufficient

sufficient, that he did not invent Comedy as early as the time of *Phalaris*.

Upon the whole matter, I suppose, from what has been said, these Four things will be allow'd; That the Authorities for *Epicarmus* are more and greater than those for *Susarion*: That if *Epicarmus* was the first Comedian, *Phalaris* could not cite a passage out of Comedy: That allowing *Susarion* to have contributed something towards the invention of Comedy, yet his Plays were extemporal, and never publish'd in writing, and consequently unknown to *Phalaris*: and lastly, That if they were publish'd, 'tis more likely they were in *Tetrametres* and other Chorical Measures, fit for Dances and Songs, than in Iambics. So far is it from being a just Consequence, If Comedy was but heard of at Athens, *Phalaris* might quote Iambics out of it; though it gave such great satisfaction to the learned Examiner.

'Tis true, there are five Iambics extant, that are father'd upon *Susarion*, and perhaps may really be his:

Ἀκούετε λέως· Συσσάρων λέγει τίδε,  
Τιδὲ Φιλίνε Μεγαρόθεν Τειποδίσιθ·  
Καχὸν γυναικας· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὃ δημόται,  
Οὐκ ὄζειν οἰκῆν οἰκίαν ἀνευ κακῶ.  
Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι καχόν.

The first four of these are produced by *Diomedes Scholasticus* in his Commentary on *Dionysius Thrax*, a MS now in the Royal Library; the last with three others by (b) *Stobæus*; the first, third, and fourth by (c) *Diomedes* the Latin Grammarian; and the third and fourth by (d) *Suidas*. The Emendation of the second Verse is owing to the excellent (e) Bishop *Pearson*; for

(b) *Stob.*  
*Tit. lxxvii.*

(c) *Lib. 3.*  
*p. 486.*

(d) *Suid. v.*  
*εὐτε συν.*

(e) *Vind.*  
*Ignat. ii. 11.*



for it's very faulty in the MS. But the first Verse, as he has publish'd it,

Ἀκούετε λέξεως, Σκουρίων τὰδε λέγει,

has two errors in it against the measures of Iambics. So that to heal that flaw in the Verse, for λέξεως its written λέξιν in the Latin *Diomedes*. But the true reading is Ἀκούετε λεώς, as it's extant in *Stobaeus*; that is, *Hear, O People*. 'Tis the form that Criers used, and means the same thing with our *O Yes*. (f) *Plutarch* tells us, That in (f) *Plut.in.* the Parish of the Pallenians of Attica 'twas unlawful for the Crier to use that common Form, Ἀκούετε λεώς: because a certain Crier, called *Leos*, had formerly betrayed their Ancestors. *Stratonius* the Musician made a Quibble about it; (g) (g) *Athen.* for as he once was in *Mylasa*, a City that had p. 348. few Inhabitants, but a great many Temples; he comes into the Market place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of Ἀκούετε λαοί, as the Form used to be, he said Ἀκούετε ναοί. In *Lucian's Sale of Philosophers*, the Form that *Mercury* the Crier uses, is Ἀκούε, σῖγα. And so much by way of digression, to supply the emendation of the incomparable *Pearson*.

If I would imitate somebody's artifice in suppressing and smothering what he thinks makes against him; I might easily conceal a passage of this yet unpublish'd MS, which carries in it a specious objection against something I have said. *Diomedes* introduces those Verses of *Sufarion* with these words: (b) *One Sufarion*, says he, was the beginner of Comedy in Verse: whose Plays were all lost in oblivion, but there are two or three Iambics of a PLAY of his still remembred. Here's an express

(b) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Σκουρίων περὶ τῶς ἐμμέτρων Κωμῳδίας ἀρχὴν ἔγενετο, ἃ τὰ μὲν δράματα ληθὴ κατενεμύθησαν· δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἰαμβοὶ τῶ δρῆματ' ὅτι μνήμη φέρονται. testi-

testimony, that *Susarion* used Iambics in his *Plays*: though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable, that in the first infancy of Comedy, the Iambic was not used there; as we are certain from *Aristotle* that it was not in Tragedy. But I have one or two Exceptions against *Diomedes's* evidence. First, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing that he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a Conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five Iambics are spoken in the person of *Susarion*; which will go a great way towards a proof, that they are no part of a *Play*. For when the Poet in his own name would speak to the Spectators, he makes use of the *Chorus* to that purpose, and it is called a \**Παεγβανς*; of which sort there are several now extant in *Aristophanes*. But the measures that the *Chorus* uses at that time, are never Iambics, but always Anapaests or Tetrametres. And I believe there is not one instance, that the *Chorus* speaks at all to the Pit in Iambics; to the Actor it sometimes does. And lastly, if these Verses of *Susarion's* had been known to be borrowed from a *Play*, it could not have been such a secret to *Aristotle*. For it's plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any *Play* of *Susarion's*: if he had, he would never attribute the invention of Comedy to the *Sicilians* so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable; if we remember, what an universal Scholar that Philosopher was: and that he had particularly applied himself to know the History of the Stage; having writ a Treatise of the *Διδασκαλίας*, *An Account of the Names*,  
and

\* *Schol. Aristoph. He-  
phæst. Pol-  
lux.*

and the Times, and the Authors of all the Plays that ever were acted. If the Verses therefore are truly *Sufarion's*; 'tis probable, they were made upon some other occasion, and not for the Stage.

To return now to our Examiner; let us see a little how he manages his *Sufarion*; for it's a wonder, if besides a general fault in producing a weak Argument, he do not add several incidental ones, which a more skillfull Manager might have avoided. And to justify my suspicion of him, his very first Sentence has two or three errors in it. *The Chronicon Marmoreum*, says he, informs us, that Comedy was brought INTO ATHENS by *Sufarion*, or rather that a STAGE was by him first erected in Athens. And from the word STAGE he would draw an inference, That *Sufarion* was not the Inventor, but an Improver only of Comedy. Now I affirm, that the Marble Chronicon says nothing here about ATHENS, or a STAGE. I will set down the whole Paragraph, as it was publish'd from the Original by Mr. Selden and Mr. Young.

P. 140.

P. 141.

Αφ' ἧ ἐν Αθ . . . αἰς κωμῶ . . . ρ . . . εἰς . . . σάντ . .  
 .. των Ἰκαρίων ἡγεγντ Συσπαρίων κ' δολον .. τεθ  
 .. πτω των ἰχα . . . δ . . . αριστο . . . . . νοινε  
 ... ερ . . . Θ . . . . .

In this worn and broken condition the passage was printed by Mr. Selden; and the Supplements that, have been made to it since, are only learned mens Conjectures; and may lawfully be laid aside, if we have better to put in their places. The first word of it, ἐν αθ . . . αἰς, Mr. Selden guess'd to be ἐν ἀθηναῖς in Athens: wherein he is follow'd by Palmerius, Pearson, Marsham, and every body since. But, with humble submission to those great names, I am perswaded it should not be  
 so



so corrected. For the Author of the Marble, when he would say, *In Athens*, always uses *Ἀθήνησιν*, and never *ἐν Ἀθήναις*. So in Line the 5th *Ἀφ' ἧ δίκῃ Ἀθήνησιν*, and 33. *Ἀφ' ἧ Ἀθήνησιν*, and 61. . . *ἐν Ἀθήνησιν*, and 70. *Ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν διδασκάλων*, so in 79, 81, 83, 85: besides what comes almost in every Epoch of it, *Ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησιν*. 'Tis not credible therefore, that in this single passage he should say, *ἐν Ἀθήναις*. Besides that it is not true in fact, that *Sufarion* found Comedy at *Athens*: for it was at *Icarus*, a Country Parish in *Attica*, as (i) *Athenæus* informs us; which is the reason, that (k) *Clem. Alex.* calls *Sufarion* an *Icarian*. And the Marble it self in this very place names the *Icarians*, *τῶν Ικαρίων*. But surely the same person could not act first both at *Icarus* and *Athens*, in Country and City at once. 'Tis observable therefore, that in another Epoch, where the Marble says, *That Tragedy was first acted by Thespis*, (l) who was an *Icarian* too; there's nothing said of *Athens*. Our Examiner therefore is quite out, when he quotes it as the words of the Marble, *That Sufarion brought Comedy into ATHENS*.

His next mistake is, when he tells us, as out of the Marble, *That Sufarion set up his STAGE at Athens*. The whole foundation of this imaginary Stage is that fragment of a word . . . . *συνι* . . . . which the very ingenious and learned (m) *Palmerius* fancied ought to be, *ἐν συνίῳ*, acted upon Boards; and his Conjecture is approv'd by the great (n) *Pearson*. This, in the Edition of the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, was, I know not why, chang'd into, *ἐν συνίῳ*, in Boards. And the Examiner, who without question, understands how Comedies may be put into Boards (though the Groaning Board of famous

(i) P. 40.

(k) Συμα-  
ρίων Ικα-  
ρίους.

Strom. I.

(l) Suid.  
Θεσ.

P. 140,  
141.

(m) Exer-  
cit. p. 702.

(n) Vind. Ig-  
nat. ii, 11.

mous memory might rather belong to some Tragedy) judiciously follows this (o) casual oversight, in that elegant Edition.

(o) See the Notes there, p. 203, 204.

I desired my worthy Friend Dr. Mill, to examine with his own Eyes this passage in the Marble, which is now at Oxford, and makes part of the Glory of that noble University. And he informs me, that those Letters, which Mr. Selden and Mr. Young took to be ΣΑΝΙ, are now wholly invisible, not the least footstep being left of them: and as for ΕΝΑΘ . . the two last letters are so defac'd, that one cannot be certain they were ΑΘ, but only something like 'em. I am of opinion therefore, that the entire writing in the Marble was not ἐν Ἀδύνατις, but ἐν ἀμύνατις, In Piaustris: and that ΣΑΝΙ has no relation to Σαυίδης, Boards; but is the last Syllable of a Verb. So that I would fill up the whole passage thus: ΑΦ ΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΠΗΝΑΕΙ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΣ ΕΡΩΣΕΘΗΣΑΝ Τῶ ΤΩΝ ΙΚΑΡΙΩΝ ΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΟΤΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ: that is, Since Comedies were carried in Carts by the Icarians, Susarion being the Inventor. That in the beginning the Plays were carried about the Villages in Carts, we have a witness beyond exception:

(p) Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camæne (p) Horat. in Art. Poet.

Dicitur, & PLAUSTRIS VEXISSE poemata Thespis.

And so the old Scholiast upon the place; Thespis primus Tragedias invenit, ad quas recitandas circa vicos PLAUSTRO quoque vehebatur ante inventionem scenæ. And I suppose, it's sufficiently known, that ἀμύνη is the same with PLAUSTRUM. Hesychius and Suidas; Ἀμύνη, ἀμαξία. Eustathius twice; Ἀμαξίαν μὲν καὶ Ἀμύνην εἰπεῖν ταυτέν ἐγγιν.

ὄζιν. *Glossarium Philoxeni*; *Plaustrum*, ἀμαξία.  
*Plostrum*, ἀμαξία.

If this Conjecture of mine may seem probable, the next I dare pass my word, will amount even to certainty. The words in the Marble, as Mr. Selden publish'd them, are these; Καὶ δολὸν .. τεθ

.. πωτωνισχα .. δ .. αρεσχο .. νοινε ..  
εφ .. Θ ..

(q) Palmer.  
*Ibid.*

Out of which broken pieces the ingenious (q) *Palmerius* endeavour'd to make this Sentence, καὶ δολωνΘ τεθείππω, τ' ἰχάδων ἀρεσχον, πίδον οἶνε; that is, *Dolon* (together with *Sufarion*) was inventor of Comedy; the prize of which was a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; which were carried home by the Victor in a Chariot with four Horses. But he ingenuously confesses, that he never read any thing of this *Dolon* a Comic Poet, nor of such Prizes as a Basket of Figs, and a Hogshead of Wine; nor that they were convey'd home in a Chariot. However this emendation of his is approved and follow'd by the learned Publisher of *Marmora Oxoniensia*.

I was lead by the very Sense of the place to suspect, that Mr. Selden or Mr. Young had copied the Inscription wrong; and that instead of ΔΟΛΟΝ .. ΤΕΘ .. ΠΠΩΤΟΝ, they ought to have read it, ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΠΩΤΟΝ: for the difference in these Letters is very small, and such as might escape even a curious Eye in so dim an Inscription. I communicated by Letter this suspicion of mine to the Reverend Dr. Mill; who will bear me witness that I sent this Correction to him, before he had look'd upon the Stone: and I ask'd the favour of him, that he would consult the Marble it self; and he return'd me this answer, That the writing in the Marble is fair



fair and legible enough in this very manner, ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΙΣΧΑΔΩ .. ΑΡΣΙΧΟ ..

ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ. I conceive therefore, this whole

passage should thus be restor'd : καὶ ἀθλον ἐπείθε  
 πρῶτον, ἰσχαδῶν ἀρσιχθ, καὶ οἶνον ἀμφορεύς, that is,

*And the Prize was first proposed, a Basket of  
 Figs, and a small Vessel of Wine.* Dolon, we see,

and his Coach and Four are vanish'd already :

and as for the Prizes for the Victory, which Pal-

merius owns he knew nothing of, I think I can

fairly account for them out of a passage in (r) *Plu-*

*tarch* : *Anciently, says he, the Feast of Bacchus*

*was transacted Country-like and merrily: first there*

*was carried (Ἀμφορεύς οἶνον) A VESSEL OF WINE*

*and a Branch of a Vine ; then follow'd one, that led*

*A GOAT (τεθρον) after him ; another carried*

*(ἰσχαδῶν ἀρσιχθ) A BASKET OF FIGS ; and*

*last of all came the Phallus (ὁ φάλλος.)* Now as

both Tragedy and Comedy had their first rise

from this Feast of Bacchus ; the one being in-

vented by those that sung the (s) *Dithyramb,* (s) *Arist.*

and the latter by those that sung the *Phallic* : *Poet. c. iv.*

so the Prizes and Rewards for those that per-

form'd best, were ready upon the spot, and made

part of the Procession ; *The Vessel of Wine, and*

*the Basket of Figs* were t' *Premium* for Comedy,

and *the Goat* for Tragedy. Both the one and the

other are expressed in these Verses of *Dioscorides's,*

never yet publish'd ; which shall further be consi-

der'd in the xi Section, *about the Age of Tragedy :*

Βάκχος ὅτε τετθὼν κατὰ τοὶ χορὸν, ὃ ΤΡΑΓΩΣ ἀθλον,  
 Χ' ὃ πικρὸς ἦν ΣΥΚΩΝ ΑΡΣΙΧΟΣ ἀθλος ἔσται.

Now I would ask the Examiner one questi-

on, If he can really think *Sufario* made re-

gular and finish'd Comedies with the Solem-

nity of a Stage ; when the Prize, we see,

P

that

(r) *Plut.*  
 Περὶ φιλο-  
 πλουτ.

(s) *Arist.*  
*Poet. c. iv.*

that he contended for, was the cheap purchase of a Cask of Wine and a parcel of dried Figs? These sorry Prizes were laid aside, when Comedy grew up to maturity; and to carry the day from the rival Poets, was an honour not much inferiour to a Victory at *Olympia*.

P. 141. I'll forgive Mr. B. his double mistake of xxx years, when he says, *Susarion must fall in between the 610th and 589th year before Christ*. For I find, some other person has already reprehended him for't. And I am well pleased with his judgment of Bishop (t) Pearson's performance, *That he has proved BEYOND ALL CONTROVERSY, that Susarion is a distinct Poet from Sannyrion*. I see the Gentleman, if he be free and disinterested, can pass a true censure. *Casaubon* and *Selden*, as famous men in their Generations, as Mr. B. is in this, thought both those names belong'd to the same person: but Bishop *Pearson* by one single Chronological Argument has refuted them, says Mr. B. *beyond all controversy*. I may say, without breach of modesty, I have refuted *Phalaris's* Epistles by a dozen Chronological proofs, each of them as certain as that One of the Bishop's; besides my Arguments from other Topics: and yet (to see what it is to be out of favour with Mr. B.) *I have proved nothing at all*. Mr. B. no doubt has good Motives for his giving such different characters: but I would ask him, why he says, *Mr. Selden's opinion would bring Susarion down to Aristophanes's time*? It would just do the contrary, and carry *Sannyrion* up above *Pisistratus's* time. For the Epoch in the Marble was not doubted by Mr. *Selden*.

The Bishop, says Mr. B. *has proved that Sannyrion must live in Aristophanes's time*. This is true; but it still leaves his Age undetermined, within

within the wideness of xxxx years ; for, so long *Aristophanes* was an Author. If Mr. B. had been cut out for improving any thing ; he might easily have brought *Sannyrrio's* time to a narrower compass. For *Sannyrrio*, in his Play call'd *Danae*, (u) burlesqu'd a Verse of *Euripides's* O-  
restes. But *Orestes* was acted at Olymp. xcii, 4. when (x) *Diocles* was Archon at Athens. *Danae* therefore must have come soon after it, or else the Jest would have been too cold. The  
*Frogs* of *Aristophanes*, where the same Verse is ridicul'd, (y) were acted the third year after, Olymp. xciii, 3. So that we may fairly place the date of *Sannyrrio's Danae* between Olymp. xcii, 4. and Ol. xcv.

(u) Schol. ad *Ranar.*  
*Aristoph.* p. 142.  
*Schol. Orest.* v. 279.  
(x) *Id.* v. 371, 770.  
(y) *Argum.* *Ranar.*

We are come now to the Second part of my Argument from this passage in *Phalaris's* Epistle, *Θνῦτες γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον βεγνῖν ἔχουσιν, ὥς φασὶν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ βροτῶν;* Mortal men, as some say, ought not to bear immortal Anger. The Thought, as I observ'd, was to be met with in two several places ; in a Poet cited by *Aristotle*, and in *Euripides's Philoctetes*. Allow then first, that the Writer of the Epistle borrow'd it from the Former of these : then, as I have hitherto endeavour'd to prove, and as I think, with success, he could not be as ancient as the true *Phalaris* of Sicily. But the Reader, I hope, will take notice, that all this was *ex abundanti* ; for there are plain and visible footsteps, that he has stole it, not from *Aristotle's* Poet, but out of *Philoctetes*, which was not made till sixscore years after *Phalaris's* death. So that let the dispute about Comedy and *Sufarion* fall as it will (though I think that to be no hazard;) yet he will still be convicted of a Cheat, upon this second Indictment.



The words of the pretended *Phalaris* are,  
Θνητὸς ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν ἢ περσέει. The  
words of *Euripides* are,

Ὡσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἔφει,

Οὕτω περσέει μηδὲ δ' ὀργὴν ἔχειν

Ἀθάνατον —

In the comparing of which, I remark'd, that besides the words *Θνητὸς* and *Ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, there are other words also, that are found in both passages, *ὀργὴν ἔχειν* and *περσέει*. As for *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*, they are necessary to this Sentence, and the Thought cannot be express'd without them; for one cannot express this opposition of Mortal and Immortal, upon which the whole Thought turns, in other Greek words than *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος*. It might be said therefore in *Phalaris's* behalf, That if two or more persons should hit upon this Thought, (which is far from impossible) there is no avoiding but they must needs fall into the very same expressions of *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος ὀργή*; and yet none of them might steal them from any of the rest: as we see all the three words are found in that other Verse quoted by *Aristotle*,

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς αὖ.

To occur then to this plausible pretense; I observ'd, there were Other words in both passages alike; *ὀργὴν ἔχειν* and *περσέει*; and that here there was no room for this specious objection. For *ἔχειν* and *περσέει* are not necessary to the Thought, as *θνητὸς* and *ἀθάνατος* are; because there are several other words, that signify the same things: so that the Sentence, as to this part of it, might be varied several ways; as one may say, *ὀργὴν φύλαττεν*, as well as *ἔχειν* (and so the Poet in *Aristotle* has it) or *ὀργὴν τρεῖν*, or *ὀργὴν τρέφειν*  
 &c.

Ἔ. And so instead of *προσέκει*, one may say, ἢ δ᾽, ἢ πρέπει, ἢ πρέπει δῖν, ἢ προσήκόν δῖν ; or ἢ πρητέον, ἢ φυλακτέον, and many other ways ; which by being intermix'd would produce a great number of changes. So that upon the whole, since the Writer of the Epistle has the very numerical words of *Euripides*, in a case where it's so much odds, that he would not have lit upon them by chance; I look'd upon it, as I still do, to be a plain instance of Imitation, and consequently a plain proof of an Imposture.

Well, what says our severe Examiner to this ? why truly, with a pretended Jest, but at the bottom in sober earnest, *He lets Phalaris shift for himself, and is resolved not to answer this argument.* I will not say, how ungenerous a design this is, to leave his *Sicilian Prince* in the lurch. But I fear, it's too late now to shake him off with Honour: his *Phalaris* will stick close to him longer than he will with him. However, instead of an answer to Me, he desires me to answer Him, *Whether it was prudent in me to accuse Phalaris of a Theft, by a pair of Quotations pillaged from his poor Notes on this Epistle ?* Poor Notes ! he may be free with them, because he claims them, as \* *his* \* P. 35. *own* ; and yet as *poor* as he calls them ; if common fame may be believed, somebody run in debt for them. But he *desires my answer*, and I will give it him ; for the accusation is a very high one. To *pillage his poor Notes* would be as barbarous, as to rob the Naked ; and I dare add, to as little purpose. My defense is, That these two passages which I have quoted, are in *Aristotle* and *Stobæus* : and I believe I may truly say, that I had read them in those two Authors, before Mr. B. knew the names of them. In other places, he confesses

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ies, and makes it part of my character, *that I have applied my self with success to the collection of Greek Fragments*: why might I not have these Two then out of the original Authors? Are these Sentences vanish'd out of *Aristotle* and *Stobæus*, since the memorable date of Mr. B's Edition of *Phalaris*? If ever they were used since, or shall be used hereafter, must they needs be pillaged from Him? Alas! one may safely predict, without setting up for a Prophet, that these Sentences will still be quoted, when his *poor Notes*, and his poor Examination too, will have the happiness to be forgotten. If Mr. B. had made the same Inference that I do from these Sentences, there had been some colour for his accusation of Theft, but he barely cites them in his Notes: and it's another great instance of the Sagacity of our Examiner, that when he even stumbled upon Arguments, yet he could not *make use of them*.

(z) View  
of Dissert.  
p. 19.

I had taken notice from the Scholiast on *Euripides*, *That Philoctetes was acted Ol. LXXXVII.* But an (z) unknown Author, that has mixed himself in this Controversie, has been pleased to object, *That some others say, the Phœnissæ was acted then; so Scaliger's Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ, and Aristophanes's Scholiast.* But here are several mistakes committed in this short objection. First, the Author seems not to have known, that there were four plays of *Euripides's* acted in one year: there's no consequence therefore in this argument; for *Phœnissæ* and *Philoctetes* might both of them be acted at Ol. LXXXVII. Then, both here and in other places, he argues from the Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ, as if it was an ancient piece. But *Scaliger* himself confesses, it's his own work; and in this passage, that Great man mistook himself



self either by haste, or by trusting to his memory: for instead of *Θοίνισσας*, he design'd to have writ *Μίνισσα*, out of the Scholiast on *Euripides*; and such oversights are not unfrequent in that (a) Colle- (a) See ction of his. Again, the Author is very much here, p. out in quoting the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*: 157, 158. which I suppose he might copy from the learned Mr. Barnes's (b) *Life of Euripides*. But so far (b) *Self*. is that Scholiast from affirming, that the *Phæ-* xxvi. *nissæ* was acted Olymp. LXXXVII, that I will prove from him, it was acted after Olymp. xci, 2. For he (c) twice declares, that the *Phæ-* (c) p. 382, *nissæ* was not then acted, when *Aristophanes* 585. Ed. brought his *Aves* upon the Stage; which was *Basil*. at (d) Olymp. xci, 2. when *Chabrias* was Archon. (d) *Ibid*. And again, (e) he gives an account, why *Ari-* 366. *stophanes* in his *Ranæ* rather chose to ridicule the (e) *Ibid*. *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, which was then VIII 132. years old, than *Hypsipyle* or *PHOENISSÆ*, or *Antiope*, all which had been acted (f) a little while (f) *Περί ὁ-* before. But the (g) *Ranæ* was acted Olymp. *λίγην ἰδέα-* xci, 3. when *Calias* was Archon. It is plain *χθέντων.* therefore, that the *Phænissæ* must have been (g) *Ibid*. acted between Olymp. xci, 2. and xciii, 3. I p. 128. dare so far rely upon this unknown Author's Candour, as to believe he will be satisfied with this reply. And I think there are no more of his Animadversions, that concern Me or these Dis- sertations, that require a particular answer.

I have nothing more to say at present upon this Article of Comedy: but that I may not break it off abruptly without taking leave of the Examiner, I would desire one piece of Justice at his hands; That the next time he burlesques some knotty Paragraph of mine or any of his future Antagonists, he would not add to it of his

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own, Four marks of Parentheses, ( ) ( ) like Knots upon a string, to make it look the more *knottily*. 'Twould be a very dear bargain, to purchase a much better Jest than that, at the expense of Truth and Integrity.

## IX.

THE XII Epistle exhibits *Phalaris* making this complement to his Friends; Ὡν εὐτυχόντων καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέρῳ συμπλακῶ δαίμονι, ἠδεὶς ἑδὲν ἡτίον εὐτυχῶν δόξω; *That while they continued in prosperity; his joy for That, though himself should fall under misfortunes, would still make him happy.* But methinks those words, Ἐτέρῳ Δαίμονι, the *Other God or Genius*, that is, the *Bad one*, have a quaintness in them something Poetical, and I am mistaken, if they be not borrowed from some Retainer to the Muses. And now I call it to min<sup>t</sup>, they are \* *Pindar's*,

\* *Pyth.* 3.

Δαίμον δ' ἑτέρῳ

Ἐς κακὸν τρέψας ἑδαιμάτατό νιν.

or *Callimachus's*; for this *Scazon* of his is there cited by the Scholiast,

Οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅς ἑχεν ἄτερόν Δαίμον.

Whether of these our Author made bold with, I cannot determin. *Pindar* I should incline to guess, but that I find him familiar with *Callimachus* upon another occasion; Epist. CXXII. speaking of *Perillus's*

lus's invention of the Brazen Bull ; Ὑπερ  
ἐμὸν τ' Ὀλεθρον εὔρε κατὰ τῆς ὀπιβελευόν-  
των ἀχθιρότατον. Where he has taken  
that expression, τ' Ὀλεθρον εὔρε, from these  
Verses of † *Callimachus* that concern the  
same business ;

† Schol.  
Pind.  
Pysch. 1.

Πρῶτ' ἔπει τ' ταῦρον ἐκάνισεν, δὲ τ' Ὀλεθρον  
Εὔρε, τ' ἐν χαλκῷ κ' περὶ γινώσκον.

But be it either of them as you will, I  
suppose the Ages of both those Poets are  
well enough known ; so that without any  
computation of Years, one may pro-  
nounce these fine Epistles not to belong to  
*Phalaris* himself, but to his Secretary, the  
Sophist.

**T**HE Examiner, after a long Prologue of  
*Banter* and *Grimace*, which he thinks he  
has a great Talent at, comes at last to that little  
Reasoning, that he can spare upon this Article.  
He will not allow ἔπερθε δαίμων to be a Poetical  
Expression ; for which, says he, of the words is  
poetical, ἔπερθε or δαίμων ? Ἐπερθε here signifies  
neither more nor less than Another ; and δαίμων is  
taken for τὸν Fortune ; and so they are used in  
*Prose Authors*. Was there ever such an admira-  
ble Touchstone found out, to try Poetical ex-  
pressions by ? If the several words taken asunder  
have nothing Poetical in them ; then to be sure,  
the whole can have nothing Poetical. Will  
he please to lend it me a little, to make an essay  
upon a Verse or too ; as,

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(a) Luna, dies, & nox, & noctis signa severa : (a) *Lucret.*  
The men of Letters have believ'd hitherto, that V.  
the



the latter part of this Verse was in the Poetical stile, and that the Prose of it was *sidera*. But by the Touchstone, I discover that *nox* signifies neither more nor less than night; and *signa* nothing but signs, and *severa* nothing but severe; which are the common meanings of those words: There's nothing therefore of an *Air of Poetry* there, but it's all plain and vulgar Language.

Virgil.  
Georg. IV.

*Cum Proteus consueta petens è fluctibus antra  
Ibat : eum vasti circum gens humida ponti  
Exultans, rorem late dispergit amarum.*

I believe the Author of these Verses thought himself above the pitch of common Prose, when he call'd the Fish *Humida gens Ponti*, and the Sea-water *Rorem amarum* : but Mr. B. can prove he was mistaken, for he can shew him in *Varro's* Prose, which was writ before the *Georgics*, *Gens* a Nation, and *humida* moist, and all the 'rest, if you take them single, in the very same sense that *Virgil* uses them. If the Examiner by this time be out of love with his Touchstone, I will then make bold to tell him, That 'tis not the separate words *ἑτερος*, *δαίμων*; but the particular sense that is put upon them, when they are joyn'd together, that gives them a Poetical Air. That *ἑτερος δαίμων*, the Other Genius, should, without reference to the opposit one, signify absolutely the Evil Genius, is truly a quaintness something poetical. So the Scholiast on *Pindar* thought it, a Writer of very good esteem, if we may put His judgment in the Scale against Mr. B's; for he explains it, *ἑτερος, ὁ κακοποιός*; and adds the passage of *Callimachus* to justify *Pindar* in the use of the Phrase: which certainly he needed not have done, were it as familiar and prosaical, as our Censurer would make it.

His

His next exception, of the very same features and complexion with the former, is about ὀλεθρον εὖρε; which I had charged upon the Sophist, as a Phrase borrowed from *Callimachus*. The Latin, he says, of this Greek, invenere Tormentum, is in Horace; and he'll engage at a venture to find these two words together in a Prose-writer. Here's your man of resolution, he'll engage at a venture; and indeed his whole Book seems to be writ so. But I'll excuse him that trouble; and since it will so much oblige him, I will shew him those two Greek words (which will serve his turn much better than his Latin ones) as close together as can be, in a Verse of *Hermesiana's*, (b),

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Ἐσώκε τοι δαίμων, Εὐειπὶδῃ, ΕΥΡΕΝ ΟΛΕΘΡΟΝ

(b) Athen. P. 598.

Ἀμφὶ εἰς συγνῶν ἀνπάσαντι κυνῶν.

But I hope, in return, he'll be pleased to remember, that I did not lay the stress of the argument upon this, That the two words ὀλεθρον εὖρε came together in *Callimachus*; but, That they concern'd the same business; for both the Sophist and the Poet were speaking of *Perillus* and his Bull. And if Mr. B. with his *Index-hunting*, will engage to find the same words in another Author, and upon the very same occasion; I'll engage too, without any venture, to shew that this other Author too had been trading with *Callimachus*.

Mr. B. will not pass even the shortest Section without giving us a cast of his Learning, though it be quite besides the subject. *Callimachus*, he says, *Dorizes*, in saying ἄτερε for ἔτερε. If the Examiner here had not catch'd at a Jest, he might have sav'd a mistake in earnest. For under favour, this ἄτερε is not the *Doric* Idiom, but the *Ionic* and the *Attic*. *Herodotus* uses it,

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(c) Ἐσι δ' ἔχ' ἄτερε λόγῳ; and *Sophocles* in his *Ajax*, (c) *Herod.* iv, 11.

jax, Εἰδ' ἄτις ὁ σερπηρός; and some other Writers in those Dialects: but if Mr. B. has some second hand Writers, which tell him 'tis Doric too, he will find them mistaken.

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He concludes this Article with telling the World, *That I have lately reprinted these two Criticisms with my Fragments of Callimachus.* And yet the world very well knows, that those Fragments of *Callimachus* were printed a good while before the Dissertation; and I will tell him further, that the Fragments were *printed*, before one single Line of the Dissertation was *writ*. This it is to *engage at a venture*; but he ventures on still, and *if he guesses right*, 'tis the only part of the Dissertation that I ever will put into Latin. Now I seriously protest, that out of kindness to Him, besides other reasons, I have no design, nor desire to have it in Latin: yet when I consider what an awkward *Guesser* he is, and perpetually in the wrong; 'tis a kind of a Prefage to me, that he now *guesses* no better.

## X.

THE XXIII Epistle is directed to *Pythagoras*; and there he gives to his Doctrine and Institution the name of *Philosophy*; Ἡ Φαλαριδῶς πυθαγόρειος φιλοσοφίας πλεῖστον ἔσθ' ὅσον δεκεῖ κεχρησθῆναι. And so again in the LVI. he gives him the title of *Philosopher*, Πυθαγόρεως τῶν φιλοσοφῶν. I could shew now, from a whole crowd of Authors, that *Pythagoras* was the first man that invented that word; but I shall content my self with



with two, *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Cicero*.

The former says, \* Φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτον ἄνθρωποι Πυθαγόρας, καὶ ἐαυτὸν Φιλόσοφον, 26.

ἐν Σικυῶνι διαλεχόμενον Λέοντι, τῷ Σικυωνίων τυραννῶ, ἢ Φλιασέων; *Pythagoras first named Philosophy, and called himself Philosopher, in conversation with Leon the Tyrant of Sicyon, or, as some say, of Phlius.*

The latter tells us, † *That when Pythagoras had discoursed before Leon; the Tyrant much taken with his wit and eloquence, asked him what Art or Trade he professeth.*

*Art, says Pythagoras, I profess none, but I am a PHILOSOPHER. Leon, in admiration at the newness of the name, enquires*

*|| what those Philosophers were, and wherein they differed from other men. What a difference is here between the two Tyrants? The one knows not what Philosopher means; the other seems to account it as*

*|| Quinam essent Philosophi, & quid inter eos & reliquos intellexeret.*

threadbare a word, as the name of *Wise Men of Greece*; and that too, before ever he had spoken with *Pythagoras*. We cannot tell, at this distance of time, which Conversation was first, that with *Phalaris*, or that with *Leon*. If *Phalaris's* was the first; the *Epistles* must be a cheat. But allowing *Leon's* to be the first, yet it could not be long before the other. And 'tis very hard to believe, that the fame of so small a business could so soon reach *Phalaris's*

ear in his Castle, through his Guard of Blue-coats, and the loud bellowings of his Bull. Nay, could we suppose him to have heard of it; yet surely when he had written to *Pythagoras*, he would have usher'd the Word in with some kind of introduction, *That Science which you call Philosophy*; and not speak of it as familiarly, as if it had been the language of his Nurse.

**T**HE summ of my Argument from the word φιλόσοφος, is this; That it was invented in *Pythagoras's* time, and by himself; and perhaps not till after his Conversation with *Phalaris*; or if before, yet it's very improbable that *Phalaris* should have heard of the word, before he had ever seen the man; nay though he had heard of it, he would not have used it so vulgarly and familiarly; but have signified by some short Preamble, that the word was new and *Pythagoras's* own.

P. 160. Let us see now, how the candid Mr. B. represents it. *He finds fault, says he, with Phalaris, for calling Pythagoras Philosopher: why? because Pythagoras himself invented that word. Now this is so far from being the whole Argument, that it's no part of it at all. For I do not blame his Phalaris for using the word φιλόσοφος, because Pythagoras invented it; but because he could not have then heard of it, or if he had, he should have prefaced it with something, to signify its newness, and that Pythagoras was its Author. Is not this a most proper and honourable way of giving the world an account of my performance? But however he harangues upon this mock argument of his own;*

Pr. sf.

own ; Could Phalaris *therefore*, says he, pay Pythagoras a greater complement, than by using the word ? Queen Elizabeth first coin'd the word *Fœminilis* in a Speech of hers to one of the Universities : could that Body have show'd her a handsomer piece of respect, than by using that very word to her afterwards as freely, as if it had been one of the best age of Latin ? All this, as I have plainly shown, does not at all concern Me or my Argument : yet I mention it, that the Reader may see, what a rare Judge of Decency and good Sense the Examiner is. For I dare appeal to all persons truly of that Character ; if that wise Princess would not have despised such a piece of mean pedantic Flattery ; and rather have commended the manly freedom of Him, that told a greater Person than herself, upon his coining a barbarous word, *Hominibus, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes, Verbis non potes*: Your Majesty may naturalize Men, but you cannot naturalize Words. And what a clamour does Mr. B. make, because I first used, as he thinks, the word *Commentitious* ? yet the same man here, in his great wisdom, would have a Learned University make Barbarisms a purpose, because a Lady chances to do so. But 'tis to be hoped, that Reverend Body is not under the same Direction with Mr. B.

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I had ask'd the Question, *How came the fame of so small a business, as Pythagoras's Discourse with Leon, to reach the ear of Phalaris, who was so difficult of access; being intrench'd commonly within his Castle, and encompass'd with his Guard of Executioners ?* The Examiner, who is puzzled at nothing, can very easily account for this: for one may as well ask, he says, *how he came to hear his name was Pythagoras ?* Fame, that told

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told him the one, must tell him the other too. An extraordinary acuteness indeed ! if he hear of any man's Name, he can give an account with the same facility, of all his Conversation. A man that had got this admirable faculty, would have had mighty Preferment in *Phalaris's* Court. A certain Gossip of old, as the story goes, would needs tell her Comrades, what *Jupiter* once whisper'd to *Juno* in her ear. The Company was inquisitive, how She could know it then : but Mr. B. would have answer'd for her, *That they might as well ask her, how she came to know his name was Jupiter; Fame that told her the one, must tell her the other too.*

These are all the Animadversions, that Mr. B. could afford upon this Topic, except a small puny Cavil against an expression of mine, *The first Inventor* ; which shall be answered, when I come to examin his Exceptions to my Stile. But on the next head, *The original of Tragedy*, he resolves to overflow all banks with a Spring-tide of Learning : let the Reader therefore prepare, that he be not carried away with the Flood.

## XI.

**I**N the LXIII Epistle, he is in great wrath with one *Aristolochus*, a Tragic Poet that no body ever heard of, for writing Tragedies against him, κατ' ἐμὲ γράφειν Τραγῳδίας: and in the XCVII. he threatens *Lyfinus*, another Poet of the same stamp with the former, for writing against him both Tragedies and Hexameters, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

ἡ τραγῳδία εἰς ἐμὲ γράψας. Now to forgive him that silly expression, of writing *Tragedies against Him*, for He could not be the Argument of Tragedy, while he was living; I must take the boldness to tell him, who am out of his reach, that he lays a false crime to their charge. For there was no such Thing nor Word as *Tragedy*, while he tyranniz'd at *Agrigentum*. That we may slight that obscure story about *Epi- genes the Sicyonian*, *Thespis*, we know, was the first Inventor of it according to *Horace*. Neither was the Name of Tragedy more ancient than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion; but both were born together: the Name being taken from *Tecty*, the Goat that was the Prize to the best Poet and Actor. But the first performance of *Thespis's* was about \* the LXI Olymp. which is more than twelve Years after *Phalaris's* death.

\* *Marm.*  
*Arund. Sui-*  
*das in Θ' σ-*  
*π.*

I Had made this short reflection upon the Epit-  
tles, *That Aristolochus and Lynus, two*  
*Tragic Poets mention'd there, were never heard of*  
*any where else.* This is arraigned by Mr. E. with  
great form and solemnity: but before he begins,  
he is inclin'd to guess from *Aristolochus's* name,  
*that he was a Gyant Tragedian, rather than a Fair-*  
*ry one.* But his Consequences are all of a piece,  
both when he jests, and when he's serious. For  
if he argue from the Etymology of his name,

P. 163.

Q

*Aristo-*

*Aristolochus* denotes a person that was good at  
 (a) Ἀδύχος. (a) *lurking and ambuscade*, which surely is not the  
 proper character of a *Gyant*. If he argue from  
 the Bigness of his name; he might have remem-  
 bred, that *Borborocætes* and *Meridarpax*, the  
 names of two Heroes in *Batrachomyomachia*, make  
 a more terrible sound, than *Achilles* and *Hector*.  
 And we have instances in our own time, that a  
 man may be called by a great Name, and yet be  
 no *Gyant* in any thing.

P. 163.

Well, now he begins his Remarks; and he  
 finds the footsteps of this *Aristolochus* in a name-  
 less piece usually printed with *Censorinus*: For  
 there is *Numerus Aristolochius*; which must come  
 from *Aristolochus* a Poet, as *Aristophanius* there  
 comes from *Aristophanes*. Upon which he fur-  
 ther enlarges: and 'tis a difficult Problem, whe-  
 ther he shews more Learning here in the Mar-  
 gin, or more Judgment in the Text. The pas-  
 sage which he cites, is thus.

*Numerus Saturnius*:

*Magnum numerum triumphat | hostibus devictis.*  
*Sunt qui hunc Archebolion vocant.* That is, Some  
 call the Saturnian Verse *Archebolion*. *Ludovicus*  
*Carrio* makes this note upon it, That the common  
 Editions, before his, had it *ARISTOLOCHIMUM*; but  
 the MSS. *Aristodolium*. Now to which Read-  
 ing of the three must we stand? to *Archebolion*,  
 or *Aristolochium*, or *Aristodolium*? Mr. B. who  
 will never be guilty of improving any place,  
 leaves his Reader here at large, to take which of  
 them he pleases: only he puts in for his Thirds;  
 because *Aristolochium* has a chance to be the  
 right, as well as either of the others. But what  
 if I shall prove, that all three are wrong, and  
 the true Lction is *ARCHILOCHUM*? then his  
*Aristo-*



*Aristolochus* must vanish into *Fairy-land* again.

The first that used the *Saturnian Verse* among the *Latins* was *Nævius*, an old Poet before *Ennius's* time : The Measures of the Verse will be best known by Examples. The two first are out of *Nævius* :

(b) *Novem Jovis concordēs | filia sorores.* (b) *Atilius*

*Ferunt pulchras pateras | aureas lepidas.* *Fortun. p.*

The latter of which has two false measures in it, 2679.

and ought to be corrected thus out of (c) *Ploti-* (c) *Plot. p.*

*us*, and (d) *Nonius Marcellus* : 2650.

*Ferunt pulchras cretērras | aureas lepistas.* (d) *C. de*

The following was made by the *Metelli*, *Nævius's* Enemies: *Vasis.*

(e) *Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio Poetæ.* (e) *Atilius*

Now it's observ'd by (f) *Terentianus Maurus*, *ibid.*

a most elegant Writer; that the *Latins* were (f) *Terent.*

much mistaken, in supposing the *Saturnian Verse* *p. 2439.*

to be an invention of their Countrymen; for the original of it was from the *Greeks*. *Fortu-*

*natianus* says the same; and he adds, that it was

to be met with in *Euripides*, and *Callimachus*,

and *ARCHILOCHUS*. The instance that he brings

is this, and he calls it *ARCHILOCHIUM* :

*Quem non rationis egentem | vicit Archimedes.*

And so (g) *Servius* brings another *ARCHILOCHI-* (g) *Centim.*

*UM* : *p. 1825.*

*Remeavit ab arce tyrannus | hostibus devictis.*

These two Verses indeed are not really *Archilo-*

*chus's*, but made by those *Grammarians* confor-

mably to his measures : but I can give you some

that are truly his own :

(h) *Ερασμονίδη Χαιίλας | χερσὶ μά τι γελοῖον.*

(h) *Hephæst*

*Ασῶν δ' οἱ εἰ μὴ κατέπεδεν | ἦσαν οἱ ὅ πολλοί.*

*p. 48, 50.*

*Ερίω πολὺ φίλταδ' ἐταίρων | τίς-φαι δ' ἀκέων.*

*Φιλίην στυγρόν περ ἔοντα | μηδὲ διαλέμεται.*

(i) Περὶ- And *Hephæstion* assures us, (i) *That Archilochus*  
 τος τῆς πρὶς *was the first that used this sort of Verse.* Now I  
 Ἀρχιλόχους suppose, I scarce need to observe, that these  
 κῆχενται. *ARCHILOCHIAN Verses* are the same with the *SATURNIAN*; the Measures themselves sufficiently shew that; for there's no difference at all, but only a *Daetyl* for a *Spondee* or *Trochee*, which was a common Variation even in the Latin *Saturnians*; as in these two that follow, out of the *Tabulæ Triumphales*:

(k) *Atilius* (k) *Fundit, fugat, prosternit | maximas legiones.*  
*Fort. ibid.* *Duello magno dirimendo | regibus subigendis.*

I have distinguish'd the middle Pause of every Verse by this mark |, that the Reader, though perhaps unacquainted with this part of Learning, may have a perception of the Measure. And I suppose, he may be pretty well satisfied, that the true reading in Mr. B's Author is not *Aristolochium*, but *Archilochium*. As for the two other names, *Aristodolium* and *Archebolion*; the former is a manifest Corruption; the latter (as it seems) was in no MS nor Print, but a bare conjecture of *Carrio's*, and a very erroneous one: for the *Archebulion* (as he ought to have call'd it) had quite different measures, as will appear by these instances:

(l) *Hephæst.* (l) Ἀγέτω θεός, ὃ δ' ἔχω δῖχα θεῖ δ' αἰδέσθαι.

p. 27.

(m) *Atil.* (m) *Tibi nascitur omne pecus, tibi crescit herba.*

p. 1673. The Reader will excuse this Digression, because I have given a clear emendation, where the great Mr. B. attempted it in vain; which would be an Honour much more valuable, if I had it not so very often.

P. 164.

“ But suppose, says Mr. B. that no body heard  
 “ of these Tragedians but in *Phalaris*; what  
 “ then? Will the Doctor discard all Poets that  
 “ are

“ are but once mention’d in old Authors ? what  
 “ at this rate will become of *Xenocles* and *Py-*  
 “ *thagelus*; whom (at least the first of them)  
 “ the Doctor will be hard put to’t to find men-  
 “ tion’d by any body, but once by *Aristophanes* ?  
 Very hard put to’t indeed ! to find an Author  
 that is mention’d in so common a Book, as *Æ-*  
*lian’s* (n) *Various History*: where we have both (n) *Ælian.*  
 the Name of this *Xenocles*, and his Age too, and ii, 8.  
 the Titles of Four of his Plays, *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*,  
*Baccha*, and *Athamas* ; with which he got the  
 Prize from his Antagonist *Euripides*, Olymp.  
 xci, i. ’Tis true, *Ælian* is in indignation at  
 it ; and, ’Tis ridiculous, says he, that this little  
*Xenocles* should carry the Prize from *Euripides* ;  
 especially, when those Plays of *Euripides* were some  
 of the best, that he ever made. The Judges were  
 either senseless and unlearned, or else they were  
 bribed. This is the just Verdict and Censure of  
 impartial Posterity ; and *Euripides*, could he  
 have foreseen it, would not have chang’d this  
 posthumous Honour for the Applauses that *Xe-*  
*nocles* won from him. And by the way therefore, I P. 163.  
 would advise Mr. B. (if I may return him his own  
 words) not to be too vain upon his Performance ;  
 when he hears it cried up by those that are not  
 competent Judges. *Bavius* and *Mævius* (whom  
 Mr. B. mentions here) had many Admirers, while  
 they lived ; or else they had been below the no-  
 tice of *Virgil* and *Horace*. But Posterity gave  
 them their due ; for that will flatter no man’s  
 Quality ; nor follow the Clamour of a Party.  
 But to return to *Xenocles* ; there’s a Fifth Play of  
 his, *Lycymnius*, mention’d by the (o) Scholiast on (o) *Schol.*  
*Aristophanes* ; and two Fragments of it are pro- *Arist. p.*  
 duc’d by *Aristophanes* himself. Mr. B. says, he is but 120.



once mention'd by that Poet; but besides the passage of (p) *Ranæ*, which Mr. B. meant, there are (q) P. 1120, (q) three others, where he is spoken of, under 364, 464 the title of *the Son of Carcinus*. He is mention'd too in a Fragment of *Plato the Comedian's*:

(r) *Ib.* 465.

(r) — Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δουδικαμύχανθ

Ὁ Καρχίνε παῖς τῆ δουλαπῆν. —

(s) *Ib.* 364. He was ridicul'd also by (s) *Pherecrates*, another (t) *Suid in* Comic Poet. And we may hear of him in (t) *Καρχίνθ*, *Suidas*, in more places than one. What does the Examiner mean then, by his putting me hard to't? I'll do much harder matters than this, to do Him any service. But I am perswaded he was encouraged to write thus at a venture; because *Vossius* says nothing of *Xenocles*, in his Book *de Poetis Græcis*.

(t) *Suid in*  
*Καρχίνθ*,  
*Ὁ Σφουγ-*  
*στῆς, ὁ α-*  
*ξενθ*.

If the Examiner had not had the ambitious vanity to shew, as he thought, his great Reading and Critic, he might fairly have escaped these two Blunders about *Aristolochus* and *Xenocles*. For what is it that he is driving at? or who is it, that he disputes with? Did I make That my Argument against *Phalaris*, That his two pretended Tragedians were no where else to be heard of? No surely, but because he names two Tragedians in an age of the world, when Tragedy it self was not yet heard of.

This therefore is the main point, which Mr. B. and I must now contend for, *The first Date and Origin of Tragedy*. In my Dissertation, I espoused the opinion of those Authors, that make *Thespis* the Inventor of it, professing in express words, That I slighted the obscure story of *Epigenes the Sicyonian*. This, I think, is a sufficient proof, that I knew there were some weak Pretences

Pretenses made to Tragedy before *Thespis's* time, but I believed them over-balanced by better Authorities. And yet what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B's from p.165 to 180; but the bringing with ostentation and grimace, those very obscure Pretenses, which I declar'd I had slighted; and every bit of it (except his own Faults as usual) scraped together at second hand from the commonest Authors? In opposition to which tedious Declamation, I shall first vindicate *Thespis's* title to the *Invention* of Tragedy; and in the next place enquire into his *Age*; and in the last examin Mr. B's Performance in the same order as he has presented it.

The famous Chronological Inscription in the *Arundel Marble*, which was made Olymp.cxxix, in the time of *Ptolemee Philadelphus*, above cclx years before Christ, declares that *Thespis* was the FIRST that gave being to Tragedy; (u) Αφ' ἧς Θέσπις (u) Lin 58. πρῶτος ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕ . . . . The word πρῶτος is not in the printed Editions: but my Learned Friend Dr. *Mill*, whom I consulted on this occasion, assures me, 'tis plainly so in the Marble it self, which is now at *Oxford*. I shall give a further account of this by and by: but allowing even the common Reading, as it's publish'd by Mr. *Selden*; yet it's evident and agreed by all, that the Author of this Inscription delivers this as the First Æra of Tragedy. Besides him, the Epigrammatist *Dioscorides* gives the Invention of it to *Thespis*:

Θέσπιδ' εὖρεμα τῶτο, τίδ' ἀγροῖαν ἄν' ὕλαν  
 Παίγνια, καὶ κόμης τὴς δε τελευτότης  
 Αἰχμήδ' ἐψύχωσε, νοήσιμα ἐπὶ χαράξας

Γεγμένα, χαίμαρρ' δ' οἷα καταρδύμενα·  
 Καὶ τὰ χ' σκηρὴν μεταχρίνισιν· ὃ γέμα πάντων  
 Δίξιον, ἀρχαίων ἢ δὲ τις ἡμείων.

Thus the Epigram is publish'd by the very learned Mr. Stanley, before his noble Edition of *Æschylus*: and I have not now leisure to seek, if it was printed any-where before. In the third Verse, which is manifestly corrupted, Mr. Stanley corrected it *ονήσιμα* for *νοήσιμα*, as appears by his Translation, *UTILE*; the other word he leaves untouch'd. The Epigram it self is extant in the MS *Anthologia Epigram. Græc.* a Copy of which I have by me, by the kindness of my Excellent Friend the late Dr. Edward Bernard: and there the third Verse is thus:

Αἰχὺλ' ὃ ἐξύψωσι νοήσιμα εὐτα χαράξας.

Out of which disjointed words, I have extracted, as I humbly conceive, this genuine Lecture:

Αἰχὺλ' ὃ ἐξύψωπ, νεοσμίλευτα χαράξας  
 Γεγμένα—

A, the last Letter of *νοήσιμα*, was mistaken for Λ. *Εξύψωπιν*, he raised and exalted the stile of Tragedy by *νεοσμίλευτα γεγμένα*, his new made and new carved words: which is the very thing, that *Aristophanes* ascribes to him:

(x) *Arist.* (x) Ἀλλ' ὃ πρῶτ' ὃ πρῶτ' Ἑλλήνων πρυγώπας ρήματα  
*Ran* p. 169. σιμένα·

(y) *Anon. in* and the Writer of his Life; (y) Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἀδρὲν  
*vita Æsch.* καὶ ὑπέρβουον, ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΙΑΙΣ καὶ ὀπιδίοις χρά-  
 μεν. But our Epigrammatist, though he gives *Æschylus* the honour of improving Tragedy, is as positive, that *εὑρεμα* the Invention of it belongs to *Thespis*: which will further appear from another Epigram by the same hand, made upon *Thespis* himself, and never yet publish'd; but  
 it's



it's extant in the same Manuscript Anthology :

Διοσκορίδῃ οἷς Θέσπιν τραγῳδίῳν.

Θέσπις ὅδε, Τραγικὴν ὅς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτ' αἰσθῆν,

Κωμῳταῖς νεαροῖς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,

Βάκχῳ ὅτε τετλὼν κατὰ γοῖ χρεὼν ᾧ τρέγῳ ἄθλον.

Χ' ὥτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχ' ἄθλῳ ἔτι.

Οἱ δὲ με πλάσσειν νεοί, τὰ δ' ἔμυει αἰὼν,

Πολλὰ περ σὺ, φήσιν, χαῖρε· τὰλλα δ' ἐμὰ.

The second Distich, which in the MS is faulty and unintelligible, is thus perhaps to be corrected :

Βάκχῳ ὅτε τετλὼν κατὰ γοῖ χρεὼν, ᾧ τρέγος ἄθλον,

Χ' ὥτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχ' ἄθλῳ ἔτι.

*Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum ; i. e. cui Hircus,*

*Et cui Attica ficum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est.*

By the three Chorus's of *Bacchus* he means the *Trina Dionysia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus* ; the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Λίμναις*, the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, and the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄγρεις* ; at which times, that answer to *March*, *April* and *January*, both Tragedies and Comedies were acted. Afterwards indeed they added these Diversions to the *Παναθήναια*, which fell out in the Month of *August* ; but because This last was an Innovation after *Thespis*'s time, the Poet here takes no notice of them. But to dismiss this ; the substance of the Epigram imports, *That Thespis was the FIRST contriver of Tragedy, which was then a NEW Entertainment.* After *Dioscorides*, we have *Horace*'s Testimony in *Thespis*'s favour :

(2) *Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ*

*Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,*

*Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.*

(2) *Hor. in Arte Poet.*

And

(a) Schol.  
in edit.  
Cruquii.

(b) Plut.  
Solon. Ag-  
χουρών  
τῷ μετ  
Θέσπυ ἢ  
ἐν τῇ  
Τετραπόδι-  
αι χυεῖν.

(c) Clem.  
Strom. 1.  
ἐπιπόνησε  
Τετραπόδι-  
αι.

(d) Athen.  
p. 40.

(e) Id. p. 22.

(f) Arist.  
Poet. v.

(g) Arist.  
p. 364, 464.  
Suid in  
Καρ.

And I think, this Poet's opinion is not only well explain'd, but confirm'd too by the old Scholiast ; who tells us, (a) *Thespis was the FIRST INVENTER of Tragedy*. To all these we may add *Plutarch*, whose expression implies something further, (b) *That Thespis gave the rise and beginning to the very Rudiments of Tragedy* ; and *Clemens of Alexandria*, who makes *Thespis, The Contriver of Tragedy, as Sufarion was of Comedy*. And without doubt, *Athenæus* was of the same judgment ; when he said, (d) *Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out at Icarium, a place in Attica* : for our *Thespis* was born there. And in another place he says, (e) *The ancient Poets, Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinus, and Phrynichus, were called ὀρχηστικοὶ Dancers ; because they used Dancing so much in their Chorus's*. Now if we compare this with what *Aristotle* says, (f) *That Tragedy in its infancy was ὀρχηστικώτερον, more taken up with Dances, than afterwards* ; it will be plain, that *Athenæus* knew no ancienter Tragedian than *Thespis* : for if he had, it had been to his purpose to name him. But there's a fault in that passage, which by the way I will correct : for, *Καρύνος*, *Cratinus*, who is named there, was a Comedian, and does not suit with the rest. The true reading I take to be *Καρύνος*, *Carcinus*, who was an ancient Tragic Poet, and is burlesqu'd once or twice by (g) *Aristophanes* for this very dancing humour, that *Athenæus* speaks of. He had three Sons, that he brought up to dance in his Chorus's ; who, upon that account are called there among many other Nick-names, *ὀρχηστικαί, Dancers*. To go on now about *Thespis* ; *Suidas* acquaints us, *That Phrynichus was Scholar to Thespis, who FIRST introduc'd Tragedy* ; and *Donatus* passes

passes his word, (b) *That if we search into Anti-* (b) *Retro*  
*quity, we shall find that Thespis was the FIRST* *prisca vol-*  
*that INVENTED it.* But what need we any parti- *ventibus*  
*cular witnesses?* when we have *Plato* telling us at *Thespis Tra-*  
*once,* (i) *That it was the universal opinion in his* *gadia pri-*  
*time, that Tragedy began with Thespis or Phryni-* *mus inven-*  
*chus:* and though he himself was of a different *ter.*  
*sentiment,* yet he proposes it as a Paradox: and (i) *Plat. in*  
*we may see what little credit his Paradox had;* *Min. 'Ως*  
*when every one of those I have cited, came af-* *οἷοντες,*  
*ter him, and yet for that matter begg'd his par-* *ἀπὸ Θέσ-*  
*don.* *πιδος.*

The Pretenses that are made *against Thespis,*  
besides some general Talk (which shall be confi-  
der'd, when I examine Mr. B's advances upon  
this Topic) are for one *Epigenes* a *Sicyonian*. This  
is the only person, mention'd by name, that can  
contest the matter with *Thespis*. And who is  
there that appears in behalf of this *Epigenes*? But  
one single Witness; and he too does but tell us a  
Hear-say, which himself seems not to believe.  
*Thespis,* says (k) *Suidas,* *is reckon'd the xvith Tra-* (k) *Suid. in*  
*gic Poet after Epigenes a Sicyonian: but some say,* *Θέσπιδος.*  
*Thespis was the second after him; and others, the*  
*very First of all.* And again, where he explains  
the Proverb, *Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ Διόνυσον*; (l) *It was* (l) *In Οὐ-*  
*occasion'd, he says, by a Tragedy of Epigenes a* *δὲν πρὸς Δ-*  
*Sicyonian: but he adds, That others give a diffe-* *όν.*  
*rent and better account of it.* Now if this be all,  
that's said for *Epigenes's* Plea; nay, if it be all  
that's said of him upon any account (for I think  
nobody mentions him besides *Suidas*) I suppose  
this ill supported Pretense to Tragedy will soon be  
over-ruled: unless perhaps the very Weakness of  
it may invite Mr. B. to espouse the cause. For I  
observe that His Judgment, like other mens Va-  
lour,



- lour, has commonly the generosity to favour the weaker side. 'Tis true, there are too very great men, (m) *Lilius Gyraldus*, and (n) *Gerard Vossius*, besides others, who affirm, that this same *Epigenes* is cited, and some of his Tragedies named, by *Athenæus*. If this be so, it will quite alter the case; and the Trial must be call'd over again. But with Mr. B's leave, I will once more take the boldness to contradict great Names: for I affirm, that the *Epigenes* in *Athenæus* was a Comic Poet, and many Generations younger than his pretended Namesake the Tragedian.
- (m) *Gyrald. de Poetis.*  
(n) *Vossius de Poetica.*
- (o) *Suid. Emv.* *Suidas* himself is my Voucher; (o) *Epigenes*, says he, a Comic Poet; some of his Plays are *Ἡεῖν*, and *Μνημάτιον*, and *Βακχεῖα*, as *Athenæus* says in his *Deipnosophists*. *Gyraldus* indeed would draw this Testimony over to his own side; and for *Κωμικός*, he corrects it *Τραγικός*. But *Athenæus* himself interposes, and forbids this alteration:
- (p) *Athen. p. 384. E.* (p) *Epigenes*, says he, the Comic Poet says thus in his *Bacchæ*; Ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆν' ἔτρεφέ με λαβὼν πλίνης δ' σιτευτόν. The Verses are to be distinguished thus:
- Χομωδ-ποιὸς ἐν Βάκχαις.  
'Ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆνά μ' ἔτρεφεν λαβὼν  
Σιτευτόν —

The words themselves shew they belong to Comedy, when they tell us of *fatted Geese*. And indeed the very subject of all his Fragments do

- (q) *P. 75.* plainly evince it: (q) the next tells us of *Figs at Supper*:
- Ἐπιγάνης ἐν Βαγγυχίᾳ. Εἴτ' ἔρχεται χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον  
Σκληρῶν ἀδ' εἰς πινάκισκον —

Correct it,

— Εἴτ' ἔρχεται  
Χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον σκληρῶν ἀδ' εἰς  
Πινάκισκον —

And

And another out (r) of the same Play, and three (r) P. 498.  
out of *Μνημαίον*, and two out of *Ηρώην*, are all *Επγ. ἐν*  
about *Cups*: the last of which will inform us a *Βαρχία*.  
little about the Poets Age,

(f) Τὴν Θηρίκλειον Διὸς καὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακὰ

(f) *Athen.*

Κόμισον—

p. 502.

Fetch hither the Thericlean, and the Rhodian Cups:

For by his naming the (t) *THERICLEAN Cup*, (t) See here  
we may be sure, he was no older than *Aristophanes*'s time: nay that he was considerably young-  
er, (u) *Julius Pollux* will assure us; where he calls p. 109, &c.

him one of the Writers of *New Comedy*: Τῶν ὅ  
(u) *Poll.*  
vii, 10.

νέων πρὸς Κωμικῶν Ἐπιγίνης ἐν Πονηκῷ. Τρεῖς μόνες  
σκώληκας ἔτι, τέττες δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν. The  
measures of the Verses are thus:

— Τρεῖς μόνες

Σκώληκας ἔτι· τέττες δὲ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.

Well, I hope, I have fully shewn, without offend-  
ing their Althes, that *Gyraldus* and *Vossius* were  
mistaken about *Epigenes*. I would only add;  
that we ought to correct in *Suidas*, *Ηρώην* for  
*Ηερίην*; and *Βαρχία* for *Βαρχία*: and I take the  
three words in *Athenæus*, *Βάρχαις*, *Βαρχία*, and  
*Βαρχία*, to be so many depravations of one and  
the same Title of a Play.

The Reader will please to take notice of *Pha-*  
*laris*'s expression, That (u) *Aristolochus* wrote (x) *Ep. 63.*  
*Tragedies against him*: and to remember too, ΓΡΑ-  
ΦΕΙΝ  
τετραγών-  
ας.  
what I have shew'd before, that both *Comedies*  
and *Tragedies* for some time were unpremedita-  
ted and extemporal; neither publish'd nor writ-  
ten. Allowing then, that this *Epigenes*, or any  
other *Sicyonian*, started *Tragedy* before *Thespis*;  
still it will not bring *Phalaris* off; unless his Ad-  
vocate can shew, that *Tragedy* was written be-  
fore *Thespis*'s time. But there's no ground nor  
colour

colour for such an assertion ; none of the Ancient<sup>s</sup> countenance it ; no Tragedy is ever cited older than He. *Donatus* says expressly, he was the first that *writ* : and it's incredible, that the belief of his first inventing Tragedy should so universally obtain, as we have shewn it did ; if any Tragedies of an older Author had been extant in the World. Nay, I will go a step further, and freely own my opinion, *That even Thespis himself publish'd nothing in writing* : and if this be made out, the present argument against the Epistles will still be the stronger. Though even without it it's unanswerable ; if *Thespis* be younger than the true *Phalaris*, which I will prove by and by. But I expect now to hear a Clamour against *Paradoxes*, and opposing great Authors upon slight or no grounds ; for the *Arundel* Marble mentions the *ἈΛΛΗΝΙΣ* of *Thespis*, and *Julius Pollux* his *Πενδυς*, and *Suidas* four or five more ; and *Plutarch*, with *Clemens Alexand.* produce some of his Verses. No question, but these are strong Prejudices against my new Assertion or rather Suspicion : but the sagacious Reader will better judge of it, when he has seen the Reasons I go upon.

This I lay down, as the Foundation of what I shall say on this subject, That the famous *Heraclides* of *Pontus* set out his own Tragedies in *Thespis*'s name. *Aristoxenus* the Musician says (they

(γ) *Laert. Herac.* Φησὶ δ' Ἀεισέξεν ὁ Μουσικὸς καὶ Τετραγώνια αὐτὸν ποιῆεν, καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγέγραπεν.

are the words of (γ) *Diogenes Laert.*) *That Heraclides made Tragedies, and put the name of Thespis to them.* This *Heraclides* was a Scholar of *Aristotle*'s ; and so was *Aristoxenus* too, and even a

greater man than the other : so that I conceive, one may build upon this piece of History, as a thing undeniable.

Now



Now before the date of this Forgery of *Heraclides's*, we have no mention at all of any of *Thespis's* Remains. *Aristotle* in his Poetry speaks of the Origin and Progress and Perfection of Tragedy; he reads a Lecture of Critic upon the Fables of the first Writers: yet he has not one Syllable about any piece of *Thespis's*. This will seem no small indication, that nothing of his was preserved; but there's a passage in *Plato*, that more manifestly implies it. (z) *Tragedy*, says he, is an (z) *Plato* ancient thing, and did not commence, as people in *Minoc.* think, from *Thespis*, nor from *Phrynichus*. Now from hence I infer; if several persons in *Plato's* time believ'd Tragedy was invented by *Phrynichus*, they must never have seen nor heard of any Tragedies of *Thespis*. For if they had, there could have been no Controversie, which of the two was the inventor; for the one was a whole Generation younger than the other. But *Thespis's* Tragedies being lost, and *Phrynichus's* being the ancientest that were preserv'd, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first Author.

'Tis true indeed, that after the time of *Heraclides*, we have a few Fragments of *Thespis's* quoted, and the names of some of his Plays: but I will now shew, that every one of those passages are cited from *Heraclides's* counterfeit Tragedies, and not the works of the true *Thespis*.

As for the Author of the *Arundel* Marble, who was but a little younger than *Heraclides*, and *Aristoxenus*, and might possibly know them both; he is commonly indeed supposed to mention *Thespis's* *Ἀλκυσίς*; for Mr. *Selden* from the broken pieces of the Inscription concluded That to be the true reading; and his Conjecture has been embrac'd

embrac'd by all that have come after him. I my self too was formerly of the same opinion: but being now more concern'd to examin narrowly into it, I am fully satisfied, that we were all mistaken. The words of the Marble are these, as Mr. Selden copied them. Αρ ου Θεσπης ο Ποιητης

.....αχ...Θ...αλ...στιν...πενης...

εργ... But the Reverend Dr. Mill assures me, that at present there's nothing of ΑΛ...ΣΤΙΝ to be seen; and if any thing can be made of the first Letter, it seems to be O rather than A. I

(a) See above, p. 206.

suppose, it's plain enough already from the Epoch about (a) *Sufarion*, that Mr. Selden was not over accurate in copying the Inscription; and this very place before us is another proof of it; for instead of ΑΧΙ...ΟΣ as he publish'd it, I am inform'd by the same very good hand, that it's yet legibly and plainly ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ. But besides the uncertainty of this ΑΛ...ΣΤΙΝ, which is now wholly defac'd in the Marble: the very Inscription it self evinces, that it ought not to be read ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΝ. For the Author of it never sets down the name of any *Play*; not when

(b) *Lin. 65.* he gives the date (b) of *Æschylus's* first Victory;

(c) *Lin. 72.* not when he speaks (c) of *Sophocles's*; nor where

(d) *Lin. 76.* he mentions (d) *Euripides's*; nor upon any other

occasion. And 'tis utterly improbable, that he would do it in one single place, and omit it in so many others that equally deserv'd it. Add to

(e) *Suid. in*  
Φρύν Πρῶ-  
τος γυναι-  
κειον πρῶ-  
τον πρῶ-  
τον γυναι-

all this, the express Testimony of *Suidas*, (e) *That Phrynicius was the First, that made Women the Subject of Tragedy*, his Master *Thespis* having introduced no body but Men. There could be no Play therefore of *Thespis's* with the Title of *Alceſtis*.

I shall now consider the passage in *Clemens Alexandrinus*: (f) *Theſpis the Tragic poet*, ſays (f) *Clem.*  
that very excellent Author, writes thus: Διγοπ. v.

"Ιδὲ σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΞΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,

Ἀπὸ θηλαζόντων θλίψας ἀνακῶν.

"Ιδὲ σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ πρὸν μίξας

Ἐρυθρῷ μίλῃτε, καὶ ᾗ σῶν, Πάν

Διχίρας, τίθεμαι βαμῶν ἀγίων.

"Ιδὲ σοι Βερμὶς αἰδοπα ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝ Δείλω

Θέσπις ὁ

τρυφερός

ὡς δὲ πῶς

γράφει.

This supposed fragment of *Theſpis*, as *Clemens* himself explains it, and as I have (g) further proved out of *Porphyrus*, relates to those four artificial words, Κναξζβι. χθύπτης, φλεγμών, Δείψ, (g) See my Dissect. upon Malal. p. 47, 48, 49.  
which comprehend exactly the whole xxiv Letters of the Greek Alphabet. Now I say, If these xxiv Letters were not all invented in *Theſpis's* time; this cannot be a genuine fragment of His. The Consequence I think is so very plain, that even Mr. B. with his new System of Logic cannot give us a better. We must know then, that it was a long time after the use of Greek Writing, nay of writing Books too, before the Greek Alphabet was perfected, as it now is, and has been for 2000 Years. 'Tis true, there were then the very same Sounds in pronunciation (for the Language was not alter'd) but they did not express them the same way in Writing. E serv'd in those days for both E and H; as one English E serves now for two distinct Sounds in THEM and THESE. So O stood for both O and Ω: and the sound of Z was expressed by ΔΣ, of Ξ by ΚΣ, of Ψ by ΠΣ: and the three aspirates were written thus, ΤΗ, ΠΗ, ΚΗ, which were afterwards Θ, Φ, Χ. At that time we must imagine the first Verse of *Homer* to have been written thus:  
ΜΕΝΙΝ ΑΕΙΔΕ ΤΗΕΑ ΝΕΛΕΙΑΔΕΟ ΑΚΗΙΔΕΟΣ:

R

And



And the same manner of Writing was in *Thespis's* time : because the Alphabet was not compleated till after his Death. For it's universally agreed, that either *Simonides*, or *Epicharmus*, or both, invented some of the Letters. *Pliny*

(b) *Plin. vii. 56. Simonides Melicum Z H Ψ Ω. Aristoteles xviii priscas fuisse, & duas ab Epicharmo additas Θ X, quam à Palamede mavult.*

says, (b) That Z H Ψ Ω are reported to be *Simonides's*: and that *Aristotle* says, There were xviii old Letters; and believesthat Θ and X were added by *Epicharmus*, rather than *Palamedes*. *Marius*

(i) *Mar. Victorinus*,  
*Victorinus*,  
p. 2459.  
\* *Hygin.*  
*Fab. 277.*  
(k) *Tzet.*  
*Chil. xii,*  
398.

*Victorinus* says, (i) *Simonides* invented Θ Φ X. *Simonides* added Four, says \* *Hyginus*, and *Epicharmus* Two: but *Jo. Tzetzes* says, (k) *Epicharmus* added Three, and *Simonides* Two. But these little differences are of no consequence in our present Argument: for the whole xxiv are mentioned in this pretended fragment of *Thespis's*. 'Tis sufficient then for our purpose, if any of them were invented either by *Epicharmus*, or *Simonides*. For *Epicharmus* could not be above xxvii years old, and very probably was much younger, at *Olymp. lxi*, which is the latest period of *Thespis*: And (m) *Simonides* at the same time was but xvi, as we have it upon his own word. Now to wave the authority of the rest; even *Aristotle* alone, who could know the Truth of what he said from so many Inscriptions, written before *Epicharmus's* time, and still extant in his own, is a Witness infallible. This Passage therefore ascribed to *Thespis* is certainly a Cheat; and in all probability it's taken from one of the spurious Plays, that *Heraclides* father'd upon him.

(m) See above, p. 42.

In the next place, I will shew that all the other Passages quoted from *Thespis*, are belonging to

to the same Imposture. (n) Zenobius informs us, That at first the Chorus's used to sing a Dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus: but in time the Poets left that off, and made the Giants and Centaurs the Subject of their Plays. Upon which the Spectators mock'd them and said, That was nothing to Bacchus. The Poets therefore sometimes introduced the Satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the God of the Festival. To the same purpose we are told by Suidas, (o) That at first the Subject of all the Plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of Satyrs; upon which account those Plays were called *Σατυρικά*: but afterwards as Tragedies came in fashion, the Poets went off to (p) Fables and Histories, which gave occasion to that saying, This is nothing to Bacchus. And he adds, That Chamæleon says the same thing in his (q) Book about Thespis. This Chamæleon was a very learned man, and a Scholar of Aristotle's. And we may gather from the very name of this Treatise of his, that *Thespis* was some way concerned in this alteration of Tragedy: either he was the last man, that used all Satyrical Plays, or the first man that left them off. But whether of the two it was, we could not determine; unless *Plutarch* had help'd us out in't; (r) when *Phrynichus* and *Æschylus*, says he, turned the Subject of Tragedy to Fables and dolefull Stories, the People said, What's this to Bacchus? For it's evident from this passage of *Plutarch* compared with the others before, that the true *Thespis*'s Plays were all Satyrical, (that is, the Plot of them was the story of *Bacchus*, the Chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the Argument was merry) and that *Phrynichus* and *Æschylus* were the first Introducers of the new and dolefull

(n) Zenob. v, 40. Ἄσ-  
αντας ἡ  
Κένταυρος  
λέγειν  
ἱπποχίτων.  
Perhaps  
the true  
reading is  
ἱπποχίτων.  
Τῆσσι τῶν

(o) Suid. in  
Οὐδὲν  
πρὸς Διόν.

(p) Ἐπεὶ  
μύθος ἡ  
ἱστορία ἐ-  
στὶν ἡ  
τραγωδία.

(q) Χαμαί-  
λεων ἐν τοῖς  
πρὸς Θέσπι-  
δος.

(r) Plut.  
Symp. l. i.  
c. i. Φρυ-  
νίχου ἡ  
Ἀισχύλου  
τραγωδί-  
αν εἰς μί-  
θον ἡ πᾶ-  
ν ἐν ὁμοί-  
ῳ γένει.

Tragedy. Even after the time of *Thespis*, the serious Tragedy came on so slowly, (f) that of fifty Plays of *Pratinas*, who was in the next Generation after *Thespis*, two and thirty are said to have been Satyrical.

But let us apply now this Observation to the Fragments ascribed to *Thespis*; one of which is thus quoted by *Plutarch* :

(1) Ὅρῳς ὅτι Ζεὺς τὰς δὲ πρωτεύει θεῶν,  
οὐ ψευδῶς ἐστὶ κόμπων, ἢ μωρὸν γέλων  
ἀσκήων· τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μὲν ὅτι ἐκ δῆσαιται.

τὸ  
ὅτι πρῶτος  
αὐτοῦ  
ὁ ὅρῳς  
ἡδονῆς καὶ  
ἀλγῶν ἐ-  
στραταται  
ἐπὶ  
Θεῶν.

What differs this, says *Plutarch*, from that saying of *Plato*, (u) That the Deity was situated remote from all Pleasure and Pain? Why truly it differs not at all; and I think there needs no other proof, that it could not belong to a Satyrical ludicrous Play, such as all *Thespis*'s were. For surely this is not the Language of *Bacchus* and his Satyrs: nay, I might say, it's too high and Philosophical a strain even for *Thespis* himself. But suppose the Author could have reach'd so elevated a Thought; yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous God, or his wanton Attendants. Even *Æschylus*, the grave reformer of the Stage, would rarely or never bring in his Heroes talking Sentences and Philosophy, (x) believing that to be against the Genius and Constitution of Tragedy: much less then would *Thespis* have done so, whose Tragedies were nothing but Droll. 'Tis incredible therefore, that this Fragment should be genuine; and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded us by *Plutarch*, though he was not aware of it. For the Thought, as he has shewn us, was *Plato*'s; and to whom then should the Fragment belong, but to *Heraclides* the coun-

(x) τὸ  
γνωμολο-  
γικὸν ἀλ-  
λόττειον τ'  
τραγωιδί-  
ας ἡγούμε-  
νον *Vita*  
*Æsch.*



counterfeit *Thespis*, who was (γ) at first a Scho- (γ) *Laert.*  
lar of *Plato's*, and might borrow the notion *Heracl.*  
from his old Master?

Another Verse is quoted by (z) *Julius Pollux* (z) *Poll.*  
out of *Thespis's Pentheus*: *vii. 13.*

Ἔργον νόμιζε νευρίδας ἔχεν ἐπευδύτην.

Θέσπις ἐν  
τῷ Πενθεῷ.

Where for νευρίδας ἔχεν, we may correct it νε-  
βρίδ' ἔχεν. Now the very Titles of this Play  
*Πενθεύς*, and of the others mention'd by *Suidas*,  
*Αἰθλα Πελίς ἢ Φόρβας*, and *Ιερῆς*, and *Ἡδίτοι*, do  
sufficiently shew, that they cannot be Satyrical  
Plays, and consequently not *Thespis's*, who made  
none but of that sort. The learned (a) *Casau-* (a) *Casaub.*  
*bon*, after he has taught us from the Ancients, *de Sat. p.*  
that *Thespis* was the Inventor of Satyrical Plays; *157, & 30.*  
Yet among the Plays, says he, that are ascribed to  
*Thespis*, there's not one that appears to have been  
Satyrical. *Πενθεύς* indeed seems to promise the sai-  
rest to be so; but we have observed, that the old  
Poets never brought the Satyrs into the story of  
*Pentheus*. I have willingly used the words of  
*Casaubon*, though I do not owe the observation  
to him; because his Judgment must needs appear  
free and unbiass'd; since he had no view nor su-  
spicion of the consequence I now make from it.  
For the result of the whole is this; That there  
was nothing publish'd by *Thespis* himself; and  
that *Heraclides's* Forgeries imposed upon *Clemens*,  
and *Plutarch*, and *Pollux*, and others. Which  
by the way would be some excuse for Mr. B. if  
his obstinate persisting in his first mistake, did  
not too widely distinguish his case from theirs.

The next thing, that I am to debate with  
Mr. B. is the Age of the true *Thespis*. And the  
Witness, that upon all accounts deserves to be

first heard, is the Author of the *Arundel Marble*: for he's the ancientest Writer now extant, that speaks of his Age; he is the most accurate in his whole Performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the History of Poetry and the Stage; as appears from the numerous *Æra's* there, belonging to the several Poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the Original Stone still among us; so that his Numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine; and not liable, as written Books are, to be alter'd and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of Transcribers. The remaining Letters of *Thespis's* Epoch are these; Αφ' ἧ Οἰσμένης ὁ ποιητής . . . . πρῶτον δὲ καὶ ἐκιδάξεν . . . . τῆς δὲ . . . ἐξῆς: which imply almost as manifestly, as if the whole was intire, *That Thespis FIRST invented Tragedy, and the GOAT was made the Prize for it.* The very year indeed, when this was done, cannot now be known from the *Marble*; for the Numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach as near to it, as the present argument requires. For we are sure, it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following Epochs; because the whole Inscription proceeds in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding Epoch

(b) *Lin 57.* is, (b) *Cyrus's Victory over Cræsus, and the taking of Sardes*; which, as all the best Cronologers, *Scaliger, Lydiate, Petavius, &c.* agree, was Olymp. LIX, 1. or at lowest, at Olymp. LVIII, 2. The following is, (c) *The beginning of Darius's Reign, Olymp. LXV, 1.* But if Tragedy was invented by *Thespis* between the Olympiads LIX, 1. and LXV, 1. how could *Phalaris* have intelligence of it, who was put to death before, at Olymp. LVII, 3.

This

This Account in the Marble establishes and is mutually establish'd by the Testimony of *Suidas*; who informs us, (d) That *Thespis* made (d) *Suid. in* (the first) *Play at Olymp. LXI*, which period falls <sup>Θέσπης ἐ- δίδαξεν ὅτι τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐρύμπε- ἀδ.</sup> in between the two Epochs, that go before and after *Thespis*. And Mr. Selden, who first publish'd the Inscription, and view'd and measured the Stone, supplies the numbers there from this passage of *Suidas*, and (e) the Space, he says, where (e) *Spatio* the Letters are defac'd, agree with that Supple- <sup>lacune au- nente.</sup> ment. Mr. Selden has been follow'd by every body since; and *Suidas's* Date is confirmed by another Date about *Phrynichus*, *Thespis's* Scholar. For (f) *Phrynichus* taught at *Olymp. LXVII*, which (f) *Suid.* is xxiv years after *Thespis*, and is a competent <sup>Φρύνιχος</sup> distance of age between the Scholar and the Master. But if Mr. B. will still protest against this Supplement of the Marble; let him do here, as he did before in the Epoch of *Susarion*; take fairly P. 141. the middle of the account between the two Epochs before and after it. And what will he get by it? The former Epoch is *Olymp. LIX, I*. The latter *LXV, I*. The middle of these two is *Olymp. LXII, I*, which is iv years later, than *Suidas* himself places him.

But let us see Mr. B's noble attempt to invalidate this Testimony of the *Arundel Marble*: for like a young *Phaeton*, he mounts the Chariot, and boldly offers to drive through the loftiest Region of Critic, but he is tumbled down headlong in a most miserable manner. The thing he enterprizes is this; He charges the Graver of P. 168. the Marble with an omission of a whole Line; or perhaps of several, for this he does not determine. The Original Paper, which the Graver was to copy, he supposes to have been thus;



Αφ' ἧ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . .

Αφ' ἧ Φρύνιχου ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . . αχι . . . . .  
 εδιδαξεν αλ . . . . . στιν . . . . . πῶς ὁ . . . . . εἶρος . . . . .

The space between Θέσπης ὁ ποιητὴς and Αφ' ἧ Φρύνιχου, which is now omitted by the negligence of the Graver, contain'd, as he imagins, the Epoch belonging to *Thespis*, that is, the Name and the Date of his Play, and of the *Athenian Archon*. But when the Graver had cut the first

P. 168.

Line, as far as Ποιητὴς; he unluckily *throws his Eye upon the lower Line, and finding the word Ποιητὴς there in the same situation, he thinks himself right, and goes on with the rest that followed it*; and so tacks the Epoch to *Thespis* which really and in the Original belong'd to *Phrynichus*.

P. 169.

This wonderfull Atchievement our Examiner seems mightily pleased with; he inculcates it once and twice, and applauds his own Sagacity in it: but perhaps he will be a warning hereafter to all young and unfledg'd Writers, to learn to go, before they pretend to fly. ●

The Pretenses for this charge upon the *Marble-Graver* are so very weak and precarious, so improper and useles to Mr. B's own design; that I confess I should be wholly astonish'd at his management, if I was not now a little acquainted with this odd *Work of his*, as himself calls it.

P. 68.

P. 168.

His first Pretense is, That Ἀλκυσίς, which the Graver has made to be *Thespis's Play*, was the name of a Play of *Phrynichus*; but is no-where reckon'd among *Thespis's*, but here. But I have already shewn, that Ἀλκυσίς was only a Supplement of Mr. Selden's, and a very false Conjecture, from the dim Letters ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ; which now are quite vanish'd: and that really neither Ἀλκυσίς

See here,  
P.

nor

nor any other title of a Play are mention'd in the Marble. But suppose it was *Ἀλκυστις* there; pray where is the consequence, that Mr. B. would infer from it? Did *Thespis* make no Tragedies, but what are mention'd by *Suidas*? Does not *Suidas* himself expressly say, (g) *That those were* (g) *Suid.*  
*the names of SOME of his Plays*, not ALL that he *Θέσπ. ἢ*  
 ever made? And what an admirable argument *ῥαματι*  
 is it; *Alcestis was a Play of Phrynichus's*, there- *αὐτῆ, Ἀ-*  
 fore none of *Thespis's* had the same Title? As if *θλαπε-*  
 the same Story and the same Persons were not in- *λιν, &c.*  
 roduc'd over and over again by different hands? *Not τὰ*  
*ῥαματα.*

Among the few Tragedies that are yet extant, we have an *Ἠλεκτες* of *Sophocles*, and another *Ἠλεκτες* too of *Euripides*. Nay besides this very *Ἀλκυστις* of *Phrynichus*, and another called *Φοίνισσις*, there was an *Ἀλκυστις* and *Φοίνισσις* of *Euripides* too, both which are still in being. Why then might not *Phrynichus* write one Tragedy after *Thespis*, as well as *Euripides* write two after Him?

The next Pretense for accusing the Marble-Graver of an Omission of some Lines is, *Because it's a case that is known often to have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts*. Here's another consequence the very twin to that which went before. *Because Omissions often happen in copying of MSS, therefore this IS an Omission in the Epoch of Thespis*. If this argument had any force in't, it would equally hold against all the other Epochs of this Marble, and against all Marbles and MSS whatsoever. For what will be able to stand the shock, if this can be thrown down by saying, *That Omissions often happen*? Mr. B. if he would make good his Indictment against the Graver, ought to prove from the Place it self, from the want

want of Connexion, or some other Defect there, that there's just reason to suspect some lines have been left out. But to accuse him upon this general Pretense, because *other Copiers have been negligent*, has exactly as much Sense and Equity in it, as if Mr. B. should be charged with meddling in what he understands not, and exposing his Ignorance, *Because it's a case, that is known often to have happen'd in the crude Books of Young Writers*. And besides this, there's another infirmity that this Argument labours under. For though a Copier may sometimes miss a Line or two, by taking off his Eye; yet if he have but the common diligence at last to compare his Copy with the Original, he discovers his own Omissions, and presently rectifies them: and by this means it comes to pass, that such deficiencies in the Texts of MSS are generally supplied and perfected by the same hand in the Margin. Though we should suppose therefore, that the Stone-Cutter might carelessly miss something; yet can we suppose too, that the Author of the Inscription would never read what was engraved there? Would a person of Learning and Quality, as he appears to have been, who had taken such accurate pains to deduce a whole Series of Chronology from before *Deucalion's Deluge* to his own time, and for the benefit of Posterity to engrave it upon Marble, and set it up in a conspicuous place as a publick Monument, be at last so stupidly negligent as not to examin the Stone-Cutter's Work, where the missing of a single Letter in the numbers of any *Æra*, would make the Computation false, and spoil the Author's whole design? What mad work would it make then, if, as Mr. B. affirms, whole Lines were  
omit.



omitted by the Stone-Cutter, and pass'd uncorrected? Is it possible that the worthy Author of the Monument (I might say perhaps, *The Authors*, for it seems to have been done at a publick Charge) should act so inconsistently? Mr. B. if he pleases, may think so, or affirm it without thinking; but when he catches me affirming it, I'll give him leave to tell me again in his well-bred way, *That my head has no Brains in't*.

For the Epoch it self assures me, that there was no Omission here by the Stone-cutter. The words are, Ἀφ' ἧς Θέσπης ὁ πομπὴς . . . . . περὶ τῆς καὶ ἰδιδάξαν . . . τῆς δ' . . . ἐργῆς. Now if all the words after πομπὴς belong to *Phrynichus*, as Mr. B. says, and not to *Thespis*, as the Stone-cutter says; pray, what's the meaning of ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, FIRST? *Thespis*, I know, FIRST *invented Tragedy*; and that was worthy of being recorded here; as the Invention of Comedy was before. But what did *Phrynichus* FIRST find out, that deserv'd to be named here? Why he (b) FIRST brought-in (c) *Suid.* *Women into the Subject of his Plays*; which is a *Φρόν.* business of less moment, than that of *Aeschylus*, who first added a Second Actor; or of *Sophocles*, who added a Third: yet neither of these two Improvements are register'd in the Marble: and why then should that of *Phrynichus* be mention'd, when *Theirs* are omitted? But I will not charge it as a fault upon Mr. B. that he neglected to gather this hint from the word ΠΡΩΤΟΣ; for the common Editions of the Marble have it not. But I'm afraid, he will not easily excuse himself for not observing the next words; . . . τῆς δ' . . . ἐργῆς; which have been always hitherto thought to signify, *That the GOAT was made the Prize of Tragedy*. Now certainly the proper place

place of mentioning this *Prize* was at the Epoch of *Thespis*, the Inventor of *Tragedy*: for so the the Prizes of Comedy, the *Cask of Wine*, and the *Basket of Figs*, are mention'd in the Epoch of *Susarion*, the Inventor of Comedy. And what a Blindness was it in Mr. B. not to observe this; when he so boldly tells the Stone-cutter and the Man that set him on work, that they have drop'd a whole Line, and that these words belong to *Phrynichus*? Pray what could ΤΡΑΓΟΣ the *GOAT* have to do, in the Epoch of *Phrynichus*? Does Mr. B. believe, that sorry Prize was continued, after Tragedy came into Reputation? Would *Phrynichus*, or any body for him, have been at the Charge of a Stage, and all the Ornaments of a Chorus and Actors, for the hopes of winning a Goat, that would hardly pay for one Vizard? In the following Epochs of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c. there's no mention of the *Goat*: and if this Epoch had belong'd to *Phrynichus*, no *Goat* had been here neither.

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But Mr. B. the rather suspects, That the Graver did make an Omission; because the next *Æra* in the *Marble* falls as low as *Olymp. LXVII*: before which time it is not to be doubted, but the *Alcestis* of *Phrynichus* (that *Phrynichus* who was *Thespis's* Scholar) was added. Now with his leave, I shall make bold to ask him one Question, in words of his own, Whether it was proper and prudent in him to accuse the Stone-cutter of Negligence, by an Argument that discovers a shamefull Negligence in himself? For the next *Æra* is not so low as *Olymp. LXVII*. As Mr. *Selden* has publish'd it, 'tis but *Olymp. LXV. 4*. But without doubt Mr. *Selden* mistook the Letters of the Inscription (as the Learned Dr. *Prideaux* observed before

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before me) and for III read III, *i. e.* 3. instead of 6. So that the true *Æra*, that comes next after *Thespis*, is Olymp. LXV, 1; but the *Æra* that Mr. B. speaks of, Olymp. LXVII is the *next but one* after *Thespis*. Is not Mr. B. now an accurate Writer, and a fit person, to correct a Stone-cutter? Or shall we blame his Assistant, *that consulted Books for him*? But the Assistant may be rather supposed to have writ this passage right; and the Mistake be Mr. B's: *for that is a Case known often to have happen'd in the copying of Manuscripts.*

Pref.

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But the Gentleman 'makes amends with telling us a piece of most certain News; *For it is not to be doubted*, he says, *but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII*. Now I would crave leave to enquire of him, How he came to hear this News? But perhaps he'll tell me, *I may as well ask, how he came to hear his Name was Phrynichus? Fame that told him the One, must tell him the Other too.* But if he do not trust too much to *Fame* (which I advise him not to do, for she often changes sides) I would then tell him a piece of News, quite contrary to His; *That it is not to be doubted, but Alcestis was NOT acted before Olymp. LXVII.* Because that Olympiad was the very first time that *Phrynichus* wrote for the Stage; and he was alive, and made Plays still, xxxv years after. I will tell him too some other particulars about this *Phrynichus*: but before I do that, he'll give me leave to expostulate a little about his Conduct in this Quarrel with the Stone-cutter: the whole ground of which, as the case plainly appears, was this. Mr. B. would have *Thespis* placed earlier in the Marble than Olymp. LXI; because *Phalaris* was



was dead before that Olympiad, and consequently could not hear of Tragedy, unless *Thespis* was earlier. Upon this he indites the Stone-cutter for an idle fellow ; who after he had graved  $\text{Αφ' ὧ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητής}$ , skipp'd a whole Line, and tacked the words, which concerned *Phrynichus*, to the name of *Thespis*. Now allowing that the poor Stone-cutter should confess this, and plead guilty ; pray what advantage would Mr. B. and his *Sicilian Prince* get by't ? For let it be, as he would have it ;  $\text{Αφ' ὧ Θέσπης ὁ ποιητής}$  . . . . . and that the line, that should have come after, was really omitted. Yet however since *THE-SPIS* is named there, there was something said about him in the very original, which the Graver should have copied ; and though the *Æra* of it be lost by the Graver's negligence ; yet we are sure from the method of the whole Inscription, that this lost *Æra* must needs be later than that which comes before it. But the *Æra* that comes before it, *Cyrus's Victory over Cræsus*, is Olymp. LIX, 1. or at soonest LVIII, 2. And the Death of *Phalaris*, as Mr. B. himself allows through all his Examination, was at Olymp. LVII, 3. What is it then, that he aims at in his charge against the Stone-cutter ? Could he carry his Point against him never so clearly ; yet his *Phalaris* is still in the very same condition : for he died, we see, VIII years or v at least, before *Thespis* is spoken of in the *Original* Inscription. And is not this a substantial piece of *Dulness*, ('tis one of his own civil words) to make all this bustle about Omissions in the Marble : when, if all he asks be allow'd him, he is but just as he was before. I am afraid his Readers will be tempted to think, that, whether the  
Stone-

Stone-cutter was so or no, his Accuser has here shewed himself a very ordinary Workman.

Having thus vindicated the *Graver* of the Inscription from the insults of our Examiner, I shall now put in a word in behalf of the *Author* of it. That excellent Writer here tells us, that the *first* performance of *Thespis* was after Olymp. LIX, 1. For this is the plain import of his words; and those learned Men, *who have taken pains to illustrate this Chronicle*, have all understood 'em so. But Mr. B. will not take up with this Authority; for he affirms, *Some of Thespis's Plays were acted about Olymp. LIII; and if this here about Olymp. LX was his, it was rather one of his Last, than the First: but his real opinion is, that it was neither his First nor Last; but Phrynichus's Play erroneously applied to Thespis.* Now in answer to this. I dare undertake from the same Topic, that Mr. B. uses, *i. e. a comparison of Thespis's Age with Phrynichus's*, to prove the very contrary, That this Play about Olymp. LX could not be *Phrynichus's*; and that in all probability 'twas the very first of *Thespis*.

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169.

*Suidas*, to whom the whole learned World confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the Age and Works of so many Authors, tells us, (i) *Phrynichus was Thespis's Scholar*; and Mr. B. himself expressly (k) affirms the same. *Plato* names them both together, as Pretenders to the Invention of Tragedy; where he says, (l) *That Tragedy did not begin, as men believe, from Thespis, nor from Phrynichus.* And if any one will infer from this passage of *Plato*, That the two Poets were nearer of an Age, than Master and Scholar usually are; he will make my Argument against *Phalaris* so much the stronger:

(i) *Suid. in*  
*Φρύν. Μα-*  
*κρίστου*  
*πρὸς*  
(k) P. 168.  
(l) *Plato*  
*in Minoe.*

stronger: for by this means *Thespis* will be nearer to *Phrynichus's* Age, and remoter from *Phalaris's*. But I am willing to suppose with Mr. B. that *Phrynichus* was Scholar to *Thespis*: so that if we can but fix the Scholar's Age, we may gather from thence the Age of the Master. Now *Phrynichus* made a Tragedy at Athens, which he intituled, *Μιλῆτε ἄλωσις*, *The taking of Miletus*.

(m) Strabo  
xiv. p. 635.  
Μιλῆτε  
ἄλωσιν  
ὑπὸ Δα-  
ρείου.

(n) Herod.  
vi. c. 21.

(o) Plut.  
Præc. Reip.  
gerenda.

(p) Æl. xii,  
17.

(q) Liban.  
Tom I. p.  
506.

(r) Amm.  
xxviii, 1.

(s) Schol.  
Arist. p.  
364.

(t) Tzet. z.  
Chil. viii,  
146.

(u) Schol.  
Arist. p.  
318.

(x) Athen.  
p. 635.  
Φαλ. ἐν  
Φοινίκῳ.

Callisthenes says (they are the words of (m) Strabo) that *Phrynichus the Tragic Poet* was fined by the Athenians a Thousand Drachms, for making a Tragedy called, *The taking of Miletus by Darius*. And *Herodotus* an older Author than he, When *Phrynichus*, (n) says he, exhibited his Play, *The Taking of Miletus*; the whole Theatre fell into Tears, and fined the Poet a thousand Drachms, and made an order, that no body ever after should make a Play of that Subject. The same thing is reported by (o) Plutarch, (p) Ælian, (q) Libanius, (r) Ammianus Marcellinus, the (s) Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and (t) *Joh. Tzetzes*. But the taking of *Miletus*, the whole story of which is related by *Herodotus*, was either at Olymp. LXX, or LXXI, as all Chronologers are agreed. And the Tragedy of *Phrynichus* being made upon that Subject, we are sure that he must be alive after Olymp LXX. But there's another Tragedy of his, called *Φοινίκαι*, which will shew him to have been still alive above xx years after that Olympiad. It is cited by the (u) Scholiast on *Aristophanes*; and (x) *Athenæus* gives us an Iambic out of it:

Φαλαγγῖον ἀντίστας' αἰδοντες μέλη.

But the Writer of the Argument of *Æschylus's Persæ* has the most particular account of it; *Glæucus*, says he, in his Book about the Subjects



of Æschylus's Plays, says, (y) his Persæ were borrow'd from the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus; the first Verse of which Phœnissæ is this;

Τὸ δ' ὅτι Περσῶν ὅς πύλαι βαβηκόντων.

and an Eunuch is introduc'd, bringing the news of (z) Xerxes's Defeat, and setting Chairs for the Ministers of State to sit down on. Now it's evident from this Fragment, that Phrynichus was yet alive after Xerxes's Expedition, i. e. Olymp.

LXXV, 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a Tragedy at Athens, and carried the Victory; Themistocles (a) being at the Charge of all the Furniture of the Scene and Chorus; who in memory of it, set up this Inscription: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ· ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ· ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. Themistocles of the Parish of Phreari was at the charge; Phrynichus made the Tragedy; and Adimantus was Archon. And I am apt to believe, that Phœnissæ was this very Play, which he made for Themistocles. For what could be a more proper Subject and Complement to Themistocles, than Xerxes's Defeat, which he had so great a hand in. Now we are sure from the name of the Archon, that this was done at Olymp. LXXV, 4. and how long the Poet survived this Victory, there is no body now to tell us.

To compare this now with Mr. B's Doctrine about the Age of Thespis and Phrynichus: 'Tis not to be doubted, says he, but the Alcæstis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII. There spoke an Oracle: 'tis not to be doubted, because we find him still making Tragedies xxxvi years after. Mr. B. declares his Opinion twice, That a Play acted about Olymp. LX was not made by Thespis, but by Phrynichus. Who will not rise up now to this

(y) Έκ τῶ  
Φοινισσῶν  
Φρυνίχου  
τῆς Πέρ-  
σης

παραίοντα

(z) Τὴν τῆς  
Ξέρξου  
ἡττάν.

(a) Plut.  
in Themist.  
Χρηστῶν  
τετραγών-  
οις.

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169.

Gentleman's Opinion? That Play must needs be *Phrynichus's*, because he was working for the Stage still, nay and carried the Prize there, LXIII years after that Olympiad. This, I think, is a little longer, than Mr. *Dryden's* Vein has yet lasted, which Mr. *B.* says is about xxxvi years. But I can help him to another instance, that will come up with it exactly to a single year.

P. 169. (b) *Marm.* For (b) *Sophocles* begun Tragedy at the age of  
*Arund.* xxviii, and held out at it till the age of xci; the interval LXIII. If this Example will bring off Mr. *B.* for saying, the Play is *Phrynichus's*, against the plain Authority of the Marble, it is at his Service: but with this reserve, that he shall not abuse me for Lending it; for I have had too much of that already.

But, If I may venture to guess any thing, that Mr. *B.* will think or say; I conceive, that upon better consideration, he will be willing to allow *Suidas's* words, (c) *That Phrynichus got the Prize at Olymp. LXVII*, to be meant of his First Victory. For so we find in the Marble, that the (d) First Victories of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, are the only ones recorded. And if (d) *Marm.* *Phrynichus* began at Olymp. LXVII, then the distance between his First and his Last (that we know of) will be xxxvi years; which is the very space that Mr. *B.* assigns to *Aristophanes* and Mr. *Dryden*. And it hits too with what the same *Suidas* has deliver'd about *Thespis*, (e) *That he exhibited a Play at Olymp. LXI*. For if we interpret this passage, like the other about *Phrynichus*, That it was *Thespis's* First Play: then the Master will be older than the Scholar by about xxv years: which is a competent time, and, I believe, near upon the same, that the very Learned

ned Person, whom Mr. B. so much honours by letting the world know, he had all his knowledge in these matters from him, (which they, that know that person's eminent Learning, will think to be no Complement to him) is older than Mr. B. And I humbly conceive, that all these Hits and Coincidences, when added to the express Authority of the Marble, which sets *Thespis* after Olymp. LIX, will bring it up to the highest probability, that *Thespis* first introduced Tragedy about Olymp. LXI; which is XIV years after the true *Phalaris* was dead.

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I observe Mr. B's emphatical Expression, *The Alcestis of Phrynichus*; that *Phrynichus who was Thespis's Scholar*: which seems to imply, that he thought there were two *Phrynichus's*, both Tragic Poets: and indeed the famous (g) *Lilius* (g) *Gyraldus*, almost as learned a man as Mr. B. was of the same opinion. It's necessary therefore to examin this point, or else our Argument from the Date of *Phrynichus's Phænissæ* will be very lame and precarious: for it may be pretended, the Author of *Phænissæ* was not *that* *Phrynichus*, *that was Thespis's Scholar*. Now, with Mr. B's gracious permission, (for I dare be free with *Gyraldus*) I will endeavour to shew, that there was but One Tragedian of that name. 'Tis true there were two *Phrynichus's* that wrote for the Stage, the one a Tragic, the other a Comic Poet; that's a thing beyond question: but the point that I contend for, is, that there were not two *Phrynichus's* Writers of Tragedy.

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(g) *Gyraldus*.  
De Poetis.

The Pretense for asserting two Tragic Poets of that name is a passage of *Suidas*; who, after he had named *Φρύνιχος*, &c. *Phrynichus*, the Son of Polyphradmon or Minyras, or Choro-



(b) Suid in  
Φρύν. leg.  
Πλευρω-  
νίας.  
ex Tzetze  
ad Lycophrontem.  
(i) Σχολ. Α-  
ριστ. Vesp.  
p. 364

cles, the Scholar of Thespis; and that his Tragedies are nine, (b) Πλευρωνία, Αιγύπτιοι, &c. subjoins under a new head, Φρύνιχθ, &c. Phrynichus, the Son of Melanthas, an Athenian Tragedian; some of his Plays are Ανδερμίδα, Ηειρόν and Πυρρίχαι. This latter place is taken word for word out of (i) Aristophanes's Scholiast, who adds that the same man made the Tragedy called, *The taking of Miletus*. Now it may seem from these two passages, that there were two *Phrynichus's* Tragic Poets: for the one is called the Son of *Melanthas*, the other not: and the three Plays ascribed to the latter are quite different from all the Nine that were made by the former. But to take off this Pretense; I crave leave to observe, that the naming his Father *Melanthas* is an argument of small force: for we see the other has three Fathers assign'd to him; so uncertain was the Tradition about the name of his Father: some Authors therefore might relate, that his Father was called *Melanthas*; and yet mean the very same *Phrynichus*, that according to others was the Son of *Polyphradmon*. And then the second Plea, that the Plays attributed to the one are wholly different from those of the other, is even weaker than the former: for the whole Dozen mention'd in *Suidas* might belong to the same *Phrynichus*. He says indeed, *Phrynichus Polyphradmon's Son, writ Nine Plays*; because the Author, he here copies from, knew of no more. But there might be more notwithstanding his not hearing of them; as we see there were really two, *The taking of Miletus*, and *Phænissæ*; that are not mention'd here by *Suidas*.

Having shewn now, what very slight ground the Tradition about two Tragedian *Phrynichus's* is

is built on ; I will give some Arguments on my side, which induce me to think there was but one. And my first is, Because all the Authors named above, *Herodotus, Callisthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ælian, Libanius, Amm. Marcellinus, Joh. Tzetzes*, who speak of the Play call'd, *The Taking of Miletus*, stile the Author of it barely, Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγῳδός, *Phrynichus the Tragedian* ; without adding ὁ Νεώτερος, *the Younger* ; as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to have done ; if this person had not been the famous *Phrynichus*, that was *Thespis's* Scholar. And so when he is quoted on other occasions, by *Athenæus, Hephæstion, Isaac Tzetzes, &c.* he is called in like manner, *Phrynichus the Tragic Poet*, without the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas*, who are the sole Authors produced to shew there were two Tragedians, do in other places plainly declare, there was but one. *There were four Phrynichus's in all*, says the (k) Scholiast,

1. *Phrynichus, the Son of Polyphradmon, the Tragic Poet.* (k) Schol. Arist. p. 397, 130. And so
2. *Phrynichus, the Son of Chorocles, (l) an Actor of Tragedies* Suidas in Φρύν. and Ἀδύκ.
3. *Phrynichus, the Son of Eunomides, the Comic Poet.* (l) See also p. 113, 358.
4. *Phrynichus, the Athenian General, who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a Plot against the Government.* Τραγῳδός ἑταίρος.

What can be more evident, than that according to this Catalogue there was but one of this name, a Tragedian ? but 'tis no wonder, if in Lexicons and Scholia compiled out of several Authors,

(m) Schol.  
p. 157.  
(n) Suid. in  
Φρύν. &  
Παλαίσ-  
μασι.  
(o) Æl.  
Var. Hist.  
iii, 8.

there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place both the (m) Scholiast and (n) Suidas make this fourth *Phrynichus*, the General, to be the same with the third the Comic Poet: on the contrary, (o) *Ælian* makes him the same with the first; and he adds a particular circumstance, *That in his Tragedy Πυρρίσαι he so pleased the Theatre with the warlike Songs and Dances of his Chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a General.* Among the Moderns some fall in with *Ælian's* story, and some with the other: but with all deference to their Judgments, I am persuaded both of them are false. For *Phrynichus* the General was stabb'd at

(p) Thucyd.  
viii. p. 617.

(q) *Lyfias*  
contra *A-*  
*goratum*,  
p. 136.

(r) *Lycurg.*  
contra *Le-*  
*ocratem*, p.  
163, 164.

*Athens*, Olymp. xcii, 2, as (p) *Thucydides* relates: but a more exact account of the circumstances of his Death is to be met with in (q) *Lyfias* and (r) *Lycurgus* the Orators. This being a matter of Fact beyond all doubt and controversy; I affirm, that the Date of his Death can neither agree with the Tragic nor the Comic Poet's History; being too late for the one, and too early for the other. 'Tis too late for the Tragedian; because he began to make Plays, as we have seen above, at Olymp. lxxvii; from which time, till Olymp. xcii, 2, there are cii years: and even from the Date of his *Phænissæ*, that were acted at Olymp. lxxv, 4. which is the last time we hear of him, there are lxxvi years to the death of *Phrynichus* the General. And then it's too early for the Comedian; for we find him alive v years after, contending (s) with his Play called *The Muses* (quoted by *Athenaus*, *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c.) against *Aristophanes's Frogs*, at Olymp. xciii, 3. when *Callias* was Archon.

(s) *Argum.*  
*Ran Arist.*

Again, I will shew there was but one *Phryni-*

chus



chus a Tragedian: *Aristophanes* in his *Vespæ* says, that the old men at *Athens* used to sing the old Songs of *Phrynichus*;

(ε) — ἡ μυνεῖζοντες μέλη

Ἀρχαιομελισδωνοφρυνιζήετα.

(ε) *Arist.*  
*Vesp.* p. 318.

'Tis a conceited word of the Poet's making; and *σδωνο*, which is one member in the Composition of it, relates to the *Phænissæ* (i. e. the *Sidoni-ans*) a Play of *Phrynichus*'s, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see, the Author of *Phænissæ* (whom they suppose to be the latter *Phrynichus*) is meant by *Aristophanes*; but if I prove too, that *Aristophanes* in this very place meant the *Phrynichus*, *Thespis*'s Scholar; 'twill be evident, that these two *Phrynichus*'s (whom they falsely imagin) are really one and the same. Now that *Aristophanes* meant the Scholar of *Thespis* will appear from the very words, μέλη ἀρχαῖα, *Ancient Songs and Tunes*. *Ancient*, because That *Phrynichus* was the second, or as some in *Plato* thought, the first Author of Tragedy. And *Songs and Tunes*; because he was celebrated and famous by that very character. (u) *Phrynichus*, says the Scholiast on this place, had a mighty name for making of Songs: but in another place he says the same thing of *Phrynichus* the Son of *Polyphradmon*; who according to *Suidas* was *Thespis*'s Scholar, (x) He was admired, says he, for the making of Songs: (y) They cry him up for the composing of Tunes: and he was before *Æschylus*. And can it be doubted then any longer, but that the same person is meant? 'Tis a Problem of *Aristotle*'s, Διὰ τὸ οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον εἰς μελ. ἢ μᾶλλον ἢσαν μελοποιοί; (z) Why did *Phrynichus* make more Songs than any Tragedian does now a days? And he answers it, Ἡ διὰ τὸ πολλαπλάσια ἐν τότε τὰ μέλη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέτερον τραγωδίαις; correct it,

(u) P. 318.

Δι' ὀνόμα-

τ' ἢν κα-

τέλες ὅτι

μελοποιοί.

(x) P. 397.

Ἐθαυμά-

ζετο

ὅτι μελο-

ποίαις.

(y) P. 166.

Ἐπαινῶσιν

εἰς μελ. ἢ

ᾠδὰς.

(z) *Arist.*

Πρω. XIX,

31.

it, καὶ μὲν τῶν μίτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις. Was it, says he, because at that time, the Songs (sung by the Chorus) in Tragedies were many more than the Verses (spoken by the Actors?) Does not Aristotle's very question imply, that there was but one Phrynichus a Tragedian?

I will add one Argument more for it, and That, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the Controversie. For I will prove that the very passage in *Aristophanes*, where the Scholiast, and *Suidas* from him, tell us of this (supposed second) Phrynichus the Son of *Melanthas*, concerns the one and true Phrynichus the Scholar of

(a) *Athen.* *Thespis.* The ancient Poets (says (a) *Athenæus*) *Thespis*, *Pratinas*, *Carcinus*, and *Phrynichus*, were called, ὀρχηστικοί, Dancers: because they not only used much dancing in the Chorus's of their Plays, but they were common Dancing-Masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn. And

(b) *Arist.* to the same purpose (b) *Aristotle* tells us, that the first Poetry of the Stage was ὀρχηστικώτερον more set upon Dances, than that of the following Ages. This being premised (though I had occasion to to speak of it before) I shall now set down the

(c) *Arist.* words of the (c) Poet:

*Vesp. p. 364.* Ὅ γδ' ἰδὼν, ὡς ἔπειθ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ χεῖναι,  
ἤκετό τ' αὐτῷ, φειχάρις τῷ πράγματι,  
ὀρχόμενον τ' νυκτὸς ἔδ' ἐν παύσεται.  
Ταρχαῖ' ἐμὲν οἷς Θέσπιδος ἠγωνίζετο  
καὶ τὸς τραγῳδοὺς φηπν ἀποδείξεν κείνους

(c) *Schol.* Τὸν νῦν, διορχούμενον ἐλίζον ὕπερ.

*ibid* O which are spoken by a Servant concerning an old fellow his Master, that was in a frolick of Dancing. Who the *Thespis* was, that is here spoken of, the Scholiast and *Suidas* pretend to tell us; for they say, (c) 'Twas one *Thespis* a Har-  
per

per, not the Tragic Poet. To speak freely, the Place has not been understood this thousand years and more; being neither written nor pointed right. For what can be the meaning of *Κέρνυς* τῷ νῦν? The word *Κέρνυς* alone signifies the whole; and τῷ νῦν is superfluous and needless. (d) So in another place:

(d) *Arist.*  
*Nub.* p. 107.

Οὐχὶ διδάξεις τῷτον, κέρνυς αὖν.

I humbly conceive the whole passage should be thus read and distinguish'd:

Ορχούμενος τῷ νυκτὸς ἔδην παύεται  
Τὰρχαῖ ἐκεῖν', οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο.  
Καὶ τὸς τραγωδῆς φησὶν ἀποδείξεν κέρνυς  
Τὸς νῦν, διορχούμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

All night long, says he, he dances those old Dances that Thespis used in his Chorus's: and he says, he'll dance here upon the Stage by and by, and shew the Tragedians of these times to be a parcel of Fools, he'll out-dance them so much. And who can doubt now, that considers what I have newly quoted from *Athenæus*, but that *Thespis*, ὁ ἀρχαῖος, the Old Tragic Poet (who lived cxiiv years before the Date of this Play) ὁ διορχηστικός, the common Dancing-Master at Athens, is meant here by *Aristophanes*? So that the Scholiast and *Suidas* may take their Harper again for their own Diversion; for it was a common practice among those Grammarians, when they happen'd to be at a loss, to invent a story for the purpose. But to go on with *Aristophanes*: the old fellow begins to dance, and as he dances, he says;

Ἡλῆθε χαλάσω τάδε· εἰ γὰρ δὴ  
Σχήματος ἀρχή  
(Οἱ. Μᾶλλον δὲ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή)  
Πλευρὸν λυγίσαντος ὑπαὶ ῥώμης.



So the Interlocution isto be placed here, which is faulty in all the Editions. *Make room there,* says he, *for I'm beginning a Dance, that's enough to strain a man's Side with the violent motion.* After a line or two he adds :

Πτήσσει Φρύνιχθ, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ,  
(Οἱ. Τάχα Καλλήσις)

Σκέλθ' ἐρῶνιόν γ' ἐκλαμπήζων.

Thus the words are to be pointed, which have hitherto been falsely distinguish'd. But there's an error here of a worse sort, which has possess'd the Copies of this Play, ever since *Adrian's* time, and perhaps before. Πτήσω signifies, *to crouch and sneak away for fear*, as Poultry do at the sight of the Kite; or a Cock, when he is beaten at fighting. The (e) Scholiast and (f) *Ælian* tells us, that Πτήσσει Φρύνιχθ, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ, Phrynichus *sneaks like a Cock*, became a Proverb upon those *that came off badly in any affair*; because *Phrynichus* the Tragedian came off sneakingly, when he was fined 1000 Drachms for his Play, Μιλῆτι ἀλωσε. Now with due reverence to Antiquity, I crave leave to suspect, that this is a Proverb coin'd on purpose, because the Commentators were puzzled here. For in the first place, *To sneak away like a Cock*, seems to be a very improper Similitude: for a Cock is one of the most bold and martial of Birds. I know there's an expression like this, of some nameless Poet's :

(g) *Plut.*  
*in Alcib.*

(g) Ἐπῆξ' ἀλέκτωρ δ' ἄλλον ὥς κλίνας πτερον.  
*He sneak'd like a Cock, that hangs down his wings when he's beaten.*

But this case is widely different; for the Comparison here is very elegant and natural, because the circumstance of *being beaten* is added to it:  
but

but to say it in general of a Cock, as if the whole species were naturally timid, is unwarrantable and absurd. As in another instance; *He stares like a man frightened out of his wits*, is an expression proper enough: but we cannot say in general, *He stares like a Man*. I shall hardly believe therefore, that *Aristophanes*, the most ingenious man of an Age that was fertile of great Wits, would let such an expression pass him, *He sneaks like a Cock*. But in the next place, the absurdity of it is doubled and tripled by the Sentence that it's joyn'd with: *Phrynichus*, says he, *kicking his legs up to the very Heavens in his Dances, crouches and sneaks like a Cock*. This is no better than down-right Non-sense; though to say something in excuse for the Interpreters, they did not join ἐκλακτίζων with Φρύνιχος, as I do, but with the word that follows in the next Verse. But if the Reader pleases to consult the passage in the Poet, he will be convinced, that the Construction can be no other, than what I have made it. Εκλακτισμός, says *Hesychius*, ἤμα χα-

εικόν, ὀρχήσιως σύντονον (correct it, (b) ἤμα χρεικῆς (b) So *Pollux* iv, 14. ὀρχήσιως, σύντονον) was a sort of Dance lofty and vehement, used by the Chorus's. And *Julius Pollux*, Τὰ ἐκλακτισμάτα, γυναικῶν ἢν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει μα ὀρχή- Τὸ ὀχίας  
ζδ ὑπὲρ τ' ὤμων ἐκλακτῆσαι; (i) The ἐκλακτισμάτα, σιως χρε- ἔλκεν, ἤ-  
says he, were the Dances of Women; for they were κῆς.  
to kick their Heels higher than their Shoulders. But (i) *Pollux*  
ibid.

I conceive, here's a palpable fault in this passage of *Pollux*: for certainly this kind of Dance would be very unseemly and immodest in Women. And the Particle ζδ, *For*, does further shew the reading to be faulty. For how can the throwing up the Heels as high as the Head in dancing be assign'd as a Reason, why the Dance must belong to

to Women? It would rather prove it belong'd to Men, because it required great Strength and Agility. But the Error will be remov'd, if instead of γυναικῶν we correct it γυμνικῶν. The Dance, says he, was proper to the γυμνικοί, *Exercisers*; for the Legs were to be thrown up very high, and consequently it required *Teaching* and *Practice*. Well, it's evident now; how every way absurd and improper the present passage of *Aristophanes* is. If I may have leave to offer at the Emendation of so inveterate an Error, I would read the place thus:

ΠΑΗΣΣΕΙ Φρυγίχῳ, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ  
(Οἱ. Τάχα βαλλήσιν)

Σκέλῳ ὑψιόν γ' ἐκλακπίζων.

*i. e. Phrynichus STRIKES like a Cock, throwing up his Heels very lofty.* This is spoken by the old Fellow, while he's cutting his Capers; and in one of his Frisks he offers to *strike* the Servant that stood by, with his Foot as it was aloft. Upon which the Servant says, Τάχα βαλλήσιν, *You'll hit me by and by with your capering and kicking.* Πλήσσω is the proper term for a Cock, when he strikes as he's fighting; as Πῦκτεν is his *Spur*, that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this, That in his Dances he leap'd up, and vaulted, like *Phrynichus*, who was celebrated for those Performances: as it further appears from what follows a little after:

(k) *Arist.*  
p. 365.

(k) Καὶ τὸ Φρυγίχιον  
ἐκλακπάζω ὡς ὅπως  
ἀδοντες ἄνω σκέλῳ  
ᾧ ὥσπερ οἱ δεαταί.

Which ought to be thus corrected and distinguished:

Καὶ,



Καὶ, τὸ Φρυγίχον,  
 Εκλακτισάτω τις ὅπως  
 Ἰδόντες ἄνω σκιάῃ,  
 Ὡζων οἱ διαταί.

i. e. *And in Phrynichus's way, frisk and caper ; so as the Spectators seeing your Legs aloft, may cry out with admiration.* Now to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose, sufficiently, that the *Phrynichus* here spoken of by *Aristophanes*, was, as well as the *Thespis*, famous for his Dancing; and consequently, by the authority of *Athenæus* quoted above, he must be ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρυγίχος, the *Ancient Phrynichus*, ὁ ὀρχηστὴς, the *Master of Dancing*. Upon the whole matter then, there was but one Tragedian *Phrynichus*, the Scholar of *Thespis*; and if so, we have fully proved already from the Dates of his Plays, that his Master *Thespis* ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. LXI.

But I have one short Argument more, independent of all those before, which will evidently prove, that *Thespis* was younger than *Phalaris*. For to take the earliest account of *Thespis*, which Mr. Boyle contends for, he was Contemporary with *Pisistratus*. But *Pisistratus's* eldest Son *Hippias* was alive at (l) Olymp. LXXI, 2. and (l) *Marm.* after that, was at the Battle at *Marathon*, O-  
 lymp. LXXII, 2. where he was slain according to (m) *Cicero*, (n) *Justin*, and (o) *Tertullian*; but (m) *Cic ad* if *Suidas* say true (out of *Ælian's* Book, *De pro* Att. ix. 10. videntia, as one may guess by the Style and matter) (n) *Just.* (p) he surviv'd that fight, and died at *Lemnos* ii, 9. of a lingering Distemper: and this latter account (o) *Tert.* seems to be confirmed by *Thucydides* and *Herodo-* ad v. Gentes (p) *Suid. in* tus: for the one says, (q) *He was with the Medes* Ἰππίας. (q) *Thuc.* at *Marathon*, without saying he was kill'd there; vi. p. 452. and

(r) Herod.  
vi, 106.

(f) See o-  
bove, p.  
34, 35, 36.

and the other not obscurely intimates, that he was not killed ; for he says, (r) *His tooth that drop'd out of his head upon the Attic ground, was the only part of his Body that had a share in that Soil* : There are only two Generations then from *Thespis*'s time to the Battle of *Marathon* : but there are Four from *Phalaris*'s ; for (f) *Theron* the Fourth from that *Telemachus*, that deposed *Phalaris*, got the Government of *Agrigentum* Olymp. LXXIII, 1. but three years only after that Battle ; and he was then at least about XL years old, as appears from the Ages of his Son and Daughter. I'll give a Table of both the Lines of Succession

1. *Telemachus*. *Phalaris*.

2. *Emmenides*.

*Thespis*. 1. *Pisistratus*.

3. *Ænesidamus*.'

2. *Hippias*. Ol. LXXII, 2. 4. *Theron*. Ol. LXXII, 2.

'Tis true, *Hippias* was an old Man at that time ; though it appears by the Post and Business that *Herodotus* assigns him, that he was not so very old as some make him. But however let him be as old, if they please, as *Theron*'s Father ; yet still the case is very apparent, that *Thespis* is one whole Generation younger than *Phalaris*.

P. 166.

It may now be a fit season to visit the Learned Examiner, and to see with what Vigour and Address he repells all these Arguments, that have settled the time of *Thespis* about Olymp. LXI. His Authorities are *Diogenes Laertius* and *Plutarch*, who shall now be examin'd. The point which Mr. B. endeavours to prove, is this ; That *Thespis* acted Plays in *Solon*'s time, and consequently before the Death of *Phalaris*. Now the words of *Laertius*, which are all he says that any

any ways relate to this affair, are exactly these.

(r) *Solon*, says he, *hindred Thespis from acting of Tragedies, believing those false Representations to be of no use.* Hence the Examiner infers, that *Thespis* acted his Plays in the days of *Solon*: so that his Argument lies thus: *He was hindred from acting Tragedies, Ergo, he acted Tragedies, i. e.* he acted them, because he did not act them. Is not this now a Syllogism worthy of the acute Mr. B. and his new System of Logic? And is it not a much better Argument, if you turn it's face the quite contrary way? For if *Solon*, when *Thespis*, as we may suppose, made Application to him for his leave to act Tragedies, would not suffer him to do it: is it not reasonable to infer, that *Thespis* acted none, till after *Solon's* Death? which is the very account, that I have establish'd by so many Arguments.

(r) *Laers.*  
*Solone.*  
Θέσπις ἐ-  
κώλυσε  
τραγωδῶ-  
ας ἀγείν-  
τε καὶ δι-  
δασκείν,  
ὡς ἀνωφε-  
λῆ τὴν  
ψευδολα-  
γίαν.

But are not the Words of *Plutarch* more clear and express in the Examiner's behalf? 'Tis true. for this Author relates particularly, (f) *That Solon saw one of Thespis's Plays, and then disliking the way of it, he forbid him to act any more.* But what then? how does it appear, that this was done before *Phalaris's* Death? If I should allow this story in *Plutarch* to be true: yet Mr. B. will find it a difficult thing, to extort from it what he aims at. *Why, yes*, he says, *Solon was Archon Olymp. XLVI, 3. which is XLIV years before Phalaris was kill'd.* Here Mr. B. supposes, that this business with *Thespis* happen'd in the year of *Solon's* Archonship; which is directly to oppose his own Author *Plutarch*; who relates at large, how *Solon*, after he was Archon, travell'd abroad x years; and after his return (how long after we cannot tell) this thing pass'd between him and *Thespis*.

(f) *Plut.*  
*Solone.*



- P. 166. *Thespis.* But Eusebius, says Mr. B. places the Rise of Tragedy Olymp. XLII, 2. a little after Solon's Archonship. Will Mr. B. here stand to this against the plain words of *Plutarch*? Mr. B. either does or may know, that *Eusebius's* Histories are so shuffled and interpolated, and so disjointed from his Tables; that no wise Chronologer dares depend on them in a point of any niceness, without concurrent Authority. But,
- P. 167. says he, take the lowest account that can be, that Solon saw Thespis's Plays at the latter end of his life; Solon died at the end of the (t) LIII, or the beginning of the LIVth Olympiad; i. e. XIV years before Phalaris died. Now here's a double misrepresentation of the Author he pretends to quote. For there's nothing in *Plutarch* about Olymp. LIII or LIV. He only tells us that one Phantias said, Solon died when *Hegestratus* was Archon; who succeeded Comias, in whose year *Pisistratus* usurp'd the Government. But we know
- (u) *Marm.* the Date of *Pisistratus's* Usurpation is (u) Olymp. LIV, 4. Comias being then Archon. So that Solon according to Phantias's Doctrine, died at
- (t) *Plut.* Olymp. LV, 1. which is IV years later than Mr. B. makes him say. But to pardon him this fault, which in Him shall pass for a small one; yet the next will bear harder upon him; for he brings in this Date of Solon's Death, out of Phantias: as if it was a point uncontroverted, and allow'd by *Plutarch* himself. Whenas *Plutarch* barely mentions it, without the least token of Approbation; and places before it a quite different account from *Heraclides* (an Author as old as Phantias and much more considerable) That Solon lived, ΣΤΧΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, A LONG TIME after *Pisistratus's* Usurpation. Nay there's some ground for
- (u) *Marm.*  
Arund.  
K... OT  
APXON  
TOΣ.
- Con-

Conjecture, that *Plutarch* disbelieved *Phanias*; for he (x) espouies that common story about (x) *Plus.* *Solon's* Conversation with *Cræsus*; who came *Solone.* not to the Crown till Olymp. LV, 3. which is two years after *Solon's* Death, according to *Phanias*: and yet *Solon* did not see *Cræsus* at his first Accession to the Throne; but after he had conquer'd xiv Nations in *Asia*, as *Herodotus* tells it. So that for any thing that Mr. B. has proved, *Solon* might possibly have this Controversie with *Thespis*, after the Death of the *Sicilian Prince*. But what if it was before his Death? Must the Fame of this new Diversion call'd Tragedy, which was then a dishonourable thing, and quash'd by the Magistrate, needs fly as far as *Sicily*, to the *Prince's* Court? As if a new Show could not be produced at a *Bartholomew Fair*; but the Foreign Princes must all hear of it.

But I must frankly observe on Mr. B's side (what he forgot to do for himself) that as *Plutarch* tells this story of *Thespis*, it must have happen'd a little before *Pisistratus's* Tyranny. For he presently subjoyns, That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; and pretending that he was set upon by Enemies, desired to have a Guard; You do not act, says *Solon* to him, the part of *Ulysses* well; for he wounded himself to deceive his Enemies, but you to deceive your own Countrymen: *Laertius* tells it a little plainer; That when *Pisistratus* had wounded himself; (y) *Solon* said, Ay, (y) *Laert.* this comes of *Thespis's* acting and personating in his *Solone E.* Tragedies. Take both these Passages together, *καὶ δὲν ἰαυ-* and it must be allowed, that as far as *Plutarch's* *τα φουαί.* credit goes, it appears that *Thespis* did act some of his Plays before Olymp. LIV, 4. But we have seen above, that the *Arundel Marble* and *Suidas*

set the Date of his first Essay about Olymp. LXXI. And the Age of *Phrynichus* his Scholar strongly favours their side; for by Their reckoning, he began his Plays about xxv years after his Master; but by *Plutarch's*, above L. And whose Authority now shall we follow? Though there's odds enough against *Plutarch*, from the Antiquity of the Author of the Marble, who was above 300 years older than he; and from his particular diligence and exactness about the History of the Stage; yet I'll make bold to add another Reason or two, why I cannot here follow him. For he himself tells me in another place, (z) *That the first that brought Μῦθος & Πάσιν the Stories and the Calamities of Heroes upon the Stage, were Phrynichus and Æschylus*: so that before them all Tragedy was Satyrical, and the Subject of it was nothing else but *Bacchus* and his Satyrs. But if this affair about *Thespis*, and *Solon*, and *Pisistratus* be true, then *Thespis* must have represented *Ulysses* and other Heroes in his Plays; for it's intimated, that *Thespis's* acting gave the hint to *Pisistratus* to wound himself, as *Ulysses* did. So that this latter Passage of *Plutarch* is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this. Some body had invented and published this about *Solon*, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise Law-giver; and *Plutarch*, who would never balk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with Chronology, thought it a fault to omit it in his History of *Solon's* Life. We have another instance of this in the very same

(z) *Plut.*  
*Symp.*  
*Quæst. L.*  
1.

(a) *Plut. in*  
*Solone.*

Treatise: for he tells at large the (a) Conversation that *Solon* had with *Cræsus*; though he prefaces it with this, *That some would shew by Chronological Arguments, that it must needs be a Ficti-*



on. Nay, he is so far transported in behalf of his Story, (b) that he accuses the whole System of (b) *Id. Xest- Chronology*, as a Labyrinth of endless uncertainty. And yet he himself upon other occasions can make use of Chronological Arguments, when he thinks they conduce to his design. As in the Life of *Themistocles*, he falls foul upon *Stesimbrotus* (an Author, as (c) he himself owns, (c) *Plut. in Cimon.* Contemporary with *Pericles* and *Cimon*; who, as (d) *Athenaeus* says, had seen *Pericles*, and (d) *Athen.* might possibly see *Themistocles* too) for affirming, That *Themistocles* conversed with *Anaxagoras* and *Melissus* the Philosophers: (e) *Where- (e) Plut. in Themist.* in he did not consider Chronology, says *Plutarch*; for *Anaxagoras* was an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, who was much younger than *Themistocles*; and *Melissus* was General against *Pericles* in the Samian War. Here we see, this great Man could believe, that an Argument drawn from Time is of considerable Force: and yet, with humble Submission, Chronology seems to be reveng'd on him in this place, for the slight he put upon't in the other. For *Pericles* was not so remote from *Themistocles*'s time, but that one and the same Person might be acquainted with them both, and even they themselves be acquainted with one another; the one being made General (f) within (f) *Diod. p. 41, & 47.* xvi years after the other's Banishment. And first for *Anaxagoras*; he might very well be personally known to *Themistocles*; for he was born at Olymp. LXX, 1. as (g) *Apollodorus* and *Demetrius Phalereus* two excellent Writers testify; (g) *Laert. in Anaxag.* and began to teach Philosophy in Athens at xx years of age, Olymp. LXXV, 1. when *Callias* was Archon; the very year of *Xerxes*'s Expedition, when *Themistocles* acquired such Glory; and ix

years before he was banished. The same Authors inform us, that *Anaxagoras* continued xxx years teaching at *Athens*; so that he had ix entire years to cultivate a Friendship with *Themistocles*. And in the second place what hinders, but that *Melissus* too might be *Themistocles's* Friend; and yet be the *Samian* General in the War against

(h) *Thucyd.* *Pericles*, which was (h) at Olymp. LXXXIV, 4? For suppose him to have been of the same age with *Anaxagoras*: he might then, as we have seen already, have been acquainted with *Themistocles*: nay suppose him, if you please, x years older; and yet he would be but LXX years old when he was General to the *Samians*. And what is there extraordinary in that? *Anaxagoras* himself survived that War (i) XIII years: and we have had in our own time more Generals than one, that were LXXX years of Age.

*Diod.*

*Suid. v.*

*Melissus*, who confounds *Melissus* with *Melitus* the Orator.

(i) *Laert.*  
*ibid.*

P 166,  
170.

(k) *Dissert.*  
*ad Mal. p.*  
46. *Solon. æ-*  
*qualis fuit.*

But Mr. B. will prove, that I my self allow *Plutarch's* account of *Thespis*, and am obliged to defend it, as much as He is: because I own'd in another place, that he was (k) Contemporary with *Solon*. The Reader shall judge between us, when I have told him the Case. *Johannes Magalas* and another Writer relate, that soon after the Siege of *Troy*, in *Orestes's* time, one *Themis* or *Theomis* (i. e. as I corrected it, *Thespis*) First invented Tragedies: in opposition to which I affirm'd, that the true *Thespis* lived in *Solon's* time, long enough after the taking of *Troy*. Now certainly there was no need of exactness here, where the distance of the two Ages spoken of was so many whole Centuries. I had no need to determin *Thespis's* age to a particular Year, but to say, he lived in the time of *Solon*; as without question he did, and may be supposed about

about xx years old before *Solon* died, if he made Tragedies at Olymp. LXI. Mr. B. is pleased to call that Dissertation my *Soft Epistle* to Dr. Mill; which is Ironically said for *Hard*: and indeed to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at; as appears by his most miserable Stuff about (l) *Anapæstic Verses*.

P. 166

(l) See above, p. 133. &c.

And so much for the Age of *Thespis*: I shall now consider the Opinion of those, that make Tragedy to be older than He. And what has the Learned Examiner produced to maintain this Assertion? (m) Nothing but two common and obvious Passages of *Plato* and *Laertius*, which

(m) P. 170, 171, 172.

every Second-hand Writer quotes, that speaks but of the Age of Tragedy: one of which passages tells us, (n) *That Tragedy did not commence*

*with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old at Athens: the Other, (o) That of old in Tragedy*

*the Chorus alone performed the whole Drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one Actor.* This is

all he brings, except a hint out of *Aristotle*; who affirming that *Æschylus* invented the second Actor, implies, he says, that *Thespis* found out the first. Now for two of his Authorities, *Laertius* and *Aristotle*; these words of theirs do not prove, that Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. For *Thespis* might be the first Introducer of one Actor; and yet be the Inventor too of that sort of Tragedy, that was performed by the Chorus alone. At first his Plays might be but rude and imperfect, some Songs only and Dances by the Chorus, and the Hemichoria, i. e. the two Halves of the Chorus answering to each other: afterwards by long use and experience, perhaps of xx, or xxx, or xl years, he might improve upon his own Invention, and introduce one Actor,

(n) *Plato in Min.*

*πάνυ παλαιόν.*

(o) *Laert. in Plat.*

P. 172.



(p) *Vita*  
*Æsch.* Τὸν  
 τῶν ὁ-  
 ποιητῶν  
 εὐτὸς ὡς  
 οὐκ ἔσ-  
 ται.

(q) *Plat.*  
*in Minos.*

P. 171.

ctor, to discourse while the Chorus took breath. What inconsistency is there in this? *Æschylus*, we see, is generally reported as the Inventor of the second Actor: and yet (p) several believed, that afterwards he invented too the Third Actor; for in the making of LXXV Plays, he had time enough to improve further upon his first Model. Where then is Mr. B's consequence, that he would draw from *Laertius* and *Aristotle*? But he has *Plato* yet in reserve, who affirms, *That Tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis's time*. I have already observ'd in answer to this, That *Plato* himself relates it as a Paradox; and no body that came after him, would second him in't. He might be excus'd indeed by this distinction, that he meant, *Αὐτοχρησάσματα*, the *Extemporal Songs* in Praise of *Bacchus*, which were really older than *Thespis*, and gave the first Rise to Tragedy: were it not that he affirms there, (q) That *Minos* the King of *Crete* was introduc'd in those old Tragedies before *Thespis's* time. Which by no means may be allowed: for the old Tragedy was all *Σαυερὴ καὶ ὀρχηστὴ*, dancing and singing; and had no serious and dolefull Argument, as *Minos* must be, but all Jollity and Mirth.

Mr. B. here takes his usual freedom of giving my Character; He believes, he says, *Laertius's works are better known to me, than Plato's*. What Authors he believes I am best acquainted with, is to me wholly indifferent: but since he seems curious about my acquaintance with Books, I'll tell him privately in his Ear, that the last acquaintance I made of this sort, was with the worst Author I ever yet met with. But surely one would think now, that the Examiner himself was very well versed in *Plato*, since he's so pert upon Me,

Me, and believes that I am not. Now the Reader shall see presently, and by this very passage of *Plato*, whether Mr. B. knows that Author, or rather casts his Eye upon him, as he did on *Senecca* and the *Greek Tragædians*. The Interlocutors in this Dialogue, are *Socrates* and one *Minos* an *Athenian*, his Acquaintance; and the Subject of half of their Discourse, is to vindicate *Minos*, the ancient King of *Crete*, from the character of Cruelty and Injustice, which the Tragic Poets by their Plays had fasten'd upon him. Now our Examiner with his wonderfull Diligence and Sense, believes the Person, that talks there with *Socrates*, to be *Minos* the old King of *Crete*, who lived above DCCC years before him: (r) *Minos*, says he, asks *Socrates*, how men come to have such an opinion of HIS Severity; i. e. of *Minos's* own that speaks; as plainly appears there from Mr. B's Context. Is not this Gentleman now very well qualified to pass Censures upon Writers? That can make *Plato's* discourses to be like *Lucian's, Dialogues of the Dead*? Nay, that can put the Dead and the Live together in Dialogue? and be almost like *Mezentius*, (the *Phalaris* of his Age, and therefore worthy of Mr. B's respect) who

P. 160.

(r) Edit. 3.  
last Leaf.

*Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis?*

If he had read that short Treatise of *Plato's*, without being fast asleep, he might see some of those numerous places, which will tell him, that *Minos* the Interlocutor there, was not *Minos* of *Crete*. Dost thou know, says *Socrates* to him, which of the Cretan Kings were good men, as *Minos* and *Rhadamanthys*, the Sons of *Jove* and *Europa*? *Rhadamanthys*, replies the other, was a good man, they say; but *Minos* was cruel, severe,

P. 137.

and unjust. Have a care, says Socrates again to him, this borders upon Blasphemy and Impiety. But I'll set you right in your opinion of Minos; lest you, who are a Man, the Son of a Man, should'st offend against a Hero, the Son of Jove. If these places be not sufficient to make the Examiner sensible of his Blunder; I'll give him several others, when he and I next talk together. And I'll tell him This further before-hand; that in my opinion, Plato himself publish'd this Dialogue without naming the Interlocutor; it was only *Σωκράτης & ὁ τις*, Socrates and Somebody. Afterwards Minos was made the name of that unknown Person, from *Μίνως* the title of the Dialogue. But I hardly think, that he that first did it, ever imagin'd, such an ingenious Author as Mr. B. could have been caught in so sorry a Trap.

P. 176.

(f) View  
of Dissert.  
p. 72.

(t) P. ult.  
3d Edit.  
(u) Scal. de  
Poes. i, 5.

(x) Voss.  
Poes. ii, 12.

To convince us that Tragedy was older than Thespis, Mr. B. assures us, That Plutarch in the Life of Theseus EXPRESSLY tells us, that the acting of Tragedies was one part of the Funeral Solemnities, which the Athenians performed at the Tomb of Theseus. But he has been told already by Another, that there's (f) no such thing in Plutarch's Life of Theseus; or if there was, yet Tragedy would not on that account be older than Thespis; for Theseus had no Tomb at Athens before the days of Thespis. Mr. B. has pleaded guilty to this, and (t) confessed that he took it at second-hand from Jul. Scaliger, who says, (u) *Tragediam esse rem antiquam constat ex historia; ad Thesei namque Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos legimus.* I'll tell him too of another that took it at the same hand; the Learned Ger. Vossius, (x) *Aliunt quidam, says he, Thesei ad Sepulchrum certasse Tragicos, atque eam fuisse Tragædiarum vetustissimam.*



*tuftiffimam.* Well, I will not impute this to Mr. B. as a Fault, since *Scaliger* and *Vossius* have erred before him: I'll only observe the difference between those Great Men, and the Greater Mr. B. They cite no Authority for what they say, because they said it only at second hand; Mr. B. who took it at trust from them, believing that they had it out of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theseus*, cites Him for it at a venture in his Margin, and in the Text says, He expressly tells us so. What poor and cowardly Spirits were They in comparison of Mr. B? They wanted the manly and generous Courage to quote Authors they had never read, with an Air of Assurance. 'Tis a great Blot upon their Memories; but however we'll let it pass; and examin a little into the story of *Theseus's* Tomb, because such great men have been mistaken in't. For were it true that Tragedies had been acted at *Theseus's* Tomb, (which is not so) yet those Tragedies would be so far from being the First, that they came 19 years after *Thespis* had exhibited his. *Theseus* died in Banishment, being murder'd and privately buried in the Isle of *Scyros*: and about DCCC years afterwards, the Oracle enjoyn'd the *Athenians* to take up his Bones and carry them to *Athens*, which was accordingly done by *Cimon*, Olymp. LXXVII, 4. Μετὰ τὰ Μυδικὰ, says *Plutarch*, Φαίδωνος Ἀρχοντος, (y) After the Medes Invasi- (y) Plus. in on, when *Phædon* was Archon, the Oracle bid the *Athenians* fetch home the Bones of *Theseus*, and it was done by *Cimon*. If the Reading be not corrupted, this Oracle was given Olymp. LXXVI, 1. for then *Phædon* was Archon: and at this rate it will be seven years before the Oracle was obey'd. But I rather believe; that for Μυδικὰ Φαίδωνος.

Φαίδων, we ought to correct it, Μηνδικὸν Ἀφεψίων, *When Aphepsion was Archon.* Α was lost in Ἀφεψίων, because Μηνδικὸν ends with that Letter, and α and ε are commonly put one for the other; being anciently pronounced both alike.

(z) *Laert. in Socrat.*

(a) *Plut. Cim.*

(b) *Meurs. Archont. ii, 6, 7.*

(c) See here p. 158, and 215.

Now Ἀφεψίων was Archon, (z) Olymp. LXXVII, 4. which was the very year that *Cimon* fetcht *Theseus's* Bones, as *Plutarch* relates it; who adds too, that (a) Ἀφεψίων was the Archon. *Diodorus* in the Annal of that year, says *Phædon* was Archon: for so the old Reading is, Ἀρχοντὸν Ἀθήνησι Φαίδων. The late Editions substitute Φαίδων: but the true Lction is Ἀφεψίων, as appears from *Laertius* and *Plutarch*: and this Depravation in *Diodorus* confirms my Suspicion about the first passage in *Plutarch*; for as here Ἀφεψίων was chang'd into Φαίδωνος; so there it might be into Φαίδωνος. The *Arundelian* Marble calls him *Apsepsion*; placing Ἀρχοντος Αψέψιονος at this very year. *Meursius*, (b) from these faulty places in *Plutarch* and *Laertius*, makes *Phædon* to have been thrice Archon, about Ol. LXXIII, 3. at Ol. LXXVI, 1. and LXXVII, 4. whereas really he was but once Archon at Ol. LXXVI, 1. But there's another mistake committed by *Jos. Scaliger*, that has had very odd Consequences. *Scaliger* in his Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγερῶν, which he collected from all the Notes of Time, that he could meet with in any Authors, makes Ἀφεψίων to be Archon at Olymp LXXIV, 4. This I am persuaded, he did not do out of design, but pure forgetfulness: (c) for he intended to have set it at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. but in the interval between reading his Author, and committing this Note to writing, his Memory deceiv'd him, and he put it at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. This Suspicion of mine will be made out from *Scaliger's* own words there, Ὀλυμπ. οδ. δ. Ἀφεψίων.

Σωκράτης

Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη κατὰ πῦας, compared with *Laertius's*, from whence they are taken, (d) Σω- (d) *Laert.*  
 κράτης ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Ἀφελίαντος ἐν τοῖς δ. ἔτει τ' οζ. Ὁ. in *Socr.*  
 λυμπάδος. After this comes *Meursius*, who mistakes that Ὀλυμπάδων ἀναγεγενῆ, for an ancient Piece first publish'd out of MS by *Scaliger*; and seeing *Aphepsion* named there as Archon Olymp. LXXIV, 4. (e) he interpolates *Laertius* to make (e) *Meurs.* him agree with it; by which means he makes *Arch. ii, 7.* two falsehoods in *Laertius's* Text, which was right before he medled with it: for he sets *Aphepsion* at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. instead of LXXVII, 4. and at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he puts *Phædon*, instead of *Aphepsion*. And besides this, (f) he dates (f) *Ibid.* *Cimon's* taking of *Scyros*, and the fetching of *Theseus's* Bones, at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. because *Plutarch* says, (g) *Aphepsion* was Archon at the time (g) *Plut.* of that Action: which is a mistake of a dozen *Cimon.* years; for this was done Olymp. LXXVII, 3 and 4. as is plain from (h) *Diodorus*, and intimated (h) *Diod.* even by *Plutarch* himself. Nay, to see how Error is propagated, even *Petavius* too was caught here; (i) for at Olymp. LXXVII, 4. he takes notice of *Laertius's* inconsistency, as he thought (i) *Petav.* it: He makes *Socrates* to be born, says he, at this *Doctr* Olympiad: but he names *Aphepsion* for the Archon, who was not in this year, but Olymp. LXXIV, 4. *Temp 11.* *P. 570.*  
 And again at Olymp. LXXIV, 4. (k) *Petavius* (k) *Ibid p.* makes *Aphepsion* to be Archon, and cites *Laert.* 567. *tius* for it in the life of *Socrates*: and he adds, *That in this year Cimon fetch'd Theseus's Bones from Scyros to Athens.* Here we see are the very same mistakes that *Meursius* fell into; and the sole occasion of them all, was the heedlessness of *Jos. Scaliger*. But *Petavius* has yet another mischance; for he adds, that (l) upon the bringing Agon.  
 (l) *Inde Tragædorum institutus est*



ing of Theseus's Bones, the Prizes for Tragœdians were instituted: which is part of the error of *Jul. Scaliger*, and *Ger. Vossius*, that we have noted above. The original of which seems to have been this mistaken passage of *Plutarch*; who after he has related how the Bones of *Theseus* were brought in Pomp to Athens by *Cimon*; (m)

(m) *Plut.*  
*Cim.*

ἔθεντο δ', says he, ἐς εἰς μνήμην ΑΤΤΟΥ καὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν κείσιν ὀνομασίην γινωσκόμεν. Now it seems

that some believed ΑΤΤΟΥ to be spoken of *Theseus*: and from thence they coin'd the story of Tragedies being acted at his Tomb. But it plainly relates to *Cimon*, who with the rest of the Generals sat Judge of the Plays of *Sophocles* and *Æschylus* at that Olymp. LXXVII, 4. (n) and gave the

(n) *Plut.*  
*ibid.* See  
*Marm. A-*  
*rund. E-*  
*poch.* 57.

Victory to the former. Upon the whole then, first it appears against Mr. B. that Tragedies were not acted among the Solemnities at *Theseus's* Tomb: and secondly, that *Theseus's* Tomb was not built till Olymp. LXXVII, 4. in *Æschylus* and *Sophocles's* time, long after *Thespis*: so that were it true, that Tragedies had been one of those Funeral Solemnities; yet it would be no Argument for that Antiquity, that Mr. B. assigns to Tragedy.

But these are mistakes of his only for want of Reading: the next that I am going to mention let others judge from what want it procedes. The case is this; A certain Writer has accused Mr. B. of a false Citation of *Plutarch's* Life of *Theseus*; (o) for there's no such thing as he quotes in that Life. In the Life of *Cimon* indeed there's something that an ignorant Person might construe to such a Sense. To this Mr. B. replies, That he owns he was misled by *Jul. Scaliger*; who affirms the thing, but quotes no body for it; And perhaps, says Mr. B. further, I was too hasty in

(o) View  
of Dissert.  
p. 72.

P. ult. 3d  
Edit.

not

not fully considering the whole passage of Plutarch in the Life of Cimon, relating to this matter. Now this Excuse implies an affirmation, that he had his Eye on that passage in the Life of Cimon, when he wrote that about Tragedies at *Theseus's* Tomb. But the contrary of this is manifest from his own Book ; for he quotes not the Life of Cimon, but the Life of *Theseus*, where there is not one Syllable of Tragedies. So that he quoted *Plutarch* at a venture, without looking into him at all. Where's the truth then of his not fully considering ? If Mr. B's very Excuses stand in need of excuse, how inexcusable must the Rest be !

'Twas the Examiner's purpose, to shew some footsteps of Tragedy before the time of *Thespis*. But he has not observed a Passage of *Herodotus*, (because his Second-hand Writers did not furnish him with it) which of all others had been fittest for his turn. *The Sicyonians*, (p) says that *Histo-* (p) *Herod.*  
*rian*, in every respect honour'd the Memory of A- v. c. 67.  
*draustus*, and particularly they celebrated the story of Τα πᾶντα  
his Life with Tragical Chorus's ; not making Bac- αὐτῷ τετρα-  
chus the subject of them, but *Adraustus*. But μοῖσι χο-  
*Clisthenes* assign'd the Chorus's to *Bacchus*, and εἰσι γι-  
the rest of the Festival to *Melanippus*. This Cli-  
*sthenes*, here spoken of, was Grandfather to Cli-  
*sthenes* the *Athenian*, who was the main Agent in  
driving out the Sons of *Pisistratus*, at *Olymp.*

LXVII. And since Tragical Chorus's were used in (q) *Them*  
*Sicyon* before that *Clisthenes's* time ; it appears *Orat.* xix.  
they must be long in use before the time of *The-* Τετραγώνι-  
*spis*, who was one Generation younger than Cli- ας εὐρεταῖ  
*sthenes* himself. And agreeably to this, *Them-* μὲν Σικυ-  
*istius* tells us, (q) That the *Sicyonians* were the In- ώνιοι, τε-  
ventors of Tragedy, and the *Athenians* the Finish- λεσινεργῶ  
ers. And when *Aristotle* says, (r) That some of ὁ Ἀπικαῖ  
(r) *Arist.*  
the Poet. 3.

the Peloponnesians pretend to the Invention of it ; I understand him of these Sicyonians. Now if Mr. B. had but met with this place of Herodotus ; with what triumphing and insulting would he have produced it ? what plenty of Scurrility and Grimace would he have pour'd out on this occasion ? But I have so little apprehensions either of the force of this Argument, or of Mr. B's Address in managing it ; that I here give him notice of it, for the Improvement of his next Edition. The truth is, there is no more to be inferr'd from these Passages ; than that before the time of *Thespis*, the first Grounds and Rudiments of Tragedy were laid ; there were Chorus's and extemporal Songs, *αὐτοχρησίστη*, but nothing written nor publish'd as a Dramatic Poem : so that *Phalaris* is still to be indicted for a Sophist ; for saying his two Fairy Poets (f) wrote Tragedies against him. Nay the very word *Tragedy* was not heard of then at *Sicyon* ; though *Herodotus* names *Τραγῶν χοροί*, *The Tragical Chorus's* ; which by and by shall be consider'd.

(f) *Epist.*  
63, 97.

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Mr. B. is so very obliging, that if I'll suffer my self to be taught by him, he'll set me right in my Notion of Tragedy. I am willing to be taught by any body, much more by the great Mr. B. though as to this particular of Tragedy, I dare not honour my Self, as Mr. B. honours his Teacher, by telling him, *That the Foundation of all the little knowledge I have in this matter was laid by Him.* For there's nothing true in the long Lecture that he reads to me here about Tragedy, but what I might have learnt out of *Aristotle*, *Julius Scaliger*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and other common Books. And as for the Singularities in it, which I could

P. 59.



not have learnt in other places, (if I, who am here to be taught, may use such freedom with my Master) they are such Lessons, as I hope I am now too old to learn. I will not sift into them too minutely; for I'll observe the respect and distance that's due to him from his Scholar: but there's one Particular, that I must not omit; when he tells me, as out of *Aristotle*, that the Subject of Primitive Tragedy was *Satyrical Reproofs of vicious Men and Manners of the times*: so that he explains very dextrously, as he thinks, the Expression of *Phalaris*, *That the Poets wrote Tragedies AGAINST him*: for the meaning, he says, is this, *That they wrote Lampoons, and abusive Satyrical Copies of Verses upon him*. But it were well, if this would be a warning to him, when he next pretends to teach others; to consider first, how lately he himself came from School. The words of *Aristotle* that he refers to, are, (1) *That Tragedy* (2) *Arist.* at first was *Σατυρικὴ*; which Mr. B. in his deep Judgment and Reading, interprets *Satyre and Lampoon*, confounding the *Satyrical Plays* of the Greeks with the *Satire* of the Romans: though it's now above a hundred years, since (u) *Casau-* (u) If. Ca-  
*bon* writ a whole Book on purpose, to shew they faub. De  
had no Similitude nor Affinity with one another. *Satyrical*  
The Greek *Satyrical* was only a jocosé sort of Tra- & *Satira*.  
gedy, consisting of a Chorus of Satyrs (from Par. 1595.  
which it had its name) that talk'd lasciviously, besitting their character: but they never gave *Re-*  
*proofs to the vicious Men of the Times*, their whole Discourse being directed to the Action and Story of the Play, which was *Bacchus*, or some ancient *Hero* turn'd a little to ridicule. There's an entire Play of this kind yet extant, *The Cyclops* of *Euripides*; but it no more concerns the  
vicious

P. 173.

P. 180,  
181.

Poet. 4.

vicious Men at Athens in the Poet's time, than his Orestes, or his Hecuba does. As for the abusive Poem or Satire of the Romans, it was an Invention of their Own; *Satira tota nostra est*, (x) Quint. says (x) Quintilian, *Satire is entirely Ours*; and if the Greeks had any thing like it, 'twas not the Satyrical Plays of the Tragic Poets; but the old Comedy, and the Silli made by Xenophanes, Timon, and others. Satire, says (y) Diomedes, among the ROMANS is now an abusive Poem, made to reprove the Vices of Men. Here we see 'twas a Poem of the Romans, not of the Greeks; and 'twas now, that is, after Lucilius's time, that it became abusive; for the Satire of Ennius and Pacuvius was quite of another nature. And now which of my Masters must I be taught by? by Quintilian and Diomedes? or by the young Orbi-  
P. 215. lius, that has lash'd Scaliger and Salmasius at that insolent rate? But Mr. B. offers to prove, that the old Tragedy had a mixture of Lampoon, from Thespis's Cart that he carried his Plays in;  
P. 180. From which Cart, says he, Scurrility and Buffoonry were so usually uttered, that Ἐξαμαΐξων, and Ἐξ ἀμαΐξου λέγειν, became Proverbial Expressions for Satire and Jeering. What an odious word's here, Ἐξαμαΐξων! Sure all the Buffoonery of that Cart he talks of, could not be so nauseous, as this one Barbarism. I desire to know in what Original Author (for his second-hand Gentlemen he must excuse me) this wonderfull word may be found: the Original of which seems a mistake of ἐξ ἀμαξῶν for a Participle Ἐξαμαΐξων. But  
(z) See to leave This to keep company with (z) Ἀντρονίδης here. p. 123. and Σελευκίδης; I'll crave leave to tell him, that they were other Carts, and not Thespis's, that this Proverb τὰ Ἐξ ἀμαξῶν was taken from. For they generally

generally used Carts in their Pumps and Processions, not only in the Festivals of *Bacchus*, but of other Gods too. And particularly in the *Eleusinian* Feast, the Women were carried in the Procession in *Carts*, out of which they abused and jeered one another: *Aristophanes* in *Plutus*;

Μυσηρίοις ὃ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχρύνοντο

Ἐπὶ δ' αἰμάξιν

Upon which passage the (a) old Scholiast and Suidas have this note: That in those Carts the Women, ἐλοιδόρου ἀλλήλαις, made abusive Jest on another; and especially at a Bridge over the River *Cephissus*, where the Procession used to stop a little; from whence to abuse and jeer was called (b) *μαρμειζόν*. These *Eleusinian* Carts are mention'd by *Virgil* in the first of his *Georgics*;

(c) *Tardaue Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra*: which most of the Interpreters have been mistaken in: for the Poet means not that *Ceres* invented them, but that they were used at her Feasts. But besides the *Eleusinian*, there was the same custom in many other Festival Pumps; whence it was that *Πομπύειν* and *Πομπία* came at last to signify scoffing and railing. So *Demosthenes* takes the word; and his Scholiast says, (d) That in those Pumps they used to put on Vizards, and riding in the Carts abuse the People; from whence, says he, comes the Proverb, *Ἐξ αἰμάξιν με ὕβριον*; which *Demosthenes* uses in the (e) same Oration. So that the very passage of this Orator, which Mr. B. cites in his Margin, is not meant of the Carts of Tragedians. 'Tis true, (f) *Harpocration* and *Suidas* understand it of the Pomp in the Feasts of *Bacchus*: but even there too, they were not the Tragic, but the Comic Poets who were

Ἡ

so ναῖοντες.

(a) Schol. Arist. p. 48. Suid. in Τὰ Ἐξ αἰμάξιν.

(b) Hesych. Γεφ.

(c) Georg. i. v. 163.

(d) Demost. De Corona, p. 134. Essays he, comes the Proverb, dit. Par.

(e) P. 159.

(f) Harp. in Πομπία. α. Διονυσιακαῖς ἑορταῖς.

Suid. in Ἐξ αἰμάξιν. Ἐν Διονυσιακαῖς.



so abusive ; for They also had their Carts to carry their Plays in. *The Comic Poets*, says the (g) Schol. Arist p. 76. Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, rubbing their faces with Lees of Wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in Carts, and sung their Poems in the High-ways ; from whence came the Proverb,  $\Omega\varsigma \epsilon\tilde{\iota} \alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\varsigma \lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}$ , To rail as impudently as out of a Cart. Mr. B. concludes this Paragraph with a kind Hint, That the Doctor may perhaps before he dies, have a convincing proof, that a Man may be the subject of such Tragedies (i.e. such Lampoons and Abuses from Carts) while he is Living. I heartily thank him for telling the world, what worthy Adversaries I am like to have, and what honourable Weapons they will use ; and to requite his kindness, I assure him, that I shall no more value, nor be concern'd at those *Lampooning Tragedies*, than if they were really spoken out of Carts, which perhaps may still be the fittest Stage for such kind of Tragedians.

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There are two Passages of *Horace* and *Plutarch*, that concern the Rise and Origin of Tragedy ;

(h) *Hor. in Arte Poet.* (h) *Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camænae Dicitur, & plaustri vexisse poemata Thespis.*  
 (i) *Plut. in Solone.* And (o)  $\text{Αρχαίων ἔρ' μετ' οἷσιν ἦδ' ἐν Τετραπό-  
 λιν. Now the first of these, as Mr. B. glosses upon it, means it was an *Unknown kind of Tragic Poetry*, which Thespis found out ; and implies, there was another *Known kind* in use before him. The latter, he says, may import, that Thespis did not invent, but only gave *Life and Motion* to Tragedy by making it *Dramatic*. Now Mr. B. either seriously believes these Interpretations, or not. If he does ; the best advise his Friends can give him, is to trouble his head no more with$

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with Critic, for it will never do him credit. If he *does not* believe them; where's that Modesty becoming a young Writer, or that Sincerity becoming a Gentleman, or that Prudence becoming a Man? 'Tis a dangerous thing to trifle with the World, and to put those things upon others, which he believes not himself. No man ever despis'd his Readers, that did not suffer for't at the last. However whether Mr. B. believes these Interpretations or not; I am resolved not to refute them. For though I have often had already, and shall have still, a very ignoble Employment in answering some of his little Cavils; yet I have Spirit enough to think, that there may be *some* Drudgery so very mean, as to be really below me.

Præf.

We are come now to the last point about *Tragedy*, and that is the Origin of the Name. I had observ'd, *That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing; as sometimes it happens, when an old Word is borrowed and applied to a new Notion.* So that the very word, *τραγῳδία*, which the false Phalaris uses in his Epistles, was not so much as heard of in the days of the true one. Mr. B. commences his Answer to this, with an acuteness familiar to him. *What does he mean?* says he, *Names I thought were invented to signify Things, and that the Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called.* Now I leave it to the sagacious Reader to discover, what I cannot do, the pertinency and the drift of this passage of Mr. B's. However, let it belong to any thing or nothing, 'tis a proposition false in it self, *That Things themselves must be before the Names by which they are called.* For we have many new Tunes in Music made every day, which

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never existed before; yet several of them are called by *Names*, that were formerly in use: and perhaps the Tune of *Chivy Chase*, though it be of famous Antiquity, is a little younger than the name of the Chase it self. And I humbly conceive, that Mr. *Hobbes's* Book, which he called the *Leviathan*, is not quite as ancient, as it's Name is in *Hebrew*. So very fortunate is Mr. *B.* when he endeavours at subtilty and niceness. 'Tis true, where *Things* are Eternal; or as old as the World, which we call the Works of Nature, they *must* be older than the *Names* that are given them: but in things of Art or Notion, that have their Existence from Man's Intellect or Manual Operation, the *Things themselves* may be many years younger than the *Names by which they are called*; and so the thing Tragedy may possibly be younger, than the Name that it is called by.

The Reason therefore, why I affirm'd, That the Name of Tragedy was no older than the Thing, was because good Authors assured me, that the word Tragedy was first coined from the Goat that was the Prize of it, which Prize was first constituted in *Thespis's* time. So the *Arundel* Marble in the Epoch of *Thespis*: Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτίθει ὁ Τεγ- γῶ; And the Goat was appointed for the Prize. So *Dioscorides* in his Epigram upon *Thespis*;

— Ως τεγγῶ ἄθλον.

And *Horace* speaking of the same Person;

*Carminē qui Tragico vilem certavit ob Hircum.*

And because I was fully persuaded by them, that this was the true Etymology of the word: and that the Guesses of some *Grammarians*, Τεγ- γῶς quasi τευγῶς, or Τεγγῶς quasi τεγχαῖς ὀδῶ, and other such like, were absurd and ridiculous;



culous; I thought, as I do still, that the very Name of Tragedy was no older than *Thespis*; and consequently could not have been found in the Epistles of the true *Phalaris*.

But I have not forgot, what I my self lately quoted out of *Herodotus*; that the *Sicyonians* before *Thespis*'s time honoured the Memory of *A-drastus*, (k) *τραγῳδοῖσι χοροῖσι*, with Tragical Cho- (k) *Herod.*  
rus's. If this be so, here appears an ample Te- v. c. 67.  
stimony, that the Word Tragedy was older than *Thespis*. But for a man that meddles with this kind of Learning, the first Stock to set up and prosper with, is sound Judgment; which gives the very Name and Being to Critic, and without which he will never be able to steer his course successfully among many seeming Contradictions. As in this passage of *Herodotus*, which is contrary to what others assure us, what course is to be taken? must we stand dubious and neuters between both, and cry out upon the uncertainty of *Heathen Chronology*? or must we not rather say, That *Herodotus*, who himself lived many years after *Thespis*, when Tragedy was frequent and improved to its highest Pitch, made use of a *Prolepsis*, when he called them *Τραγῳδοῖσι χοροῖσι*; meaning such Chorus's as gave the first Rise to that which in his time was call'd Tragedy? So we have seen before, that *Porphry*, and *Jamblichus*, and *Conon* speak of *Taurominium* at a time, when that name was not yet heard of; but they meant the City *Naxos*, that was afterwards called so. Such an Anticipation is common and familiar in all sorts of Writers. And if *Herodotus* in another place, where he says, (l) That the *Epidauri-* (l) *Herod.*  
*ans* (long before *Susarion* lived in *Attica*) honour'd v. c. 83.  
the Goddesses *Damia* and *Auxesia* *χοροῖσι χοροῖσι*

P. 180.

ἰοῖσι καστρίμοισι, with Chorus's of Women, that used to abuse and burlesque the Women of the Country, had call'd them χοεῖσι κομικοῖσι Comical Chorus's, he had said nothing unworthy of a great Historian: because those Chorus's of Women were much of the same sort, that were afterwards called Comical; though perhaps at that time the word Comical was not yet minted.

P. 178.

But let us see, what Mr. B. advances, to shew that the Name of Tragedy is older than *Thespis*. It cannot reasonably be question'd, says he, but that those Bacchic Hymns they sung in Chorus round their Altars (from whence the regular Tragedy came) were called by this Name Tragedy from Τεγὺς, the Goat, the Sacrifice, at the offering of which these Odes were sung. But he presently subjoins, That as to this we are in the Dark, and have only Probabilities to guide us. If we are in the Dark, I dare affirm, that the Examiner will leave us so still; for it is not his Talent, to give Light to any thing; but rather to make it darker than it was before. It cannot reasonably, he says, be question'd. Why not I pray? Because it would be a Question, that He could not answer. I know no other unreasonableness in questioning it; for he has not one Authority for what he supposes here, That the name of Tragedy was as old as the Institution of Sacrificing a Goat to Bacchus. But on the contrary, we have express Testimonies, that it was no ancients than when the Goat was made the Prize to be contended for by the Poets. As besides the Passages cited before, Eusebius says in his Chronicle, *Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. Hircus in Præmio dabatur; unde aiunt Tragædos nuncupatos*: So Diomedes the Grammarian; *Tragedia à τεγὺς & φῶν dicta,*

P. 179.

*dicta, quoniam olim actoribus Tragicis, τραγῶν, id est, Hircus, præmiũ cantus proponebatur.* Etymol. Mag. Κίκληται τραγωδία, ὅτι τραγῶν τῇ αἰδῇ ἄδον ἐπί τε το.

Philargyrius (m) on *Virgil's Georgics: Dabatur Hir-* (m) Georg. ii. v. 18; *cus præmii nomine, unde hoc genus poematis Tragædi-*

*am volunt dictam.* All the other Derivations of the word Tragedy are to be slighted and exploded.

But if this be the true one, as certainly it is; the word cannot possibly be ancients than *Thespis's* days, who was the first that contended for this Prize. Besides this, we have very good Authority, that *those Bacchic Hymns, from whence the regular Tragedy came,* were originally call'd by another name, not *Tragedy*, but *Dithyramb*. So (n) A-

*ristotle expressly teaches; Tragedy, says he, had its first Rise from those that sung the Dithyramb.* Διδύραμβος, says *Suidas*, ὅμνῳ εἰς Διόνυσον, i e *Dithyramb means the Bacchic Hymn* The first Au-

thor of the *Dithyramb*, as (o) some relate, was *Lafus Hermionenensis* in the First *Darius's* time:

or as (p) others, *Arion Methymnæus* in the time of *Periander*. But as it appears from *Pindar*,

and his (q) *Scholiast*, the Antiquity of it was so great, that the Inventor could not be known:

and *Archilochus*, who was much older than both *Lafus* and *Arion*, has the very word *Dithyramb*

in these wonderfull and truly *Dithyrambic* Ver-

ses: (r) Ὡς Διωνύσι' ἀνακτὶ καλὸν ὀξάζει μῆλ' ὄϊδα Διδύραμβον, ὅνῳ συγκρονωθεὶς φέρνας.

So the Verses are to be corrected and distinguish'd, being a pair of *Trochaics*. And Mr. B. may please to observe, that *Archilochus* too as well as *Suidas*, defines a *Dithyramb* to be a *Bacchic Hymn*, which Mr. B. erroneously makes to be peculiar to *Tragedy*. I will tell him also anon, that the Cho-



rus belonging to the *Dithyramb* was not call'd a *Tragic*, but *Cyclian Chorus*.

P. 179. Mr. B. has fail'd in his first attempt about the Date of the word *Tragedy*: but he has still another Stratagem to bring about his design. For he will prove that *Τετραγώνια* comprehended originally both *Tragedy* and *Comedy*: and since *Comedy* was as ancient as *Susarion*, who was near forty years older than *Thespis*; it follows that the word *Τετραγώνια*, which *Comedy* was then called by, must be older too than *Thespis*. This being the Point he promised to prove, he presently shifts hands, and changes the Question; for he has quoted five Passages, one out of *Athenaus*, three out of the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, and one out of *Hesychius*, to shew that *Τετραγώνια* signifies *Comedy*. Which is a thing so known and common, and confess'd by all, that he might as well take pains to prove *Κωμωδία* signifies *Comedy*. But what's all this to *Τετραγώνια*? Must *τετραγώνια* signify *Comedy*, because *τρυγώνια* does? An admirable Argument, and one of Mr. B's beloved sort. He may prove too, whensoever he pleases, that *Lacerna* means a *Lamp*, because *Lucerna* does; and a great many other Feats may be performed by this Argument. But in his other Citations, with which his Margin is plentifully stuf't out, there's One to shew that *Τετραγώνια* signifies *Tragedy*, and Two, that *Τετραγώνια* signifies *Comedy*. Now, the first of these is besides the Question again; for though *τρυγώνια* should stand both for *τετραγώνια* and *κωμωδία*, yet it does not at all follow, that *τετραγώνια* may stand for *κωμωδία*. If Mr. B. had studied his new Logic more, and his *Phalaris* less; he had made better work in the way of Reasoning. 'Tis as if some School-boy

boy should thus argue with his Master: *Pomum* may signifie *Malum* an Apple, and *Pomum* too may signifie *Cerasum* a Cherry; therefore *Malum* an Apple may signifie *Cerasum* a Cherry. But besides the failure in the Consequence, the Proposition it self is false; for *τρυφῖα* does not signifie *Tragedy*: nay, to see the strange Felicity of Mr. B's Critic, even his other Assertion is false too; for *τρυφῖα* never signifies *Comedy*. Let us examin his Instances.

*Τρυφῖα*, says Mr. B. signifies *Tragedy properly so called*, in this passage of (S) Aristophanes: P. 179. (S) Arist.

— Αὐτὸς δ' ἐνδὸν ἀναβάνη ποιεῖ

*Acharn. p.*  
278.

*Τρυφῖα*—

For this is spoken of Euripides. But what then? Why Euripides being a Tragic Poet; *τρυφῖα*, when applied to him, must needs signifie *Tragedy*. I am unwilling to discourage a Gentleman; and yet I cannot but take notice of his unlucky Hand, whenever he meddles with Authors. Here he interprets *τρυφῖα*, *Tragedy*: and yet the very Jest and Wit of this Passage consists in this, that the Poet calls *Euripides's* Plays *Comedies*. And so the Scholiast interprets it, *τρυφῖαν ὅτι κωμῖαν*. Euripides was accused by *Aristophanes*, and several of the Ancients, for debasing the Majesty and Grandure of *Tragedy*, by introducing low and despicable Characters instead of Heroic ones; and by making his Persons discourse in a mean and popular Style, but one degree above common Talk in *Comedy*; contrary to the practise of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, who aspired after the sublime Character, and by Metaphors and Epithets and Compound Words made all their Lines strong and lofty. And particularly in (t) *Aristophanes's Rane*, where

(t) Arist.  
*Ran p. 167.*  
&c.

*Æschylus*

*Æschylus* and *Euripides* are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqu'd and rally'd on this very account. What could *Aristophanes* then say smarter in this Passage about him, than in derision of his Style and Characters to call his Tragedies *Comedies*?

P. 179. Well; let us see, if in his next point, Mr. B. is more fortunate, That *τραγωδία* may signify Comedy. There's a Fragment, he says, of *Aristophanes's* ΓΗΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ preserved, where *τραγῳδός* signifies a Comedian:

(u) *Athen.*  
p. 551.

(u) Καὶ ἦντες ἂν εἶεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
Ἀπὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τραγικῶν χοροῦ  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας.

Now *Sannyrion* being a Comic Poet, as it's very well known; 'tis a clear case, as Mr. B. thinks, that ἀπὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ means *one of the Comedians*. No doubt the Poet meant to say, that *Sannyrion* was sent Ambassador from the Comic Poets, *Meletus* from the Tragic, and *Cinesias* from the *Dithyrambic*. This was *Aristophanes's* Thought; and therefore I affirm, that his words could not be ἀπὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ, as now they are read. So far from that, that if *τραγῳδοῦ* could signify Comedians, yet he would not have used the word in This place, where *τραγικῶν χοροῦ* immediately follows. For what a wretched Ambiguity would be here, and wholly unworthy of so elegant a Poet? since *τραγῳδοῦ* and *τραγικῶν χοροῦ* are words of the same Import; and if the former may signify Comedy, the latter may do so too. So that if the Persons *Sannyrion* and *Meletus* had not been well known, the Passage might appear a mere Tautology, *Tragedians* and *Tragedians*, or *Comedians* and *Comedians*: or if the signification was varied, the one word meaning Comedi-

ans



ans, and the other Tragedians ; yet it had been uncertain whether of the two was the Comedian, and whether the Tragedian ; because both the words, according to Mr. B. may be interpreted in either signification. These, I conceive, are such just Exceptions against the vulgar Reading of this Passage ; that a Person, who esteems *Aristophanes* as he deserves, may safely say, he never wrote it so. If Critic had ever once smiled upon Mr. B. or if there was not a kind of Fatality in his Errors, he could scarce have miss'd this most certain Correction,

— Πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων

Ἀπὸ τοῦ τραγῳδῶν—

By which all the Ambiguity or Tautology vanishes ; for τραγῳδῆς never signified any thing but a Comedian. And how easie and natural was the Depravation of τραγῳδῶν into τετραγῳδῶν ? Τραγῳδῆς being the much rarer word, and as I believe, not to be met with in Prose or serious Writings : for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as Κωμῳδῆς. However, the Corruption of this Passage is very ancient ; for the Author of the Epitome of *Athenæus*, who lived before *Eustathius*'s time, i. e. above 10 years ago, read it τετραγῳδῶν ; for here he calls (x) *Sannyrion* a Tragedian. But in *Ælian*'s days the true Reading τραγῳδῶν was still extant in *Athenæus* : for that Author transcribes this very Passage into his *Various History*, and from it he calls (y) *Sannyrion* a Comedian, and *Melitus* a Tragedian.

But that Mr. B. may not wonder at the change of τραγῳδῶν into τετραγῳδῶν, I'll tell him of one or two other Corruptions in the very same Passage ;

(x) *Ep.:*  
*Athen MS.*  
Σαννυρίων  
να ἢ τετρα-  
γῳδῆν.  
(z) *Æl*  
*Var. Hist.*  
x. 6 Σαν-  
νυρίων ὁ  
Κωμῳδίας  
παιστής.

Ἀπὸ

— Ἀπὸ ὃ τῷ τετρακτῶν χορῶν

Μέλιτθ, ἀπὸ ὃ τῷ κυκλικῶν Κινησίαις.

For the Learned *Casaubon* instead of Μέλιτθ  
 (a) *Casaub.* reads it Μέλιτθ: (a) *Because*, says he, *neither*  
*ad Athen.* *this Verse here, nor any other wherein he is men-*  
*p. 857.* *tion'd, will allow the second Syllable of his Name to*  
*be long.* But with humble Submission, whether  
 his Name be written Μέλιτθ or Μέλιτθ; I af-  
 firm, that those very Verses both *allow* and re-  
 quire, that the second Syllable of it should be  
 long. As first in this of *Aristophanes*, if the first  
 Syllable of Κυκλικῶν be short, the second of Μέ-  
 λιτθ must be long. *Casaubon*, 'tis true, as his  
 observation shews, believ'd the first of Κυκλικῶν  
 to be of necessity long: but as it's plain, that it  
 may be short; so that it actually is so in several  
 passages (I might say, all) of the same Poet, will  
 be seen by and by. The other Verse that *Casau-*  
*bon* produces, is this out of *Ranæ*;

Σκολίων Μελίττε, καὶ Καεικῶν αὐλημάτων.

But even here too the second Syllable of Μελίττε  
 is long; for ΚΑΙ ought to be struck out, as will  
 be plain from the whole passage;

(b) *Arist.*  
*Ran. p. 180.*

(b) Οὗτθ δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρεται πορνιδίων,  
 Σκολίων Μελίττε, Καεικῶν αὐλημάτων,  
 Θρήνων, Χορέων· τάχα ὃ δηλωθήσεται.

Who does not see now, that if ΚΑΙ be inserted in  
 the second Verse, a great part of the Elegancy  
 is lost? for the whole Sentence runs on, without  
 any Particle of Conjunction. But to put the  
 matter quite out of doubt, this very Verse is cited  
 (c) *Suid. in* in (c) *Suidas*, and ΚΑΙ does not appear there: but  
 Μέλιτθ. it easily crept into the Text, because the next  
 word begins with the same Letters ΚΑ. Up-  
 on the whole therefore, the fault that *Ca-*  
*saubon* found in the passage of *Athenæus* is really  
 none.

none. But there is one, which he did not find, and that is κυκλικῶν instead of κυκλίων: for the Verse should be corrected thus;

Μέλῃτ' ὅ, ἀπὸ ὃ ἦ κυκλίων Κινησίας.

So (d) *Ælian* cites it from this very place, Κινη- (d) *Æl* x, 6. σίας Κυκλίων χορῶν ποιητής. And (e) *Aristophanes* (e) *Arist.* speaks so in other places: *Nub* p. 79.

Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοχόμῃας, ἀνδρας μετρω-  
φέναντας.

And again, speaking of the same *Cinesias*;

Ταυτὴ πεποίηκας ἢ κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον;

And so all manner of Writers call them Κύκλιοι χοροί, and never Κυκλικοί; *Suidas*, Scholiasts on *Pindar* and *Aristophanes*, *Hesychius*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and others. This *Cyclian* Chorus was the same with the *Dithyramb*, as some of these Authors expressly say; and there were three Chorus's belonging to *Bacchus*, the *Κωμικός*, the *Τετραγικός* and the *Κύκλιος*; the last of which had its Prize, and its (f) Judges at the *Dionysia* as the other two (f) *Æsch.* had. The famous *Simonides* won LVI of these *contra Ctesiph.* p. 87. Victories, as *Tzetzes* informs us from an Epitaph upon that Poet's Tomb: Καὶ τὸς μὴν κειτὰς τὸς ἐκ Διονυσίων, εἰ μὴ διχαίως τὸς Κυκλίους χοροὺς κείνωσι, ζήμῳ τε.

(g) Ἐξ ὅτ' πεπνύκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦραο νίκας

Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκας δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.

Κοῖφ' ὃ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλήσι δ' ἔπαινον

Εὐξυνέτε ψυχῇ τοῖς ὀπρνομένοις.

So this Epigram is to be corrected; for it's faulty in *Tzetzes*. Indeed it is not express'd here, what sort of Victories they were: so that possibly there might be some of them obtain'd by his Tragedies; if that be true which *Suidas* tells us, that *Simonides* made Tragedies. But I rather believe, that he won them all by his *Dithyrambs* with the *Cyclian* Chorus's; and I am confirmed in it by his own Epigram, not publish'd before:

(h) Ἐξ



(b) *Anthol.*  
*Epigr. MS.*

(b) Ἐξ ὅπῃ πνυτήκοντα, Σιμωνίδῃ, ἦρας ταύρου  
καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τίνδ' ἀνδράμεναι πίνακα.  
Τοσάκι δ' ἡμερέεντα (διδαζάμενθ) χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἐυδῆξε νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπίβης.

I have supplied the third Verse with διδαζάμενθ, which is wanting in the MS. But it's observable, that instead of νίκας, as it is in *Tzetzes*, the MS Epigram has ταύρος: which I take to be the Author's own word, but being not understood, it was chang'd into νίκας. For Ταῦρ a Bull was the Prize of *Dithyramb*, as a Goat was of Tragedy: which was the reason, why *Pindar* gives to *Dithyramb* the Epithet of βοηλάτης;

(i) *Pind O.*  
*lymp. xv.*

(i) Ταὶ Διωνύσει πόδιν ἔξέφαναν  
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάρειτες  
Διδυράμω ———.

He calls the *Dithyramb* βοηλάτης, says the Scholiast, because the Bull was the Prize to the Winner; that Animal being sacred to Bacchus. And as the *Dithyrambic* Poets contended for a Bull, so the Harpers, Χιθαροδοὶ, contended for a Calf. *Aristophanes*:

(k) *Acharn.*  
p. 261.

(k) Ἄλλ' ἔτρεν ἦδυν, ἠνίκ' ὅπῃ μῶσχω ποτὶ  
Δεξιθεῖσι σὺν λ' ἀσόμενος Βοιωπών.

Some, says the Scholiast, interpret it ὅπῃ μῶσχω for a Calf: because he that got the Victory with his Harp, had a Calf for his Premium. He seems indeed to give preference to the other Exposition, that makes Μόχος the name of an Harper, and the Modern Translators follow him in it: but the former is the true meaning of the Passage, as both the Language and the Sense sufficiently show. I will crave leave to add two things more relating to this matter: First, That this triple Chorus, the Comic, Tragic, and Cyclian, may perhaps be meant in that Epigram of *Dios-*

*Dioscorides*, which I have produced above,

Βάκχος ὅτι τετλὼν κατὰ γοῖ χορεύει —.

Neither shall I contend the point, if any one will embrace this Exposition: but for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to *Trina Liberalia*, the three Festivals of *Bacchus*. And Secondly, That these Prizes, the Bull and the Calf, appointed for the Dithyramb and Playing on the Harp (if they really were continued till *Simonides's* Death, and *Aristophanes's* time; and if those Passages of theirs related to the present Custom, and not the first Institution only) may induce some to believe, that the old Prizes for Tragedy and Comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of. However, be this as it will, the (l) Arguments (l) See above, p. 210, 252. used above are not weakn'd at all by't. For it's plain from the Epochs of *Æschylus*, &c. in the *Arundel Marble* (where those Prizes are not mention'd) that the Epochs of *Sannyrion* and *Theſpis* (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that Author, as the first Rise of Comedy and Tragedy.

Mr. B. has one Passage more, which is his last Anchor, to prove his notable point, *That the word Tragedy may signifie Comedy*. 'Tis in the Greek *Prolegomena* to *Aristophanes*, gather'd out of some nameless Authors; the words are, (m) Ἐστὶ τὸ ταύτω (Κωμῳδίας) εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγωδίας, (m) *Proleg. Arist. p. ix.* οἷον ἐν τραγωδίᾳ πᾶσι ἔσαν, ὅτι τραγῳδία χεῖμενοι ἐκωμῶσαν; i.e. *Comedy may be called Tragedy, quasi Trygœdia, because the Actors besmeard their Faces with Lees of Wine*. Here we see the Testimony is positive and full, that Comedy may be call'd Tragedy, which is the thing that Mr. B. undertook to prove; and what is there now remaining but

but to congratulate and applaud him? But I think one could hardly pitch upon a better instance, to shew that he that meddles with these matters, must have *Brains*, as Mr. B's Phrase is, as well as *Eyes in his Head*. A man that has that Furniture in his upper Story, will discover by the very next words in that nameless old Author, that the Passage is corrupted. For it immediately follows, *Καὶ τὸ μὲν Τραγωδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινῆσαι τὴν ἀρετὰν, τὸ δὲ Κωμῳδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα*. So that the whole Sentence, as the common Reading and Mr. B. has it, is thus; *Comedy may be also called Tragedy: and 'tis the Design of Tragedy to excite Compassion in the Auditory; but of Comedy to excite Laughter*. Is not this now a most admirable Period, and all one, as if he had said; *Comedy may be called Tragedy, for they are quite different things?* Without all doubt, if he had really meant, *Comedy may be called Tragedy*; in those following words he would have said, *τὴν τραγωδίαν τὴν κωμῳδίαν λεγόμεναι, 'tis the Design of Tragedy properly so called: and not have left them as they now are, a piece of flat Nonsense*. But the Fault, one may say, is now conspicuous enough; but what shall be done for an Emendation of it? even That too is very easie and certain; for with the smallest Alteration the whole Passage must be read thus: *"Εἰ δὲ ταύτῃ εἰπὼν καὶ τραγωδίαν, οἷον τὴν κωμῳδίαν τινὰ ἔπαινον, ὅτι τραγῳδία χειρόμενοι ἐκωμῳδῶν*. And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another Writer among the same *Prolegomena*, (n) *Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ (Κωμῳδίαν) καὶ τραγωδίαν φασὶν, ὅτι τραγῳδία διαχειρόντες τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεκρίνεται*. The import of both is, *That for κωμῳδία one may use the word τραγωδία*; which is true and right; for the words are synonymous; as appears

(n) *Ibid.* p.  
vii.



appears from several places in *Aristophanes*, and the old Lexicographers.

I have now dispatcht all the Examiner's Instances, which he has brought to shew that *τραγωδία* may signify Tragedy, or *τετραγωδία* signify Comedy: and it would seem a very strange thing in any other Writer but Mr. B. that he should bring half a dozen Examples, that are either false or nothing to his purpose, and be ignorant of that single one, that is plainly and positively for him. I crave his leave to produce it here, and to change my Adversary for a while; if Mr. B. will not be affronted, that I assign him a Second so much inferior to him, the great *Isaac Casaubon*. This Author in his most excellent Book, *De Satyrica Poesi*, as Mr. B. has done, teaches us, (o) *That at first both Comedy and Tragedy were called τραγωδία or τετραγωδία, as appears* (o) Casaub. Satyr p. 21. *from Athenæus; where he says, (p) Both Comedy and Tragedy were found out in the time of Vin-* (p) Athen. p. 40. *tage; (τρύγνη) ἀφ' ἧς δὲ καὶ τραγωδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ κωμωδία. Which, says Casaubon, I thus correct, ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ τετραγωδία καὶ ἡ κωμωδία, that is, From which word τρύγη Vintage, both Comedy and Tragedy were at first call'd τραγωδία. This is Casaubon's first proof, and we see it solely depends upon his own Emendation of *Athenæus*; which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one. For it is not in the Text, as he has cited it, ἐκλήθη ΚΑΙ κωμωδία (which would truly shew some defect in it) but ἐκλήθη ἡ κωμωδία, both in his own and the other Editions. He was deceived therefore by trusting to his *Adversaria*, without consulting the Original; for there's no other Pretense of altering the Text, but from the Particle ΚΑΙ. He goes on,*

(q) Casaub.  
P. 22.

and tells us, (q) That both τραγωδία and κωμωδία were at first a common Name, both for Tragedy and Comedy; but afterwards it was divided, δισπαίδη, as Aristotle says, and the ancient Critics witness. Now the Passage in Aristotle, which he refers to, has nothing at all either about Tragedy or Comedy; but it speaks of Poetry in general:

(r) Arist.  
Poet. cap.  
iv.

(r) Δισπαίδη ὅτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἦν ἡ ποίησις, That it was divided and branched into sorts, according to the several Humors of the Writers; some singing the Stories of Heroes, others making Drolls and Lampoons, and a third sort Hymns and Encomiums, all as their several fancies lead them. But Mr. Casaubon subjoins this Quotation following; Τραγωδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχεν ἡ τραγωδία, ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ἰδίον; i. e. Tragedy was of old a common name, both for it self and Comedy; but afterwards that common name became peculiar to Tragedy, and the other was called Comedy. Which Passage is taken out of the Etymologicon Magnum, though a little interpolated and depraved by Casaubon himself. For that Author, after he has given several Etymologies of the word τραγωδία,

(f) Etymol.  
Mag. v.  
τραγωδ.

at last he says, (f) "Ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς τραγῆδος τραγωδία. ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν. ἐπεὶ ἔπειτα διεκρίσθη τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρωθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν ἣν τὸ ἄδελον, ἡ τραγῆς. ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔχεν ἡ τραγωδία. ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ὀνόμασαι, &c. where we must not refer the words ὄνομα κοινὸν to Τραγωδία, as Casaubon does; but to Τραγωδία which immediately comes before: for the meaning of it is this; That Τραγωδία might have its name by a little variation from τραγῆς: which word τραγῆς signified of old, not Tragedy only, but Comedy too: for at that time, these two sorts of Poetry were

were not distinguish'd, but had one and the same Prize, (τρυῶν) a Vessel of Wine : afterwards Tragedy retain'd that old name (ν only being chang'd into α) and the other was call'd Comedy. 'Tis an Error therefore in Casaubon, when he tells us as from this Writer, that τραγωδία once signified Comedy : for the thing that this Writer affirms is this, That τρυγωδία once signified both Tragedy and Comedy : which is a Proposition very much different from that other of Casaubon's.

But however, if this Passage of the *Etymologicon* will not serve Casaubon's purpose, it may be usefull to Mr. B's. 'Tis true, it will not come up to his main point, which he undertook to make out ; That under the word Tragedy, both Tragedy and Comedy were at first comprehended (which alone, and nothing less than it, will signifie any thing to the Age of Tragedy) yet it plainly affirms, what He by two mistaken instances in vain attempted to prove, That τρυγωδία once signified Tragedy. It concerns me therefore to give an answer to this passage ; because I have already flatly denied, that τρυγωδία ever signified Tragedy. And I think I need not be at much trouble for a Reply ; when the Author himself affords me one in this very place. For the grounds of his Assertion he declares to be these Two : that τραγωδία is derived from τρυγωδία ; and that τρυῶ Wine was the common Prize both to Comedy and Tragedy. Now both these are plain mistakes ; for the true Derivation of τραγωδία is from τραγὸν a Goat, as I have fully shewn above ; and that the Prize was not the same, but the Goat was for Tragedy, and the Wine for Comedy, the *Arundel Marble*, (to name no more)

P. 179.



expressly affirms, in the Epochs of *Sufarion* and *Thespis*. If the ground then, that he walks upon, fail him; his Authority too must fall with him; for he is alone, without any other to support him; all the rest confining the signification of *τραγωδία* to Comedy alone. *Τρυγωδεῖν*, *κωμωδεῖν*, says *Hesychius*. *Τρυγωδία*, ἢ *κωμωδία*, says *Aristophanes's* Scholiast. In the present Editions of *Suidas*, we read *Τρυγκωμωδία*, without any Exposition: but the true Reading, as the very order of the Alphabet shews, is *τραγωδία*, *κωμωδία*; and so *H. Stephanus* affirms, that he found it in his MS. All these Three are older than the Author of the *Etymologicon*; and if ever any before their time had used *τραγωδία* for Tragedy, either all or some of them would have told us of it.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, as well as some others, I should rather suspect that *κωμωδία* was the old and common name both for Tragedy and Comedy; till they came to be distinguish'd by their peculiar Appellations. For the Etymology of the word (*κωμωδία*, ἐν *κώμαις* ὡδὴ, a Song in Villages) agrees equally to them both: both Tragedy and Comedy being first invented and used in the Villages, as all Writers unanimously say. And 'tis remarkable, that *Dioscorides* in his Epigrams, calls the Plays of *Thespis* *κώμας*:

(r) See above, p. 231, 232

(r) Θέσπιδ' εὖρεμα τῆτο, τὰδ' ἀγχιῶπν' ἀν' ὕλαν  
παίγνια, καὶ ΚΩΜΟΥΣ τέσδε τελειότερους.

And again, he says, *Thespis's* Plays were an Entertainment to the *κωμῆταις*;

Θέσπις ὅδε τραγικὴν ὡς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτ' ὦδοιν,  
ΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ νεαροῖς καινοποιῶν χάριτας.

So that even *Thespis's* Plays might at first, and for

for a little while, be call'd Comedies; which was a word already in use from the time of *Su-  
farion*. But when men understood the difference between the two Sorts, and a distinct Prize was appointed to *Theſpis*'s, it was natural to give each sort a particular Name taken from the several Prizes; and the one was called *τρυγῶδία* from the (u) Goat, the other *τρυγῶδία* from the (u) T<sup>o</sup><sub>g</sub>-  
(x) Cask of Wine. The very likeness that is γ<sup>o</sup><sub>g</sub>.  
between the two words, is no small confirma- (x) T<sup>o</sup><sub>g</sub><sup>z</sup>.  
tion, that this account of them may be true :  
But I only propose it as a Guess, to set against the Conjecture of the Author of the *Etymologi-  
con*; and perhaps it might be accounted as pro-  
bable as His, if it had not the disadvantage of coming so many Centuries after it.

Mr. B. having at last made an end of his Mi-  
stakes in this Article *about Tragedy*; I am very  
glad too to make an end of my Animadversions  
upon them. For I am sensible how long I have  
detain'd the Reader upon this Subject: though  
I hope both the Pleasure and the Importance of  
it, and the vast number of Faults that call'd up-  
on me for Correction, will excuse the Prolixity.  
Which I will not encrease further, by a repetition  
of what has been said; for even a short Account  
of each, where the Variety of things touch'd on is  
so great, would amount to a long Story. I will  
only crave leave to say, That of the Three points,  
which the Learned Mr. B. undertook to make  
out, every one has been carried against him;  
and that the incident Mistakes, which he has  
run into, have not fail'd to increase in Number,  
proportionably as this Article of his exceeded in  
Length.

P. 165,

## XII.

HAD all other ways failed us of detecting this Impostor, yet his very Speech had betray'd him. For his Language is *Attic*, the beloved Dialect of the Sophists, in which all their *Μελέται*, or *Exercises* were composed; in which they affected to excell each other, even to Pedantry and Solœcism. But he had forgot that the Scene of these Epistles was not *Athens*, but *Sicily*, where the *Doric* tongue was generally spoken and written; as besides the testimonies of others, the very Thing speaks it self in the Remains of *Sicilian* Authors, *Sopbron*, *Epicharmus*, *Stesichorus*, *Theocritus*, *Moschus*, and others. How comes it to pass then, that our Tyrant transacts every thing in *Attic*, not only foreign Affairs of State, but domestic Matters with *Sicilian* Friends, but the very Accounts of his Household? Pray, how came that Idiom to be the Court Language at *Agrirentum*? 'Tis very strange, that a Tyrant, and such a Tyrant as He, should so doat on the Dialect of a Democracy, which was so eminently *μισοτύραννος*, the *Hater of Tyrants*; which, in his very days, had driven out *Pisistratus*, though a generous and easie Governor:



nour : especially , since in those early times, before Stage-Poetry and Philosophy and History had made it famous over *Greece*, that Dialect was no more valued than any of the rest.

I would not be here mistaken ; as if I affirmed, that the *Doric* was absolutely universal, or original in *Sicily*. I know, that the old *Sicani*, the Natives of the Isle, had a peculiar Language of their own ; and that the *Greek* Tongue there, like the *Punic*, was only a Foreigner, being introduced by those Colonies that planted themselves there. Most of which coming from *Corinth*, *Crete*, *Rhodes*, &c. where all spoke the *Doric* Dialect ; thence it was that the same Idiom so commonly obtained almost all over *Sicily* ; as it appears to have done, to omit other testimonies, from the ancient Medals of that Island, ΤΑΥΡΟΜΕΝΙΤΑΝ, ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ, ΘΕΡΜΙΤΑΝ, ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤΑΝ, ΑΙΛΥΒΑΙΤΑΝ, ΣΕΛΙΝΩΝΤΙΩΝ, &c. all which words , inscribed upon their Money, demonstrate the *Doric* Dialect to have been then the Language of those Cities. 'Tis true, there came some Colonies to *Sicily*, from *Eubæa*, and *Samos*, and other places ; which, in those Parts where they settled, might speak , for a while , the *Ionic* Dialect ; and afterwards ,

\* Lib. vi.  
p. 414.

† *Vetus*  
*Auctor*  
*πρὸς Δια-*  
*λέκτων.*  
*Herod. i.*  
142.

|| *Theocrit.*  
*Id. xv.*

being mixed with the *Dorians*, might make a new sort of Dialect, a compound of both: as \* *Thucydides* observes of *Himera*, that the Language of that City was at first a medly of *Doric* and *Chalcidic*. But that is no more than what happen'd even in *Greece* it self, where there were many † *ὑποδιαίρεσις τοῦ γὰρ*, local Subdivisions of every Dialect, one Country having always some singularity of Speech, not used by any other. But those little peculiarities do not hinder us from saying in general, that the *Sicilians* spoke *Doric*. For the other Dialects were swallowed up and extinguished by those two powerfull Cities of *Dorian* Original, *Syracuse*, and *Agrigentum*, that shared the whole Island between them. *Syracuse* was a *Corinthian* Colony, and spoke || the Dialect of her Mother City. *Agrigentum* was first built by the *Geloans* of *Sicily*, who had been themselves a Plantation of the *Cretans* and *Rhodians*, both of which were *Dorian* Nations. So that upon the whole, though in some other Towns, and for a time, there might be a few footsteps of the *Ionian* Dialect; yet our Sophist is inexcusable, in making a Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, a City of *Doric* Language and Original, write Epistles in such a Dialect, as if he had gone to School at *Athens*.

But

But some Apologies have been offer'd for his using the *Attic Dialect*; as first, *because Phalaris was born at Astypalæa, an Island of the Sporades, where was an Athenian Colony.* This is thought to be a good Account of his speaking in that Idiom. It were easie to overthrow this argument at once; by refuting our spurious Epistles, and by shewing, from much better Authority, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born. But I may speak perhaps of that by and by; and I'll have every Proof I bring stand by it self, without the support of another. Let us allow then, that *Phalaris* came from *Astypalæa*, an Island of the *Sporades*, mention'd by \* *Strabo* and † *Pliny*. 'Tis true, some of the Editors of *Phalaris* have discovered a new place of his birth, *Astypalæa*, a City of *Crete*, never mention'd before by any Geographer, situate in the 37<sup>th</sup>. deg. of Longit. bearing South and by North off of *Utopia*. And I am wholly of their opinion, that he was born in that, or in none of them. But because Tradition is rather for the Island, we will beg their good leave to suppose it to be so: and There, as it seems, was formerly a Plantation of *Athenians*; and *Phalaris* being one of their Posterity, must needs, for that reason, have a twang of their Dialect.

\* *Lib. x.*

p. 488.

† *Lib. iv.*

cap. 12.



lect. Now, what a pity 'tis, that *Phalaris* himself, or his Secretary, did not know of this Plantation, when he writ the CXX Letter to the *Athenians*, "Ω σπουδᾶτατοι γνηεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι! What a fine Complement would he have made them upon that subject of their Kindred! If any one know an express testimony, that there was an *Athenian* Colony at that *Astypalæa*, he can teach me more than I now remember.

|| *Thucyd.*

p. 10. Καὶ

Ἰωνας μὲν

Ἀθηναῖοι

καὶ Νηπώ-

νός τε

πολλὰς

ἐκίταν.

*Isocrat. Pa-*

*nathen.*

*Plutarch.*

*De exilio.*

This I know in general, from || *Thucydides* and others, that the *Athenians* sent Colonies to most of the Islands; and so That may come in among the rest. But what then? must the Language for ever afterwards be *Attic*, where-ever the *Athenians* once had footing? *Thucydides* says in the same passage, That they planted *Ionia*. They had Colonies at *Miletus*, at *Ephesus*, and most of the Maritim Towns of *Asia Minor*. Nay, the *Ionians* and the *Attics* were anciently one People, and the Language the same: and when *Homer* says,

\* *Strabo, p.*

333, 392.

\* Ἐν δ' αὖτε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰόνες——

by the latter he is known to mean the *Athenians*. And yet we see, that in process of time, the Colonies had a different Dialect from that of the Mother Nation. Why then must *Astypalæa* needs be *Attic*? and that so tenaciously, that twenty Years

Years living in *Sicily* could not at all alter it in one of her Islanders? He was part of that time a † Publican, or Collector of Taxes and Customs: Could not that perpetual negoce and converse with *Dorians* bring his mouth, by degrees, to speak a little broader? Would not He that || aim'd || *Ibid.* at Monarchy, and for that design studied to be popular, have quitted his old Dialect for that of the Place; and not by every word he spoke make the invidious discovery of his being a Stranger? But what if, after all, even the *Astypalæans* themselves should be found to speak *Doric*? If we make a conjecture from their Neighbourhood, and the company they are put in, we can scarce question but they were *Dorians*. \* *Strabo* says, the Island lies between *Cos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Crete*, με-<sup>\* Lib. x. p. 488.</sup> ταξὺ δὲ Κῶς μάλιστα καὶ Ρόδου καὶ Κρήτης. And that all these three used the *Doric* Dialect, is too well known to need any proof. But to answer this in one word; we have direct Evidence, that this *Astypalæa* was a *Dorian* Colony, and not an *Athenian*: for it was planted by the *Megarians*, as *Scymnus Chius* says expressly:

† Ἐν τῷ πόρῳ ᾧ κεῖμένη τῷ Κρητικῷ  
Ἀποικίος ἔστιν Ἀστυπάλαια Μεγαρέων,  
Νῆπος πελαγία. —

† *Scymn.*  
*Ch. v. 550.*

But

But let us hear the Second Apology for the Atticism of *Phalaris*. He is defended by the like practice of other Writers; who being *Dorians* born, repudiated their vernacular Idiom for that of the *Athenians*; as *Diodorus* of *Agyrium*, and *Empedocles* of *Agrigentum*. So that, though *Phalaris* be supposed to be a Native of *Sicily*, yet here is an excuse for him, for quitting the Language. But I conceive, with submission, that this Argument is built upon such Instances, as are quite different and aliene from the case of our Epistles.

The Case of *Empedocles* and *Diodorus*, the one a Poet and the other an Historian, is widely remote from that of our Tyrant. The former, being to write an Epic Poem, shew'd an excellent judgment in laying aside his Country Dialect for that of the *Ionians*; which *Homer* and his followers had used before him, and had given it, as it were, the dominion of all Heroic Poetry. For the *Doric* Idiom had not Grace and Majesty enough for the Subject he was engaged in; being proper indeed for Mimes, Comedies, and Pastorals, where Men of ordinary rank are represented; or for Epigrams, a Poem of a low vein; or for Lyrics, and the Chorus of Tragedy, upon the account of the *Doric* Music; but not



to be used in Heroic , without great disadvantage. And the Historian likewise, with the rest of that and other *Dorian* Nations, *Philistus*, *Timæus*, *Ephorus*, *Herodotus*, *Dionysius Halic.* &c. had great reason to decline the use of their vernacular Tongue , as improper for History ; which besides the affectation of Eloquence, aims at Easiness and Perspicuity , and is designed for general use. But the *Doric* is coarse and rustic , and always clouded with an obscurity ; ἐχέσσις π ἐ  
ἀσαφὲς ἡ Δωρὶδὸς διαλέκτου , says || *Por-* || *Vita Py-*  
*phyry* ; who attributes the decay of the *Pythagorean* Sect to their writing in that *Dialect.* *thag. p.*  
And now, what affinity is there 205.  
between *Phalaris's* case, and that of Historians, or Heroic Poets ? What mighty motives can be here for assuming a foreign Dialect ? The Letters are dated in the middle of *Sicily*, mostly directed to the next Towns, or to some of his own Domesticks, about private Affairs, or even the expenses of his Family, and never designed for the public view. If any will still excuse the Tyrant for Atticizing in those Circumstances , 'tis hard to deny them the Glory of being the faithfullest of his Vassals.

THE

P. 34.

See here  
P. 314.(a) Marm.  
Arund.(b) Marm.  
Arund.

THE Examiner begins his Remarks upon this Article with a *point*, that he owns is *not very material*. He acknowledges there are *several Attic ways of Speech in the Letters*; but for all that they are not *properly Attic*. Which Cavil seems to be started here for no other design, but to bring in that cutting Jest, *That Dr. B. has abundance of pure Anglicisms in his Latin*; which when he or any body for him 'shall shew by instances, I'll then consider what to answer: but in the mean time it will pass for a Calumny. He adds, *That Homer mixes Atticisms in his Style, and yet no body will say he wrote Attic*. Which is very crudely said, and shews, Mr. B. had no true view of the Progress of Dialects. For if I should ask him what the *Attic Dialect* was in *Homer's* time, I might stay long enough before he could tell me. 'Tis well known, that the *Ionians* were *Athenian Colonies*; and at first the *Ionic* and *Attic* were one and the same Dialect. Now those Colonies were carried into *Asia* by *Neleus*, (a) but *CLXX* years before *Homer* was famous: and even *Homer* himself calls the *Athenians*, *Ἰαῖνες*, *Ionians*. If I should say then, that in *Homer's* time there was little or no difference between the *Attic* and *Ionic* Language, how could Mr. B. disprove it? For the difference we now see between *Homer* and the *Attic Writers* is no just measure in the case. Because *Homer* lived near (b) *ccc* years before the *Athenians* had any writer of their own. So that, as we may gather from the proportion of time, there was not near so great a change made in the Dialects, between *Neleus's* and *Homer's* time, as between *Homer's* and *Tyrtæus's* or *Solon's*.

But

But he chastises me for saying, *That the Sophists affected to excell one another in writing Attic, even to Pedantry and Solæcism.* For he declares, *He is at a loss for the meaning of this, and to him 'tis an incomprehensible degree of Affectation.* What Mr. B. is at a loss for, or what he cannot comprehend, I now know his Reach too well to be very solicitous. He may say therefore, if he pleases, that *Lucian* too writ Nonsense, where he says, (c) *That one Socrates was* (c) *Lucian* *went to rallie,* τὰς σολοικίζοντας Ἀθηναίως, *those that Solæc. p.* *affected ATTIC SOLOECISMS.* Here's the very 981. *same incomprehensible Expression, that I am reproved for by our great Master of Sense and Language.* But for fear *Lucian* should have no better Quarter from him in his next Book, than I had in this last, I'll endeavour to clear this point to the Examiner, so that, if possible, he may apprehend us both. 'Tis known that *Philostratus* and *Ælian* have been ever thought the most Attic of all the Tribe of the Sophists. Now the great *Photius*, where he gives us a Character of *Philostratus's* Style; (d) *His Syntax, says he, is* (d) *Photius* *so very odd, that no Writer's was ever like it; for* us p. 540. *it looks more like Solæcism, than any thing of Syntax.* Ἀσυνταξίαις μᾶλλον εἶναι, *Neither does he this out of ignorance; but because* *some of the Ancients might speak so now and then,* εἰσὶν τὰ ἄλλα, *he does it every where with Affectation.* And ἢ συντάξει *Eustathius*, after he has given some instances of *Solæcism* in *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, (e) *But,* μετέχειν. *that some, says he, of the old and good Orators* (e) *Eustathius* *made Solæcisms on purpose to give a new turn and* ad Iliad. p. 179. *quaintness to their Style, appears plainly in the* Σολοικισμοὶ *Writings of Philostratus.* *This, we see, was the* φανὴν ἐν τῷ καινῷ *Judgment of Photius and Eustathius, no despicable* πρῶτον. *Authors: and by Mr. B's permission, I'll* give



give an Example or two to justify their Censure.  
 (f) *Philost.* Oὐ γὰρ ὤρεται, (f) says *Philostatus*, χαλκαὶ μὲν  
 αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι. Here's a plain Solœcism; a No-  
 minative Case without any Verb following it :  
 P. 155. another Writer would have said, Τοῖς γὰρ ὤρεταις,

(g) P. 159. χαλκαὶ μὲν αἱ πέτραι. Again, says he, (g) Καὶ πρὸς  
 πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν μετὰ πάντα ἦν. And

(h) P. 227. again, (h) Τὸν λυγρόμενον μὲν, κοιμίζεσθαι αὐτὸς τὴν

(i) P. 325. λύπην ὑπὸ τῷ αὐλῷ. And again, (i) Δομεπανὸς ὅτι  
 βελεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν οἷς νήσους καθοίρχθησαν.

All these are gross Solœcisms, the last part of  
 the Sentence not agreeing nor answering to the first ;

(k) *Suid.* (k) which is the proper definition of a Solœcism.

(l) *Cor.* (l) *Corinthus* too observes it, as a peculiar way  
 of the *Attics*, to put Nominatives instead of

(l) *Cor.* Oblique Cases ; and he instances in *Aristophanes*  
 and *Philostatus*. I shall add to these a few Pas-  
 sages out of *Ælian*, the other great Pattern of

(m) *Ælian.* the *Attic* Style. (m) Οἱ ἴσσοι, says he, τὰς κῆρας  
 de *Anim.* βλεφάρων ἔχουσιν αὐτὲς ἔχειν. (n) Οἱ γὰρ ἄρρενες καὶ  
 iv, 50. πολεμικοὶ καὶ μηλοὶ, καὶ ὑπέρμενοι αὐτὲς οἱ βακτεῖοι.

(u) *Ibid.* (o) Λακίδης γὰρ καὶ Τίμων οἱ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τέτυς πῆν  
 iv, 55. πόμπου φασιν.

(o) *Var.* If these Examples be not sufficient  
 Hist. ii, 41. to give Mr. B. some clearer apprehension, what

P. 35. it is to solœcize in the *Attic* way, it's to no  
 purpose to add more ; but he must still continue  
 at a loss for the meaning of this deep Reflecti-  
 on.

(p) *Neque* Well ; he recovers himself out of this deep  
*cum Siculis* Puzzle, and now he comes to my Argument,  
*Scriptori-* which, says he, I will make free to call a silly  
*bus placu-* one, because it is my Own, and mention'd by Me  
*erit semper* in My Preface to Phalaris. Indeed, as this Ar-  
*Dialectus* gument lies in His Preface, (p) being barely hint-  
*Dorica, A-* ed there, and neither back'd with any proof, nor  
*grigentino-* guarded from any Exceptions, and usher'd in  
*rum Ty-* with  
*ramus ali-*  
*o ut deb-*  
*it.*

with a false Proposition, *That the Sicilian Writers ALWAYS used the Doric Dialect*; he shall have my consent to call it as *filly* as he pleases. But with humble Submission, as the Argument is manag'd in My Dissertation, Mr. B. will find it much easier to *call* it so, than to prove it.

(I.) His first good Reason, why his *Sicilian Prince was not obliged to speak Doric*, is, because *he was no Native of Sicily. Which we are sure of*, says he, *if the Credit of the Letters stand good; and though Dr. B. pretends that he can refute this from better Authority; yet he has not throughout his Dissertation said one Syllable to shake it; nay, he says, the Dr. contends without any manner of Proof or Reason, that Phalaris was a Sicilian born.* Now though I have as little reason as any body to be concern'd for this Gentleman's Reputation; yet it really afflicts me to see him so pert and positive in a thing that's evidently false. For in the XVI Section of my Dissertation I had these very words; *Lucian makes both Phalaris, and his Smith Perilaus to be born at Agrigentum; but the Letters bring one of them from Aftypalæa, and the other from Athens.* What can be more express, than that *Lucian* is here produced against the Letters, to shew *Phalaris* was born in *Sicily*. Yet Mr. B. avers above once, that I have not *one Syllable, not any manner of Proof or Reason* to shew he was a *Sicilian*. If I did not enter further into that Particular, 'twas because I then thought there was no need of it; and by mentioning *Lucian* alone, I was as good as my promise, which was only this, *That I might speak perhaps of that by and by.* But since Mr. B. has come forth in such Fury to fight *Phalaris's Battles*

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tles for him ; I shall now think it worth my while to produce other Authorities, and to shew him *to his comfort*, that neither all *threatned History*, nor all flattering Applauses, *have the luck to live long*.

That *Phalaris* was of *Agrigentum*, a *Sicilian* born, we have another positive Testimony of *Lu-*

(q) *Lucian*  
*Ver. Hist.*

ii. p. 761.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

(r) *Polyæn.*

v. Φάλαειν

Αγεραν-

τιν.

(f) *Suid.*

Φάλ. Α-

γεραντι-

ν.

(t) *Oros. i.*

20. *Phala-*

*ris Siculus.*

(u) *Phot.*

Ep. 207.

Τὸν Αγε-

ραντινον

πῶς.

\* *Cic. iv.*

*in Verrem.*

(z) *Heracl.*

*in Polit.*

Τὴν μητέρα

καὶ τοὺς

φίλους.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

Φάλαειν

τ' Αγε-

ραντινον.

*Lucian* says he, *broke out of Hell*, and were beaded by *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE*, and *Busiris the Æ-*

*gyptian*, &c. And so *Polyænus* calls him, (r) *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE, a Publican*. And to these we may add *Suidas*, who says, (f) *Phala-*

*ris the AGRIGENTINE was Tyrant over all Sicily*. Which *Orosius* thus expresses, (t) *Phalaris the*

*SICILIAN was Tyrant*, &c. And *Photius* styles him, (u) *Phalaris the AGRIGENTINE Tyrant*. Are

not all these Witnesses pretty open and express; and we have others yet, that make broad intima-

tion of it. *When Scipio*, \* says *Tully*, *restor'd Phalaris's Bull*, which he found at *Carthage*, to the

*Agrigentines*; he desir'd them to consider, whe-

ther it was better for the *Sicilians* to be *Slaves* to their OWN Countrymen (*Suis servire*) or to be Sub-

jects to the *Romans*: when the same Bull was a Monument both of their OWN Cruelty (*DOMESTICÆ*

*Crudelitatis*) and of the *Roman Clemency*. Now if *Phalaris* had been a Foreigner, this Speech of

*Scipio's* had been very weak, and, like the Arguments of *Mr. B.* might have been turn'd upon

the Author. *Heraclides* tells us, (x) That when the *Agrigentines* got *Phalaris* into their power,

they burnt his Mother also, and his Friends. Which implies he was not an Alien, but had relations

in the Country; though the Letters pretend he was both a Stranger and an Orphan. This very

Book,



Book, as it seems, of *Heracledes*, is quoted by (y) *Cicero* for another Story about *Phalaris's* Mother: and if *Heracledes* had made *Phalaris* to be no Native of *Sicily*; we suppose sure that *Cicero*, who had read him, would never put that Speech into *Scipio's* Mouth. And what says our Examiner now to his *threatned History*? I am afraid, the Threats, are executed not only upon this Piece of History, but upon the whole Body of the Epistles. For since the Epistles give out *Phalaris* for an *Astypalean*, whom all the Historians that speak of his Lineage declare to be an *Agrigentine*, 'tis a shrewd token of an Imposture: at least it evidently proves thus much, That either none of them ever heard of *Phalaris's* Epistles, or none of them believed them genuine; either of which is sufficient to rout the Mock *Sicilian Prince*, and all them that take up Arms for him.

But Mr. B. is very angry, because I was merry at a mistake of his, where he calls *Astypalea*, a City of *Crete*; which I said, was a Discovery, that no Geographer had made before. He would ask me, he says, seriously, Do not the Epistles themselves PLAINLY suppose it? And do not You in the 58th Page EXPRESSLY own that they do so? Now I, in my turn, desire the favour of asking Mr. B. one of his own Questions, Was it worth his while to forge this little Piece of History? (the remainder of this Question to Me, Only in order to contradict his BETTERS, I leave for Mr. B's own use, and never will borrow't of him.) And is the pleasure of inventing a circumstance (again I leave him the words that follow, Merely to be RUDE with) an equivalent to the shame of being told on't? For in both these Particulars, he has too well imitated that Sophist, whom he

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has so ill defended. First, the Epistles are so far from PLAINLY *supposing*, that *Astypalæa* was in Crete, that they do not suppose it at all. All that is said there is no more than this, (2) *That Phalaris was born at, and banish'd from Astypalæa*: and that some time after, (a) *He invited his Wife to come to him from Crete to Agrigentum*. Now how does this *suppose or imply*, That *Astypalæa* was in Crete? Might not his Wife leave *Astypalæa*, where her Husband's Memory was odious, and retire into Crete? Is it necessary, that because She was in Crete after her Husband's Banishment, that *Astypalæa* too must be in Crete? *Themistocles* was born and lived and married at Athens; but after he was banish'd, his Wife and Children (b) were in Epirus: must Athens therefore be in Epirus too? A notable inference! and yet exactly the very same with Mr. B's, who, because *Phalaris's* Wife was in Crete, would make *Astypalæa* in Crete too, though no body ever heard on't there. In the second place he wrongs me, or rather Himself, when he says, *I EXPRESSLY own, that the Epistles suppose it*. For the very words he refers to, are these; *Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believ'd Astypalæa to be a City in Crete*. Let the Candid Reader judge now, what an Adversary I have to deal with. Is a SEEMING *intimation* an equivalent Phrase in his Language, to EXPRESS *owning*? If so, I'll have no further controversie with him. I had reason to say, it was *seemingly* intimated; because I saw this was the only Authority to make an *astypalæa* in Crete; an Error that no body cou'd possibly have fallen into, had there been nothing *seeming* here, nothing *like* such an intimation.

But

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But why, says Mr. B. is not *Astypalæa* a City in Crete? what has the Dr. to oppose to it? Has he then a List of all the Hundred Cities there? If he has, 'tis a mightier Discovery in Geography, than that of Mine? And again he inculcates it, No Geographer has mention'd this City in Crete; no more have they several of the other Ninety Nine. Now whether shall we admire more, his Learning or his Reasoning? his Learning, that he knew that great Secret that, Crete was call'd *ἑκατόμπολις*, because it had a Hundred Towns in't; or his Reasoning, that *Astypalæa* is a City of Crete, because I cannot refute it with a List of all the Hundred? By the same way of arguing he may affirm, when the humour takes him, that *Oxford* too was a City of Crete; and what will the Dr. have to oppose to it? But the misfortune is, that the old Fatality of mistaking still pursues our Examiner: for what if I should give him a List of all the Hundred Cities of Crete? Then his Facetiousness and his assuming Air will sit but awkwardly upon him. And yet such a List is so very easie to come at, that above xx years ago (c) there was one printed to my hand, not only of a Hundred, but a Hundred and twenty Cretan Cities, with an account of the several Authors that mention every one of them. For there were a Hundred Cities there even in *Homer's* time, and several were founded after. Is not the Examiner now a great Judge of Discoveries in Geography? Have Geographers never spoken of several of the Ninety Nine? Methinks, as he says, he ought to have look'd about him, before he resolv'd to be Positive.

(c) See  
Meursius's  
CRETA.

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However, Mr. B. urges for his own Justification, that He was not the first, that made this (false)

P. 38.

Y 3

Disco-



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*Discovery, but mistook after great Names, Goltzius, and Fazellus.* If he thinks it a more venial fault to make a mistake at Second hand after others, than to produce one out of his own Store, he shall have the benefit of this Plea ; for I'll be as easie to him as he can desire. 'Tis enough for me, that the error is evident, and that Mr. B. slipt into it ; but whether he led or follow'd, it matters not at all. But he goes on again, and expostulates, *Will the Dr. discard all places, that occur but once in Ancient Authors ?* and so he flourishes for a whole Page out of *Diodorus* and *Scylax*. But I have answer'd him already, that *Astypalæa* of *Crete* does NOT ONCE occur in *Ancient Authors*. 'Tis true, in some *New Geographers* we meet with it, such as *Nageorgus* in his Preface to *Phalaris*, *Boyle* in his Preface and Index ; who, by mistaking the Author that they publish'd, have banter'd the world with an enchanted City, that no body can see but they. I must speak *warily* therefore, as Mr. B. tells me, that it occurs in no *Old Geographers* : and that I think I may safely say.

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A very worthy Person, having occasion to speak of *Phalaris*, had said, *He was born at Astypala an Island of the Cyclades.* Which in the former Edition of these Dissertations, I had gently corrected thus, *Astypalæa one of the Sporades.* Upon this Mr. B. resolves to do right to that *Learned Man, whom I take upon me*, he says, to correct without the least ground or colour of Reason. But Mr. B. had been better advis'd, to have staid till that *Learned Man* had ask'd his Assistance. I am sure, when that person is on the side of Truth, he needs no such Defender as Mr. B. and if he chances to be mistaken (as the most  
Learned

Learned may sometimes be) he is too candid and just to accept of such a Defender. As in the present Case, I dare say for him, he would be ashamed to make use of such poor shifts, as Mr. B. supplies him with. For Mr. B. maintains *Astypala* to be a legitimate word, because we read it 'Αστυπάλῃ in the present Copy of *Scylax*, one of the most corrupted Books in the world. But the very Adjectives form'd from the name of this City, 'Αστυπάλαιος, and 'Αστυπάλαιος, shew plainly that the primitive name is 'Αστυπάλαια: so *Ιστιαεύς* is from *Ιστιαία*; *Διλαεύς* from *Δίλαια*, *Ποπδαεύς* and *Ποπδαίος* from *Ποπίδαία*. But neither 'Αστυπάλαιος nor 'Αστυπάλαιος can by any Analogy be form'd from 'Αστυπάλῃ. We must correct *Scylax* then by other Authors; and not think to maintain and propagate one fault by another. Well, Mr. B. goes on to confute me, for saying, *The Astypalæa in Phalaris seem'd to be the Island of the Sporades, rather than the Cyclades*. My reason was, because *Stephanus*, besides that of the *Cyclades*, names another (d) Situate between *Rhodes* and *Crete*: which nearness to *Crete*, whither (e) *Phalaris's* Wife and Son are supposed to have fled, makes it probable, that That was the Island mention'd in the *Epistles*. Now Mr. B. would overthrow This two several ways: First, the Nearness, he says, of this *Astypalæa* to *Crete*, is no argument at all, but rather the contrary. For those that fly are usually glad to get as Far as they can out of the reach of their Pursuers. Wonderfull Aphorism, and taken from the justest view of human Nature! I should have thought now; that they are usually glad, to get as soon as they can out of reach. But hereafter, if a Merchant-man be chased by a Privateer, he must not make to the

P. 40.

(d) Steph.

v. 'ΑΣΤΥ.

(e) Ep. 69.

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(f) Num-  
bers c. 35.  
v. 14

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next safe Harbour; but according to Mr. B's Conduct, bear away for the *remoteft*. Mr. B. has been so kind, as several times to bid me study the Holy Scripture; I crave leave therefore, to propose one Text to him, and desire his Comment upon it: (f) God commanded the *Israelites* to build three Cities of Refuge beyond *Jordan*, and Three in the Land of *Canaan*. Did not the Persons therefore, that fled for Manslaughter, strive to reach the next City of Refuge? or did they usually cross the River *Jordan*, and take their course to the City *farthest* from home; that the Pursuer might have time and space to overtake them? If Mr. B. can make out this latter to be the true Interpretation; he may then persuade us, that it was very absurd in *Phalaris's* Wife, to steer towards *Crete*, the nearest place of safety; and that she ought to have got as far off as she could, towards *Carthage* or *Hercules's* Pillars; no matter whether the Season was contrary, or the Vessel old and leaky, or not victuall'd for so long a Voyage. But secondly, says he, *This Flight of hers, is a mere Fiction, and there's no such thing supposed, or in the least intimated in the Epistles*. These are very hard Expressions; but we are used to have such from Mr. B. when his Arguments are soft enough. *Phalaris* fled from *Astypalæa*, and left his Family behind him; this is plain from the Epistles. And the next news we hear of his Wife is, that she was in *Crete*. Now if *Astypalæa* was not in *Crete*, which I have clearly shew'd already; then her flight from *Astypalæa* to *Crete* is both *supposed* and *intimated*. But indeed, if with some new Geographers one can spy out an *Astypalæa* in *Crete*, invisible to all the Ancients; then he is well quali-



qualified to believe on Mr. B's side, that no flight is supposed. The Examiner closes this first part with a sorry, but yet a very spitefull Quibble about the word *Gratuitously*; which is a privileged Slander, and cannot with good Manners be answer'd in the manner it deserves. And to speak freely, I can scarce resent it from Mr. B. because I cannot believe it's his own; I impute it rather to some under-jobbing Assistant, of a low sordid Spirit, which this Calumny is a Picture of, than to a Gentleman that challenges the Title of Honourable.

Before we leave the Examiner's first Argument, let us see a little what he drives at in all this bustle about *Phalaris's Country*. Why, to convince us, that *his Prince* was not oblig'd to write Doric, he would shew that he was no Native of *Sicily*. Grant this, and let him be born where the Examiner would have him, at *Astypalæa* in *Crete*. Now we are as sure, that the Island of *Crete* spoke Doric, as that *Sicily* it self did. And is not Mr. B. then a Man of quick Thought and Foresight; to bring an Argument which ends just where it first set out, without advancing one Inch? Nay, if *Phalaris* was born in the Island *Astypalæa*; I had shewn it to be highly probable, that *Doric* was the Mother-Tongue there; and not a word has been yet said to disprove me. But he may now see a direct Testimony of it, which I have added out of *Scymnus Chius*. So that upon every Supposition his Argument is vain and idle.

II. But we are come at last to the second Point; for supposing, that *Phalaris* was a *Sicilian* born; yet Mr. B. will give good reasons, why he should not use the *Doric Dialect*. If the Reader

Reader pleases to run over what I had said in my Dissertation upon this Head; he will see, that I my self had given several Examples of Authors, who being Natives of *Sicily* or other *Dorian* Countries, had writ Books in another Dialect, as *Diodorus*, *Empedocles*, *Philistus*, *Timæus*, *Ephorus*, *Herodotus*, *Dionysius Hal. &c.* But I had shewn the case of *Phalaris* to be quite different from theirs; and the Difference turn'd upon these points, That *Phalaris's* Writings are private Letters, to his Domestic Servants, about Family Affairs, never design'd to be publish'd, and written at a time, when the *Attic* Dialect was not yet in fashion. These therefore are the Considerations, that Mr. B. should have spoken to, if he design'd to seek after Truth, and not merely to raise a Dust. But instead of answering to the Purpose, his main Performance here is to fill up my &c. and to add more Names of such Authors, as departed from the Dialect of their Country. A very easie piece of work, but quite besides the Question: and yet it's no little matter of comparifon, to see how sorrily he acquits himself, even where to acquit himself well had been a vain and uselefs Labour.

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*Agathyrſides*, ſays Mr. B. the *Hiſtorian* of *Samos*, had he follow'd the Dialect of his Country, would have written in *Doric*. Thus it is in his First Edition; for at that time in his great Learning, he thought the *Samians* ſpoke *Doric*. But in the next he corrected it *Ionic*; which I mention for his Commendation, and as an inſtance of his Improvement. But 'tis a pity he could go no further; for if I had the honour to have been in his Aſſiſtant's place, I could have told him, that there was no ſuch man, as *Agathyrſides*

*Agathyrſides* an Historian of *Samos*. Mr. B. will say, he is quoted by (g) *Stobæus*, *Agathyrſidæ* (g) *Serm. Samii in iv rerum Perficarum*. So indeed it was in the Copy that *Gesner* made use of: but the true reading is *Agatharchides*, as appears by *Plutarch*, (b) who relates the same Story word for word from 'Αγαθάρχιδης Σάμου ἐν δευτέρῳ τῷ Περ- (b) *Plut. in Parall. p. 305*. Neither can it be said, that the error may lie in *Plutarch's* Copies, and not in *Stobæus*; for the same Author is cited twice in *Plutarch's* Book *About Rivers*; but *Agathyrſides* is never once heard of, but in this corrupted place of *Stobæus*.

Another of Mr. B's Writers that departed from their Country Dialect, is *Andronicus Rhodius* in his *Paraphrase of Aristotle's Ethics*: but he should have remember'd, that the old MS. it self has no name of any Author; for *Dan. Heinsius* the first Editor of it, informs us, that *Andronicus's* name was prefix'd to it by a Modern and a very Unlearned Hand. Mr. B. adds, *That we may know, Epimenides did not write in the Cretic Dialect, from the short Citation out of him in St. Paul,*

Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψευδαὶ, καὶ δὲ θνεία, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀεὶ αἰεὶ.

For the Cretans are said to use αἰεὶ instead of αἰ.

That this Poem of *Epimenides* was not in Cretic, I readily own. But the proof that Mr. B. brings

of it does not seem to be good. For the Cretans might use both αἰεὶ and αἰ too. As in a Letter

of this very *Epimenides* written in the Cretic Idi-

om, extant in (i) *Laertius*, we read, Εἶχε τὰν

ἀρχαίαν ΑΕΙ. And in a Cretic Inscription among

the *Marmora Oxon.* (k) Οἱ ΤΟΚ ΑΕΙ κοσμώντες,

that is, οἱ τὰν αἰ. Mr. B. therefore, had he

known of it, should rather have cited this follow-

ing Fragment of *Epimenides*, (l).

(i) *Laert. Epimen.*

(k) *Marm. Oxon p. 116.*

(l) *Ælian H An. xii.*

7. Τὰ Επὶ μανίδος ἑ-

Καὶ ἄλλοι.



Καὶ γὰρ γένεσις Σελήνης ἡυχόμοιο,

ἢ Διονὸν φείξασ' ἀποείπατο Σηρὸν λείοντα,

Ἐς Νεμεαῖαν ἄγυσ' αὐτὸν διὰ πότνιαν Ἥραν.

For this Passage plainly proves what Mr. B. aims at, that *Epimenides's* Poems were not *Cretic* but *Ionic*. Ἐς Νεμεαῖαν is a Correction of the Learned *Gesner's*; for the Vulgar Reading is Ἐννεμεαῖαν; perhaps it might be mended without varying a Letter. Ἐν Νεμίᾳ ἀνάγυσ' —

P. 41.

(m) Herod.  
viii. c. 46.  
Χῖοι, ἔθ-  
νος ἑὸν Ἰ-  
ωνικὸν ἀπὸ  
Ἀσυναίων.

Mr. B. goes on, and tells us, *That Alcæus, Sappho, and Simonides were born in places where the Ionic was spoken, and yet wrote their Lyric Poems in Æolic or Doric*. 'Tis true indeed, that *Simonides* was born at *Ceos*, (m) *Whose Inhabitants were Ionians, being an Athenian Colony*, as *Herodotus* tells us; for the *Athenians* themselves were anciently *Ionians*. Mr. B. therefore has the luck to be right in one of the three. But for the other two, *Alcæus* and *Sappho*, how scandalously is he mistaken! I protest I am ashamed even to refute such miserable trash; though Mr. B. was not ashamed to write it, nay to value himself upon't. What part is it that I must teach him? That *Alcæus* and *Sappho* were Natives of *Lesbos*? but 'tis almost incredible he should be ignorant of that. Or that the Language of *Lesbos* was *Æolic*? Yes, there his wonderfull Learning was at a loss, and he believ'd it was *Ionic*. But his *Scylax*, that he lately vapour'd with (if instead of a wrong word Ἀσυναίαν, he had learnt any good out of him) might have taught him a better Lesson; *Lesbos*, (n) says *Scylax*, an *ÆOLIAN* Island. The *Inhabitants* of *Lesbos*, (o) says *Stephanus*, are call'd *ÆOLIANS*. Five *Æolian Cities*, (p) says *Herodotus*, are in the Island of *Lesbos*. Nay it was the *Metropolis*, as it were, of all

(n) Scylax  
p. 34. Νῆ-  
σος Ἀιο-  
λὶς Λέσ-  
βος.

(o) Steph.  
v. Αἰολ.

(p) Herod.  
i. c. 151.

all the *Æolian* Cities, as *Strabo* says expressly,  
 (q) Σχεδὺν δὲ πρὸς μιντεῖσιν ἢ Λέσβῳ ὑπάρχει τῶν (q) *Strabo*  
 Αἰολίδων πόλεων. But there's a Passage in (r) *Æ-* p. 616.  
*lian* and *Suidas*, that may seem to countenance (r) *Æl.*  
 our Examiner's mistake; for in reckoning up the Var. Hist.  
*Ionian* Cities, they have Πειρήνη, ΛΕΣΒΟΣ, τῶς. Tho' viii, 5.  
 the misfortune is, that for Λέσβῳ we must read it Suid. v.  
 there ΛΕΒΕΔΟΣ, as it's plain from *Herodotus*, Ionia.  
*Strabo*, and others. I had corrected this, when I  
 knew not that any other had done it. But it was  
 well for me, that before I printed it, I lit on *Meur-*  
*fius's Fortuna Attica*, where I found the same  
 correction. For if Mr. B. had met with the  
 same Passage; when he next appears in Print, I  
 had been branded for a Plagiary. And yet I do  
 not believe *Meurfius* was a Plagiary; though I  
 find, that long before his time this very same E-  
 mendation, and by the same Proofs, was made  
 by *Brodæus* in his Notes upon (f) *Anthol. Epigram.* (r) Lib. iv.  
 For a Man would have very hard measure, if be- cap. 'Eis  
 cause another, whom he knew not of, had lit upon Νάυς.  
 the same thought, he must be traduced as a Pla-  
 giary: Though it appear from the rest of his Per-  
 formances (which are certainly New and his  
 Own) that he was very able to do That too  
 without stealing from others. And this alone  
 will be a sufficient Answer to that Calumny of  
 Mr. B's, which by and by we shall come to.

The Examiner, in the depth of his Reading,  
 goes from Writers to Coins, that have been  
 struck in *Dorian Countries*, and yet the Inscripti- P. 44  
 on of them not pure Doric. Among others he  
 tells us, of Ευσείρης ἱερῶν ἀργυρίων, a Cretan Mo-  
 ney. This was borrow'd from Monsieur *Hardu-*  
*in's* very excellent Book Of the Coins of Cities and  
 People: but I find other Persons, as well as my  
 self,

Hardu-  
in, Num.  
Illustr. p.  
261.

self, have but ill usage from Mr. B. when he borrows any thing of them. For there is no such Cretan Money; neither does Harduin give the least intimation of it. There's an Inscription indeed, but no Money, that has *Ευσείχης ἐκ τῆς ἀγῶν*; and 'tis extant in Gruter, p. 1094. belonging to *Lyttus* a City of *Crete*. And 'tis with equal faithfulness and diligence, what Mr. B. presently adds, *That in some other Inscriptions it is Ευσείχης*. This is the Reverse of the former Blunder: for his Author Harduin here says Money, and not *Inscription*; and he says *Κεντήχης*, not *Ευσείχης*: which last word in the *Doric* Termination, Mr. B. will not find either in *Inscription* or Money. I will leave the credit of this Citation to be divided between Mr. B. and his Assistant: for it's a plain case that one or both of them have an excellent hand at transcribing of Authors. But besides this, Mr. B. mentions *TEAH* the *Inscription* of a Coin, belonging to *Velia*, a Town in *Magna Græcia*: which *Velia* he supposes, in his great Learning, to have been a *Dorian* Colony; but *Herodotus* and *Strabo* will tell him, that it was an *Ionic*; and the Planters were the *Phocæans*, who were driven out of *Asia* by *Harpagus*.

P. 44.

But the most remarkable Instance of all, says Mr. B. is that of *Zaleucus*, King of the *Locrians*, a *Doric* Colony, the Preface to whose Laws is preserv'd in *Stobæus* and *Diodorus*, and has plainly nothing of the *Doric* Dialect in it. And again a little after, I will add, says he, *Zaleucus* too, who we are sure was a *Pythagorean*, from very good Authority. And I am sure too; that this is a remarkable instance, though not the most of all, of Mr. B's great Abilities in all parts of Learning.

P. 53.



Learning. For he has turn'd the Commonwealth of the *Locrians* into a Monarchy; and of a poor Shepherd and Slave, as *Zaleucus* is said to have been, he has made a KING. These are no ordinary Performances; and they shew the Gentleman has well improv'd himself in *Phalaris's* Service. But why forsooth must *Zaleucus* be a King? Merely, because Mr. B. had heard he was a Law-giver. And if it chance to lie in his way, he will make *Draco* and *Solon* Kings of *Athens* by the very same Argument: though (t) *Aristotle* informs us, that the best and most (t) *Arist.* of the Law-makers were *Men of the middle Rank.* *Polit. iv,* But to pass over this scandalous mistake, I have 11. Τῶν μείων πολιτῶν. a matter of greater consequence to debate with him; for I am persuaded (notwithstanding Mr. B's very good Authority) that *Zaleucus* was no *Pythagorean*; and that the System of Laws ascribed to him, and produc'd by *Diodorus* and others, may be as mere an Imposture, as *Phalaris's* Epistles.

The Title of that Book, as *Stobæus* and others quote it, was *ZALEUCUS's Laws*: but we have good reason to suspect, that there was no such Person as *Zaleucus* a Law-giver; and if this be true, the Cheat is apparent. *Timæus* the *Sicilian*, a man of a virulent Style, but an inquisitive and accurate Writer, expressly maintain'd, against the common Tradition of his Time, That there was no such man as *Zaleucus*. *Cicero* in a (u) Letter to *Atticus*, among other vulgar Errors takes notice of this: *Who has not* (u) *Lib. vi. Ep. i. A* said, says he, *that Zaleucus was Law-giver to Timæo tuo* the *Locrians*? *Must Theophrastus therefore be Familiari.* despised, if that Story be refuted by *Timæus*, an Author you are much versed in? And again, in his

(x) *De Legibus* ii, 6. his Book of Laws; (x) Before I give you the Law it self, says he, I will preface something in its Commendation, as I see *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* have done. To which his Brother *Quintus* replies, That *Timæus* denied, there was any such Person as *Zaleucus*. But *Theophrastus*, says *Cicero* again, (an Author, as I think, no worse than *Timæus*, as many think, a better) affirms there was such a man; and the *Locrians* my Clients, have still a Tradition of it: but whether there was such a man or no, it's nothing to this matter. Here we see the Orator, in Complement as it seems to his *Locrian* Clients, speaks in favour of the Vulgar Tradition: but in his private Letter to *Atticus*, he gives it up as a Fable, and joins it with that notorious Error about *Eupolis*'s being drown'd *Olymp. xci, 2.* which, he says, *Eratosthenes* refuted, shewing several Comedies that *Eupolis* made and exhibited after that year. As for *Cicero*'s *Locrians*, who, he says, still preserv'd the Tradition about *Zaleucus*; we may oppose to them some *Locrians* in *Timæus*'s time, who lived above cc years before *Cicero*. For *Timæus* in that very (y) place of his History, where he reprehended *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* for their Narratives about the *Locrians*, said, he conversed with one *Echecrates*, a *Locrian* of Note and Quality, and had his Informations from him about the Affairs of that City. If *Echecrates* therefore in that Age did not believe, there was any *Zaleucus*; he's certainly as credible, as *Cicero*'s *Locrians*, who come so many Generations afterwards, after so many Revolutions and Changes in the Constitution of their Government. 'Tis true, *Polybius* falls very foul upon *Timæus* for abusing *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, and charges

(y) See *Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 45, &c.*

charges him with some falsehoods relating to the Locrians: but there's nothing now extant, implying, that Polybius defended Theophrastus against him, in this particular of Zaleucus. There's a Passage indeed in the \* *Excerpta* of Polybius, where a Law of Zaleucus is mention'd: but the word *οὐκ* there intimates that he gives it not as his own Narrative, but repeats the words of some-body else. But however let that be as it will; *Whether there was such a man or no*, as Cicero says, I will not contend: but I think so much may be safely concluded from it; That either this Book of ZALEUCUS'S LAWS was not yet made in Timæus's time; or else he condemn'd it for an Imposture; nay, not he only, but Echecrates a Citizen of Locri, and therefore a very competent Judge about a Story of that Country.

But I rather think the Book was made after the days of Timæus: for I observe that those that speak of Zaleucus before, and at that time, make him a poor Shepherd, and much older than Pythagoras: but after that time, they commonly describe him as a (γ) Man of Quality, and a (γ) Scholar of that Philosopher's. Now this new Account of him was in all probability gather'd from some Passages in that *System of Laws* ascribed to him: for where else could they meet with it? So that if I can shew from the oldest and best Writers, that he was more ancient than Pythagoras; this new and false Story in the later Authors, being taken from that System, will convict it of a Cheat.

The account that Aristotle gave of him is this, (z) *That when the Locrians had consulted the Oracle, how they might be rid of their Seditions, they were bid to make themselves Laws.* Upon this, (z) Pind. Schol ad O- x Olymp. Φοίν Αει- σότιλνς. &c.



a certain Shepherd, named Zaleucus, told them, That He could furnish them with very good Laws. And being ask'd, Whence He could have them? he said, Minerva appear'd to him in a Dream, and would give him them. Whereupon they gave him his Freedom (for he was then a Slave) and so he became their Law-giver. And agreeably to this, Suidas tells

(a) Suid. v.  
Zάλ. ὅτι  
ἦν πρὸς  
ἐν δούλος  
τῆς καὶ ποί-  
μῳ.

us, (a) That at first he was a Slave, and a Shepherd.

Either of which Circumstances are sufficient Proofs, that he was no Pythagorean: for if he was another man's Slave, and oblig'd to look after Sheep at Locri; how could he have either time or leave to be at Crotona with Pythagoras near a hundred Mile from home? and especially to continue there the v Years of Silence, according to the Discipline of the School? Besides, a Slave would not have been admitted into that Society, had he had never such opportunities.

And we have another Argument from the same Passage of Aristotle, that Zaleucus was no Scholar of Pythagoras. For he ascribed all his Laws to Minerva, from whom he pretended to receive them in Dreams. This Aristotle has told us, as he is cited by the Scholiast on Pindar. And that we may not question the Scholiast's Authority, the

(b) Clem.  
Strom. i p.  
152.

(c) Plu-  
tarch. Πε-  
ρὶ τῆς ἐξου-  
σίας, &c.

Idem in  
Numa Va-  
ler. Max.

l. 2. Theo-  
doret. ad  
Grac. Serm.  
ix.

great (b) Clemens Alex. assures us, that both Aristotle and his Scholar Chamaeleo say, That Zaleucus gave it out, that he had his Laws from Minerva. Plutarch too falls in with this account, where he tells us, (c) That Zaleucus said, Minerva used to appear to him, and give him Laws, which were all entirely Hers, and no part of them his Own. Now I humbly conceive, that this Project of Zaleucus's has nothing of a Pythagorean in it. For Pythagoras's Scholars ascribed every thing to their Master; it was always αὐτοῦ

ἔρα

ἔφα with them, HE SAID IT: and the greatest Oath was to swear by Him,

Οὐ μὰ τὸ αἰμίτρεκα ψυχῇ ὀρκίζοντα περὶ αὐτὸν.

If Zaleucus therefore had been of that Society, he would certainly have honour'd his Master by imputing his Laws to his Instructions: but being a poor illiterate Shepherd, and of no Authority with the people, he very craftily acquired it, by taking nothing upon Himself, but laying all to Minerva.

Again, Strabo, informs us, (d) That the Locrians were generally believ'd to be the First that used WRITTEN Laws: and that Zaleucus took them, as Ephorus the Historian says, from the Cretic, and the Laconic, and the Areopagetic (e) Customs. And so Scymnus Chius, speaking of these Locrians, says, They were the First that had WRITTEN Laws, which were supposed to be made by Zaleucus;

(f) Τύττις δὲ πρῶτος φασὶ χρῆσασθαι νόμοις

Γελαῖοισιν, οὗς Ζάλευκος ὑποθέσθαι δοκεῖ.

(f) Scymnus, v. 313.

(g) Clemens Alexand. forgot himself perhaps, when he said, That Zaleucus the Locrian was the first that made Laws; for he ought to have said, made WRITTEN Laws, as Ephorus and Strabo said before him. But if Zaleucus's written Laws were the most ancient, 'tis most certain he could not be a Pythagorean. For Draco's Laws were (h) Written ones at Athens; and He lived about Olymp. xxxix, as Tatian, Clemens, and Eusebius expressly say; or as (i) Diodorus in one of his lost Books, He was XLVII years before Solon: which being reckon'd from Solon's Archonship, Olymp. XLVI, 3. will fall upon Olymp. xxxv, 1. If Zaleucus then was before Draco, he must be longer before Pythagoras, who by the very earliest ac-

(g) Clem. Strom. i. p. 133.

(h) Joseph. c. Appion. i. p. 2. Γελαίους νόμους.

(i) Ulpian in Demost. Timocr. p. 480. Ὁ δὲ Δράκων πρὸ Σόλωνος ἐπὶ πέντε πεσσεύοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Διόδορος.

count was not born, till Olymp. XLIII, 4.

All this is further confirmed by *Eusebius*, who places *Zaleucus* the celebrated Law-giver of the Locrians, at Olymp. XXIX; which is XL years before *Draco*, and about LX before *Pythagoras* was born. *Aristotle* indeed reprehends their ignorance,

(k) *Arist.*  
*Polit.* ii,  
58. Ἀρχε-  
μήτερον  
τῶν Χερσίων  
ἀέροντες.

(k) who would make *Onomacritus* to have been the First that was skill'd in Law-making; and that *Thales* was his Acquaintance; whose Scholars were *Lycurgus* and *ZALEUCUS*, and *Zaleucus's* Scholar was *Charondas*: for they talk, says he, inconsistently with Chronology. The *Thales*, that is

\* *Strabo* p.  
482. *Sex-  
tus Empir.*  
p. 68. *La-  
ert* in *Thal.*  
† *Clemens*,  
*Plutarch.*  
Etc  
|| *Euseb.*  
*Strabo.*

meant here, was not the *Milesian*; but the ancient *Cretan*, who is \* generally assigned as a Master to *Lycurgus*. So that *Aristotle* seems to find fault, that they made *Zaleucus* too a Scholar of that *Thales*. For at that rate he must have lived † cvm years before the First Olympiad; i. e. cc years, before *Locri* was built, || Ol. xxiv. How then could he be a *Locrian*, and a Lawgiver there? This is the Ignorance of Chronology, which the Philosopher censures here: but however it's no inconsiderable Argument, that *Zaleucus* was older than *Pythagoras*, who came above ccc years after *Lycurgus*.

And we have yet a further Discovery of it from the Orator *Demosthenes*, who to persuade the *Athenians* not to change any Law upon small and frivolous Pretenses, gives the example of these *Locrians*, (l) With whom, says he, it's a Law, that a Man who shall propose to make any new Law, shall do it with a Rope about his Neck; which he shall be strangled in, if he do not carry his Point: which has been such a Guard and Defense to the Laws, that there has been but One New one made in MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS. Now that *Demosthenes* here speaks of *Zaleucus's* Laws,

(l) *Demost.*  
in *Timocr.*  
§ 469. Ἐν  
τῷ Ἀκρότι  
διὰ κοινῶς  
ἐστὶν ὅτι.



Laws, is plain enough from his naming the *Locrians*; but it appears further from the Law it self. For (m) *Hierocles* and *Polybius's* Author say (m) *Hieroc.* expressly, that this Law about the Rope was ZALEUCUS's; and it's produced by (n) *Stobæus*, as out (n) *Stob.* of *Zaleucus's* own Preface to his Body of Laws. *Polyb. xii.* 'Tis not very clear indeed, what the Orator *p. 661.* means here, whether it was more than cc years (n) *Stob.* from the first Date of *Zaleucus's* Laws to the in- *Serm. 42.* troducing of that One New Law; or whether from the first Date of them to the Orators own time, which he calls more than cc years, there was but one new Law made. The first Interpretation seems the more probable: but even the Latter will be a sufficient proof, that *Zaleucus* could not be *Pythagoras's* Scholar. For this Oration against *Timocrates* was spoken Olymp. cvi, 4. when *Theodemus* or *Eudemus* was Archon, as (o) *Dionysius Halic.* says in express words; and (o) *Dion.* (p) *Plutarch* says it implicitly, when he tells us *Hal. De Demosthenes* made it at the xxvii or xxviii year *most.* of his Age. For he was born (q) at Olymp. *(p) Plut. vita De-* xcix, 4. and his xxviii year falls at Olymp. *most.* cvi, 4. Now to compute only Two hundred (q) *Dionys.* years backwards from this Olympiad, and it reaches to Olymp. lvi, 4. when *Pythagoras* by the very earliest reckoning had been but xiii years in *Italy*, and vii of those were spent in his Room under ground: and I suppose what *Demosthenes* calls MORE than cc years will amount above the remaining Five; nay, I may moderately say, above the whole xiii. But thus much I am sure may be safely concluded from it, that if *Zaleucus* was really *Pythagoras's* Disciple, the Learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Calculation must be wrong, which makes *Pythagoras* first set foot in *Italy* at

(r) Theod.  
c. Grac.  
Serm. ix.

Olymp. LXVII, 2. for that Olympiad falls XLII years within *Demosthenes's* Two Hundred, without adding those years to the Account, which the Orator means by MORE. I make the reckoning from *Pythagoras's* going to *Italy*, because *Zaleucus* one of the *Locrians* of *Italy* could not be his Scholar till he came thither. For *Theodoret* was quite out, (q) when he thought the *Locrians*, whom *Zaleucus* gave Laws to, were those of *Greece* near *Acarmania* and *Phocis*.

P. 53.

Take all these Arguments together, and I conceive their united Force will effectually refute Mr. B. who is sure that *Zaleucus* was a *Pythagorean*. But besides that, they will go a considerable way to refute the Book it self too, which pass'd abroad in the World under the Name of *Zaleucus*. For if any Intimation was given in that Book, that the Author was a *Pythagorean*; the Imposture of it is very evident. And yet it's hard to give any other Reason, that should induce the later Writers to call him a *Pythagorean*, as (f) *Diodorus* does expressly, Μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου τῆ φιλοσόφου, *The Scholar of Pythagoras the Philosopher*; and so *Laertius*, *Porphyry*, and *Jamblicus*; and *Seneca* thus flourishes upon it, (t) *That Zaleucus and Charondas learnt their Laws in the silent and sacred Recess of Pythagoras*. Thus we see the more Recent Authors with one voice make him a *Pythagorean*; and yet every one of the Old, that speak of him, make him earlier than that Philosopher; as *Ephorus*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, *Chamaeleo*, *Theophrastus*, *Timæus*, the youngest of whom was about ccl Years before the eldest of the others. What can be the cause of this Difference? but that in the interval between these Old and those Later Writers, in the times of the

(f) Diod.  
Sic. p. 84.

(t) Sen. Ep.  
50.

the Ptolomees, when the Forging of Books came to be a Fashion and a Trade, some Impostor made a System of Laws under the name of *Zaleucus*, and in it gave a broad Hint, that he was a Scholar of *Pythagoras*.

The Impostor had taken care to insert those Laws of *Zaleucus*, which he had met with in Ancient Writers, into his counterfeit System. As that Law, which *Demosthenes* mentions, *That he that proposed a new Law, should do it with a Halter about his Neck*, appears in the very Preface of the counterfeit Book, which (u) *Stobæus* (u) *Stob.* us has given us. And his Forgery met with good *Serm. 42.* Entertainment, because the old Constitution of the City *Locri* was then alter'd, and was no longer in Being to discover the Cheat: which imposed therefore upon *Diodorus*, and others; and prevail'd upon *Cicero* himself so far, that he seems to stand Neuter, and pronounces on no side. For it appears there, that *Cicero* meant this very Preface, that *Stobæus* afterwards met with.

\* *Before I give you the Law it self, says he, I'll* \* *Cic. de* preface something in commendation of it, as I see *Za-* *Leg. II, 6.* *leucus and Charondas have done.* And he gives a *Proæmium*, as he calls it, much to the same sense with those of *Zaleucus* and *Charondas* in *Stobæus*. But however this Impostor has not done every thing so artificially, but that even from the Fragments, that are still left of his Book, it may seem very questionable, if it was not supposititious.

I. *Demosthenes* has inform'd us, *That the New Law which alone was made at Locri in the compass of above cc years, was, That he that blinded a Man with one Eye should lose Both his own; for the Old Law of Zaleucus was Lex Talionis, an Eye for an Eye.* But *Diodorus* makes this to be one of the



Laws of *Charondas*, and tells the same Story about a Man with one Eye at *Thurii*, and that the Laws there which had continued the Same a long time, were never changed but upon This and Two other occasions. They are both very good Authors, and 'tis a very tender point to say whether of them we should follow. But with submission to better Judgments, I will lay down some Reasons, why I think *Demosthenes* is in the right here. He calls the City, where he says this Law was so long in force, Πόλις ΕΥΝΟΜΟΤΜΕΝΗ, (x) a well-governed City; and this is the very Character that is generally given of *Locri*: The Locrians, (y) says *Strabo*, were πλεῖστον χρόνον ΕΥΝΟΜΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ, for a long time under good Government. And *Pindar* puts this Compliment upon them,

(x) *Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 468.*  
(y) *Strabo. p. 259.*

(z) *Pind. Olymp. x.*

(z) Νέμει γὰρ ἀτρέκεια πάλιν Λοκρῶν Ζεφυρίων—

Where he means, says the Scholiast, ὅτι ΕΥΝΟΜΕΙΤΑΙ, That they have a good Government.

(a) *Plato Leg. 1. p. 17.*

And *Plato* tells us, (a) That the Locrians seem to have been εὐνομοτάτοι, the best governed People in all that Country: And again he says, (b) That

(b) *Idem Timæo.*

*Timæus* was of *Locri*, εὐνομιώτατης πόλεως, the best regulated City in Italy: which (c) *Proclus*

(c) *Proclus ad Tim. p. 23.*

thus explains; That the Locrians εὐνομήνη were well govern'd, is evident; for their Law-maker was *Zaleucus*. But on the contrary, the *Thurians*, where *Diodorus* lays the Scene of this Story, were so far from being celebrated on this account; that they are censured for their Misgovernment. So *Ephorus* complains of them

(d) *Strabo p. 260.*

(d) in *Strabo*; and *Aristotle* in his (e) *Politics* brings them in twice as examples of ill management.

(e) *Arist. Pol. v. 7.*

*Demosthenes's* Story therefore is more agreeable to This matter of Fact, than that of

*Diodorus*

*Diodorus* is. And again, *Demosthenes* says here, that the *Locrians* were under a happy Government above cc Years; as *Strabo* also says, (f) (f) *Strab.* πλεῖστον χρόνον, a very long time: which is really *ibid.* true in Fact, as appears by a Computation from the Date of *Zaleucus's* Laws to the time that *Dionysius* the Younger tyrannized there and ruin'd all at Olymp. cvi, i. Now *Diodorus* too would magnify the continuance of *Charondas's* Laws at *Thurii*, when he says, ἐς παντὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ, (g) In ALL the time after *Charon-* (g) *Diod.* das there were but three changes made in them. p. 82. But this account of a long continuance is not warranted by History; for it's certain from Himself and others, (h) That the City *Thurii* (h) *Diod.* was but first built Olymp. lxxxiv, i. or a little p. 75. *Plu-* before: and the Government was quite subverted *tarch. Vi.* within liv years, at Olymp. xcvi. 3. three parts *Lyfia, &c.* in Four of the People being slain, (i) and the (i) *Diod.* rest sold for Slaves by their Neighbors the *Lu-* p. 313. *canians*. Upon the whole then *Demosthenes's* *Strabo* p. 263. Account seems more agreeable to Truth. But how happen'd it, That *Diodorus* should be so mistaken, and ascribe a Law to *Charondas*, which we see was *Zaleucus's*? Is there not just ground of suspicion, that *Diodorus* was impos'd on by that spurious Book of *Zaleucus's* Laws, where this Law was forgotten by the Impostor? If so, it will open a discovery of another Counterfeit: for we see the Law was omitted, where it ought to have been enter'd; and it was put among *Charondas's*, where it ought not to have been. That Copy therefore of *Charondas's* Laws must by this account be a Cheat too, and by the very same Hand. For as it seems the Impostor had read something about the Law, but was mistaken in fathering

fatherring it upon a wrong Person. But of *Charondas's* Laws I shall say more anon. This must needs seem the most probable account of *Diodorus's* Error; if we believe he has truly told us what he found in those Books of Laws, and did not forget himself. But there's some reason to suspect, that he trusted to his Memory, and so might possibly mistake one Lawgiver for the other. For he tells us too, (k) That the Law concerning the Halter was one of *Charondas's*; which (l) *Stobæus* attributes to *Zaleucus*, and pretends to cite it in *Zaleucus's* own words out of his Preface. (m) *Hierocles* too and *Polybius's* Author ascribe it to *Zaleucus*; but They might have it at second Hand. So that all this Matter must lie between *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. If *Diodorus* has quoted faithfully, *Zaleucus's* Book of Laws were a Cheat: if *Stobæus* was a faithful Transcriber, then this Argument fails against *Zaleucus's* Book; and falls upon *Diodorus* himself.

(k) *Diod.*  
p. 82.

(l) *Stob.*  
Serm. 42.

(m) *Hierocles*  
apud  
*Stob.* 37.  
*Polyb.* p.  
661.

II. We have Two Words of those Laws of *Zaleucus* preserved in *Hesychius*; ΛΕΠΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΧΕΙΑΣ, says he, λευκὸς ἐν Νόμοις, τὰς δραχμὰς λεπτὰς μὲν τὰς ἑξαβόλους, παχείας δὲ τὰς πλῆθον ἑχέουσιν: That is, *The words* Λεπτὰς καὶ παχείας *Thin and Thick in the Laws of Zaleucus are spoken of Drachms: the Thin Drachms weighing Six Oboli, and the Thick above Six.* In the printed *Hesychius* it's Λευκὸς; but *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, and other Learned men have observed, and the Thing it self speaks, that the true Reading is Ζάλευκός; for the preceding word ending in ΑΣ, the following ΖΑ was swallow'd up, as it frequently happens when Syllables are alike. Now I say, if Λεπτὰς καὶ παχείας, *Thin and Thick Drachms*, were in the



the Laws of *Zaleucus*, as *Hesychius* assures us; that pretended Book of Laws must appear a meer Cheat. For *Julius Pollux* informs us, who they were that called those *Drachms παχείας*, *Thick ones*, and upon what occasion. (n) Τὴν Αἰγναίαν (n) *Pollux.* *δραχμῶν*, says he, μείζων ἢ Ἀττικῆς ἔσαν (λέγε δὲ ὀβολὸς ix, 6. Ἀττικὸς ἴσχυον) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ΠΑΧΕΙΑΝ *δραχμῶν* ἐπέλεον, μίσει δὲ Αἰγνητῶν Αἰγναίαν ὀνομάσαι μὴ θέλοντες, i. e. *The Aeginean Drachm which was bigger than the Attick (for it weigh'd x Attic Oboli) was call'd by the Athenians ΠΑΧΕΙΑ the Thick Drachm; for they would not call it the Æginean, out of Hatred to that People. The case is this; The Attic Drachm weigh'd six Attic Oboli; and so the Æginean Drachm weigh'd six Æginean Oboli: but the Æginean Obolus was bigger than the Attic, in the proportion of x to vi; and so consequently the Æginean Drachm, and the Summs made up of it, the Mine and Talent, exceeded the Attic Drachm, Mine and Talent in the same proportion. Now the Æginean Drachm being often current at Athens (for Ægina is close by it) and in other places of Trade; the Athenians, who mortally hated the Ægineans, would not call that Money Æginean, as the rest of the World did, but Thick; because it was thicker than their own, weighing almost twice as much. The whole History of this Enmity between the Athenians and Ægineans is given largely by (o) Herodotus. If ΠΑΧΕΙΑ then for an Æginean (o) *Herod.* *Drachm* was a word peculiar to the Attics, and lib. v, & proceeded purely from the Hatred between the vi. two Nations; how comes the word in that sense to be found in *Zaleucus's Laws*? What had the Ægineans offended Him, who liv'd at *Locri* in Italy, remote enough from them and their Quarrels?*

rels? Why did not He call it *Æginean*, as all the World did except the *Athenians*? Nay even among the *Athenians* themselves they seem to have been the Tradesmen and Rabble only, that call'd them *Παχίας*, and not the Men of Quality: as appears plainly from *Thucydides*, where we have ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΣ ὀβολός, ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΑ δρεχμὴ, ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙΟΝ τάλαντον; but never ΠΑΧΥΣ ὀβολός, nor ΠΑΧΕΙΑ δρεχμὴ. And would *Zaleucus* put a word in his Laws, which a grave-Writer would not use in his History? But why must the *Æginean* Money be at all taken notice of by *Zaleucus*? What was the *Locrian* Commonwealth concern'd with the *Ægineans*? They were very far asunder, and the latter were poor and inconsiderable in the time of that Lawgiver, and consequently could have very little or no Traffick with his Citizens. *Thucydides* tells us, (p) that before *Themistocles*'s time neither the *Ægineans* nor *Athenians* were considerable at Sea; and *Herodotus* says, (q) That the beginning of the Wealth and Power of *Ægina* was the Plunder that was carried thither and sold, after *Xerxes*'s Army was routed at *Plateæ*. There was no reason then nor occasion to bring the *Æginean* Money into the body of his Laws; much less to speak of it under the Nick name of *Παχίας*; which the *Locrians* could not know the meaning of, till it were explain'd to them out of *Greece*. Nay, there's reason to suspect, that *Zaleucus*'s true Laws were made before the Hatred began between the *Athenians* and *Ægineans*; and consequently before *Παχία δρεχμὴ* was ever used in that sense. *Herodotus* relates the first original of that Hatred, which was about a couple of Statues: and the occasion of his mentioning it is this. About Olymp. LXIX, the *Thebans*

*bans* desired the assistance of the *Ægeineans* in a War against *Athens*; and the *Ægeineans*, says he, (f) remembring the Quarrel about the Sta- (r) Herod. tues, were ready enough to enter into an alli- v, 89. ance against the *Athenians*. Now from Olymp. LXIX to the time of *Zaleucus* Olymp. XXIX, there are no fewer than CLX years; and if the business of the Statues were as long ago as that, 'twas a very stale and cold Pretense to begin a new War upon. Surely if they had been at Enmity for eightscore Years, in all that tract of Time some Skirmishes or Pickeerings would have happen'd between them; that might serve for a fresher Complaint and a greater Incentive to War, than an old Scuffle six Generations ago. 'Tis very probable therefore that *Zaleucus* had made his Laws, before the Quarrel began, which gave Rise to the Expression, *Παχία δερχμή*. Add to all this, that among the *Dorian Greeks* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and consequently among the *Locrians*, there was no such sort of Money as *δερχμή* or *δβολός*; but their Species were quite different both in Value and Name, *Ούγκια*, *νύμμοι*, *λίτρα*, as I'll shew further in Section XIV. And if this be made out, who will question but these pretended Laws must be spurious? For if the Name and Species of *δερχμή* was quite foreign to the *Locrians*; what had *Λεπτάς ἢ παχίας* to do there? One might as well expect to find them in the XII Tables at *Rome*, as in the Laws at *Locri*. 'Tis most probable then, that some Sophist drew them up; and having been bred among the *Athenians*, he was senseless enough to put such words into the Mouth of *Zaleucus*, as he heard spoken at *Athens*: just as the Forger of *Phalaris's* Letters has made the Tyrant talk *Attic*, as if he had quite forgot he was a *Sicilian*. III.



III. Diodorus tells us, One of *Zaleucus's* Laws  
 (f) *Diod.* was, (f) *That no body should wear Cloths as fine*  
 p. 85. *as Milesian Cloths, if he was not a Catamite ;*  
*μηδὲ ἰμάτιον ἰσομυλῆσιον φορεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἐταίρην-*  
*ται.* Now methinks it is very oddly worded in a  
*Locrian* Law, to characterize the Cloths for  
 mens Habits, by comparing them with the Ma-  
 nufacture of *Miletus* in *Asia* at so vast a distance  
 from *Italy*. For considering the remoteness of  
 the Places, and the smallness of Trade in those  
 early times, it may justly be question'd, Whether  
 the *Milesian* Cloths, though in *Greece* they were  
 celebrated for their Fineness, were at all heard  
 of at *Locri* ; much less were so famous there, as  
 to deserve to come into their Laws. And be-  
 sides this, the word *ἰσομυλῆσιον*, i. e. *EQUAL to Mi-*  
*lesian Cloths*, never found that I know of but here,  
 seems a very unfit Expression for a Law. For  
 how many doubts and questions would arise about  
 that *Equality* ? and what a wide Door was o-  
 pen'd to Delators and Sycophants ? If he had  
 absolutely forbid the wearing of *Milesian* Cloths ;  
 the Law had been clear, and had amounted  
 to a Prohibition of importing that Commodity.  
 But as it is *ἰσομυλῆσιον*, and not *Μυλῆσιον* ; it seems  
 to be contrived on purpose for the encou-  
 ragement of Barretors. Nay, though he had  
 forbidden *Milesian* Cloths even that too had been  
 very improper : for to what purpose should he  
 declare by Law such Goods to be contraband,  
 which even before that Prohibition were never  
 imported ? For the *Locrians* might have as fine  
 or finer Cloths, and at a much lower rate from  
 their next Neighbors, the *Apulians* and *Cala-*  
*brians*, and particularly from *Tarentum*, than  
 the *Milesians* could bring them. To be sure then,  
 the

the *Milesians* would never carry Cloths with the Charge and Hazard of so long a Voyage, to a Market where others could both out-do them, and under-sell them. Such a Trade would have been as unprofitable, as to carry Silphium to *Cyrene*, or Frankincense to *Arabia*. The best Wool (t) says *Pliny*, is the *Apulian*; and what in Italy (z) *Plin.* is call'd the Wool of the Greek Cattle, but abroad viii, 48. is call'd *Italic*; in the third place comes the *Milesian*. By the Greek Cattle, *Pliny* means the *Tarentine*, as (u) *Columella* explains it; *Græcum pecus, quod plerique Tarentinum vocant.* The finest (u) *Columella*, Sheep, says the same (x) *Columella*, are the *Milesian*, the *Calabrian*, and *Apulian*; and among vii, 4. (x) vii, 2. these the *Tarentine* are the best. And the *Tarentines* were as famous for the Effeminate-ness of their Habit, as the *Milesians* themselves. All the *Tarentines*, (y) says *Clearchus*, wore fine and transparent Cloaths, such as Women wear now a days. (y) *Athen.* p. 522. Infomuch that a sort of thin Woman's Garment had its name from them, *Ταξαντίον*, (z) as we (z) *Id.* p. 622. read in *Athenæus*: but in that place, a MS *Athenæus*, and the MS *Epitome* both of them in His Majesty's Library, have it *Ταξαντίον*, which may seem the better Reading: though (a) *Eustathius* seems to have found neither of them in his (a) *Eust. ad Dionys.* v. 376. Copy, but *Ταξαντίον*. In all probability then had the true *Zaleucus* design'd to restrain the Luxury of Apparel, he would rather take notice of his next Neighbors, the *Tarentines*, whom all the *Locrians* knew, than of the *Milesians* whom few of them had so much as heard of; and instead of *Ἰσχυρίων*, he would say *Ἰστανταξαντίον*. But the counterfeit *Zaleucus*, being a *Græcian* Sophist, and knowing that the *Milesian* Cloths had the greatest Vogue in the Greek Markets,

was

was so discreet, as to forbid Them by name, in a Body of Laws, which he cut out for *Italy*.

IV. The pretended Preface of *Zaleucus*, which *Stobæus* has described word for word, begins with this Sentence ; *Every Member of a Commonwealth in the first place ought to believe, there are Gods, Ἀναβλέποντας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διακόσμησιν καὶ ΤΑΞΙΝ, which they will know, by looking up to Heaven and the World, and considering the Beauty and Order there.* Now I presume, I have proved already beyond all reasonable Exception, that *Zaleucus* lived some Generations before *Pythagoras*'s time : and if so, this Preface cannot possibly be His ; because *Pythagoras* was the First that used the word ΚΟΣΜΟΣ to signify the WORLD or the HEAVENS.

(b) *Laert.*

*Pythag.*

Τὸν ἑσπε-

ρὸν πρῶ-

τον ὀνομά-

σας Κόσ-

μον.

(c) *Plut.*

*Pl. Phil.*

ii. 1.

(d) *Gal. p.*

429.

(e) *Schol.*

*ad Iliad. i.*

v. 1.

(b) *Phavorinus* says, (they are the words of *Laertius*) That *Pythagoras* first named the Heavens ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. So *Plutarch* too *De Plac. Philos.*

(c) *Pythagoras* first call'd the whole Compass of the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΝ, from the Order τὸ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ he observed there. And the very same words

are in the *Philosophical History* ascribed to (d) *Galen*. Add to these the Scholiast on *Homer*,

(e) who says, Ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ΤΑΞΙΣ, the Order of the Universe was named ΚΟΣΜΟΣ by *Pythagoras* :

and the Anonymous Author of that Philosopher's Life, *Περὶ αὐτοῦ*, says he, Πυθαγόρας τὸ οὐρανὸν ΚΟΣΜΟΝ προσηγόρευεν. Is it not plain now,

that the Writer of *Zaleucus*'s Laws was younger than *Pythagoras* ? since he not only cites ΚΟΣΜΟΣ in the very same signification, that *Pythagoras*

first put upon't ; but subjoins too the word ΤΑΞΙΣ, which we see here was the very Reason, why *Pythagoras* call'd the World ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. 'Tis true, in those Passages of *Plutarch* and *Galen*

lex



en, there immediately follows, Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ ἐνὰ τὸν κόσμον. From whence perhaps, a Man of Mr. B's Sagacity and Learning may infer, that *Thales* too, who was a Generation before *Pythagoras*, and as many say, was his Master, call'd the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. But surely we must not think *Plutarch*, and the other Author so very stupid, as to contradict themselves in one and the same Line. We must understand them, that *Thales* spoke of the Thing signified by Κόσμος, but not that he used the Word: he might say, ἐν τῷ πᾶν, or ἐν τῷ σύστημα τῶν ὄλων, or some other Expression of the same import. And besides, we are informed by very good Hands, *Laertius* and *Themistius*; that *Thales* writ nothing himself: so that if Κόσμος had really occur'd in any Treatise ascribed to him; it had been a good Argument that the Treatise was spurious, but none at all, that *Pythagoras* did not first call the Universe ΚΟΣΜΟΣ.

V. In the same Preface it presently follows, ὅς ἐπιμαρτυρεῖται διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, ἐδὲ περιπαύεται λατρίαις ἐν ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙΣ καὶ ἀλισκομένων, καὶ δ' ἀπεμωχθῆναι ἀνθρώπων. Where instead of ἀλισκομένων, which in this place makes no tolerable Sense, the true reading seems to be ἀλισγυμένων; and then the meaning will be, That God is not honour'd by a Wicked Man, nor pleased with the costly and pompous Sacrifices of polluted Persons, as if he was a vile Mortal. Now this Paragraph alone is sufficient to detect the Imposture of these pretended Laws. For as I have shown above, the true *Zaleucus* lived before *Draco*, who made Laws for the *Athenians* at or before Olymp. xxxix: but the word ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ was not coin'd, nor the thing express'd by it invented, till *Thespis* won

the Goat, the Prize of his Play, about Olymp. LX, above LXXX years after *Draco*. How then came the word *Τετραγώνια* into the Laws of *Zaleucus*, which were written above CXX years before *Thespis*? I do not wonder now, that *Zaleucus* was so generally believ'd to have all his Laws from *Minerva*: for nothing less than a Deity could have foreknown the word *Τετραγώνια*, a whole Century and more before it came into being. But besides, that the very word was not at all heard of in *Zaleucus*'s time; we must observe too, that it's used by him metaphorically for *Sumptuousness and Pomp*; which is a Sense that could not be put upon it till a long time after *Thespis*. For in the Infancy of Tragedy, there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the Stage; no Scenes, nor Pictures, nor Machines, nor rich Habits for the Actors; which, after they were introduced there, gave the sole occasion to the Metaphor. For the first Scene was made by *Agatharchus* for one of *Æschylus*'s Plays, as, (f) *Vitruvius* tells us; *Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, & de ea commentarium reliquit*. This *Agatharchus* was a Painter, who learn'd the Art by himself without any Master; as *Olympiodorus* says in his MS. Commentary on *Plato's Phædo*, *Τεχνολογία πρὸς αὐτοδιδάκτοι Ηράκλειτον ὁ Αἰγύπτιον μαθητής. . . Φήμι, Ἀγαθάρχης ὁ γεγραμμένος*. For it's most probable he means the same *Agatharchus*, that made *Æschylus*'s Scene for him. And that all the other Ornaments were first brought in by *Æschylus*, we have the unanimous Testimony of all Antiquity. Now the first Play that *Æschylus* made was at Olymp. LXX, and the last at Olymp. LXXX; and in what part of this XL years Interval he invented

(f) *Vitruv.*  
*Præf. Lib.*  
vii.

vented those Ornaments for Pomp and Show, we cannot now tell. But suppose, if you please, that he invented them at the very first Play; and that the Metaphor, that makes *Τεργασία* signifie Pomp, came immediately into use upon the sight of them; neither of which are at all probable: yet even still it will be above *CLX* years after the time of the true *Zaleucus*.

VI. The last Argument that I shall offer against the Laws of *Zaleucus*, is this, That the Preface of them, which *Stobæus* has produc'd, is written in the Common Dialect, as the old Grammarians have call'd it, whereas it ought to be in *Doric*; for That was the Language of the *Locri Epizephyrii*, as it appears from the Treatise of *Timæus* the *Locrian*, extant in *Plato*; and from the Epigrams of *Nossis*. I do not know, that it has yet been observ'd, that this *Nossis* was a *Locrian*; and therefore I shall make bold to give an Epigram or two of hers, which will shew at once both her Country and her Dialect.

Ω ξῶν', εἰ πύ γ' ἔπης ποτὶ καλλίχρον Μιτυλάναν,  
 Τᾶν Σαπφῆς χερίτων ἄνδρος ἱναυσόμενθ',  
 Εἰπαῖν, ὡς Μύσαισι φίλα, τίνεσσι Λόκριασσα  
 Τίκτεν ἴσαις, ὅτι δ' οἱ τένομα Νόσις· ἴδι.

So this Epigram is to be read, which is faulty in *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Stephanus*; and the meaning of it is, that *Nossis* addresseth herself to a Traveller, and desires him, if ever he go to *Mitylene*, where *Sappho* was born, to say, That a *Locrian* Woman writ Poems like hers, and that her name was *Nossis*. *ἴσαις* is the Accusative *Doric* and *Eolic* for *ἴσας*, i. e. *χαίτας*. And that this is the true sense of it, will be further evident from another Epigram of hers, not pub-



lish'd before, where she celebrates the *Locrians* her Countrymen.

Ἐντα Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἀφ' αἰνομόρων βάλλον ὤμων,

Θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὑπ' ὠκυμάχων.

Ἦν ἀρετῶν ὑμνεύοντα, θεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορα κόνται.

Οὐδὲ ποτιῦντι κακῶν πέχας, ὅς ἔλιπον.

The Import of which is, That the *Locrians* had obtain'd a Victory over the *Brutians* their Neighbors; and had hung up in the Temples of the Gods those Shields they had taken; which now did not desire to return to those Cowards that wore them before. And by this we may have some Discovery of *Nossis's* Age, which hitherto has been thought uncertain; for the *Βρέντιοι* or *Βρέηιοι*, whom she speaks of here, were not form'd into a Body, nor call'd by that Name, (g) till Olymp. cvi, 1. in *Dionysius* the Younger's time. She cannot therefore be more ancient than Olymp. cvi; but that she was a little younger, is plain from her (h) Epigram upon the Tomb of *Rhintho* the *Tarentine*, or as she calls him, the *Syracusan* her Contemporary, who lived in the time of (i) the first *Ptolemee*, about Ol. cxiv. Her Mother's name was *Theophilis* the Daughter of *Cleocha*; as another Epigram of her's taught me, yet unpublish'd:

Ἦεν τιμήεσσι, Λακείνιον αἶ τὸ θυῶδες

Πολλάκις ἔχρανόθεν νικημένα καυοῖς,

Δίξαι βύσσινον ἔμα, τί περ μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγναῖς

Νοσίδος ὕφανεν Θεοφίλις αἶ Κλεόχης.

In the MS it is *Θεοφίλης*. And we may observe, that even this too confirms it, that she was a *Locrian*; because she speaks of *Λακείνιον*: for the famous Temple of *Juno Lacinia* was not far from *Locri*, in the Neighborhood of *Crotone*. She had a Daughter call'd *Melinna*, as another

MS

(g) *Diod. p.*  
418.

*Strabo, p.*

255.

*Justin,*

xxiii, 1.

(h) *Anthol.*

iii, 6.

(i) *Suid.*

Πίνθ.

MS Epigram seems to shew; though it's possible, she may mean there another's Daughter, and not her Own; however it deserves to be put here, for its singular Elegancy :

Αυτομήλιννα τίπνεται ἰδ' ὡς ἀγανδὴν τὴν πρόσωπον

Ἄμὲ ποτοπῆάζειν μελιχρῶς δοκίει.

Ὡς ἐπύμῳς θυγατρὸς τῆς ματίει πάντα ποτῶμαι

Ἡ καλὸν, ὅκα πῆλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσσι.

Αυτομήλιννα, that is, *Melinna her self*, not her Picture; 'tis so exactly like her: so αὐτοζωή, αὐτοαλήθεια. In the MS it's αἶμα, but the true Reading is αἶμα, *Doric* for ἐμί. For ποτῶμαι the MS has it προσώμαι; but I have chang'd πρὸς into the *Doric* Preposition ποτῆ. From the Preterperfect Tense of Verbs the *Dorians* form a Present, as from δίδουκα they make δίδωμαι; from δέδουκα, δεδύκω. So that from προσ-έοικα, *to be like*, as a Picture's like the Original, our Female Poet forms ποτ-εοίκα; and then contracts it ποτῶμαι. So much was necessary to be said, to make this Epigram intelligible. I return now to the *Locrian* Dialect, which a *Locrian* Song, Λοκικὸν ᾠσμα, in (k) *Athenæus* sufficiently proves (k) *Athen.* to be the *Doric*. p. 697.

Μὴ πρὸς αἶμα ἱκετεύω πρὶν καὶ μολὼν κείνον, ἀνίστω

Μὴ κακὸν μῆλα ποιήσης καὶ με τιμὴν δειλάκρην.

Αμῖκα καὶ ἤδη τί φῶς, διὰ τὰς θυεῖδ' ἔκ ἐκ ἐσθλῆς;

So this Passage ought to be read, and the Version should be thus :

*Ne prodas me, obsecro: prius quam Ille veniat, surge.*

*Sunt verba mulieris ad mœchum suum, Ut surgere velit, priusquam Vir domum redeat & ipsum deprendat.*

And 'tis now apparent, what good reason *Athenæus* had to call the *Locrian* Songs *μοιχικοί*:

and we cannot doubt but he means the *Locrians* (l) *Athen.* of *Italy*; if we consider (l) what account he gives p. 516. of the Women of that place. And now to bring

this Argument to a conclusion : since it evidently appears, that the *Locrian* Language was *Doric*; without all question the Laws of that City were written in that Dialect, as certainly as *Solon's* Laws at *Athens* were written in *Attic*. These of *Zaleucus* therefore are commentitious, because they are not in *Doric*. Unless Mr. B. will be as zealous for *his King Zaleucus*, as he is for *his Prince Phalaris*; and contend that the *King's* Laws were *transdialected*, as well as the *Prince's* Epistles.

I. This Metaphor of *Τεργύδια* for Solemnity and Pomp invites me to step out of my way a little, and to consider the Laws ascribed to *Charondas*; for we have there too the very same Metaphor. (m) *Diodorus* speaks prolixly of these Laws, and the Proœmia of them are recorded in (n) *Stobæus*; where among others we have this, *That a man who is a Slave to Riches ought to be despised, as one of a mean Spirit, καὶ καταπληθόμενος ἀπὸ κτημάτων πολυτελῶν καὶ βίῃ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ*, since he's smitten so much with Wealth, and a sumptuous and pompous Life. This, as I observ'd already, is the very same figure of Speech with that in *Zaleucus*, and is borrow'd from the costly and gawdy Ornaments of the Stage. Now the Laws of the *Thurians* were made at Olymp. LXXXIV; which was the time when that Colony was planted: but I hardly think, that this Metaphor of *Τεργύδια* for Magnificence and Pomp was so early in use, as Olymp. LXXXIV. At that time *Æschylus* was newly dead, *Sophocles* was in his Prime at LIV years of Age, and *Euripides* had just enter'd upon the Province of Tragedy. Now the last of these Poets was so far from giving occasion to this Metaphor by the rich Ornaments of

(m) *Diod.*  
p. 79, to  
84.

(n) *Stob.*  
Serm. 42.



of his Scenes and Actors, that he was noted for the quite contrary way, as introducing his Heroes in mere Rags. So *Aeschylus* accuses him in (o) *Aristophanes's Ranae* ;

ὦ πωλοποιεῖς καὶ βακχοσὺρραπιδῶν.

(o) *Arist.*  
*Ran* p.164.

And the Comedian himself in another (p) of (p) *id. A-*  
his Plays most pleasantly rallies him upon the *ckarn. p.*  
same account ; and reckons up Five of his shabby 279, 280.

Heroes, that gave names to as many of his Tragedies, *Oeneus*, *Phœnix*, *Philoctetes*, *Bellerophon-*  
*tes*, *Telephus*. 'Tis true, it appears from this very ridiculing of *Euripides*, that the other Tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing Beggars upon the Stage : but however even the Persons that They introduc'd were not clad so very gorgeously, as to make Tragedy become a Metaphor for *Sumptuousness*. For Money was

at that time a scarce Commodity in *Greece*, especially (q) at *Athens*, and the people were frugal ; (q) *Cic.*  
so that they had not much to lay out upon Or- *Tuscul. v.*  
naments for the Stage ; nor much inclination, 32.

had they had it. Nay we are sure, that for a hundred years after the beginning of the *Thurian* Government, the Expense and Furniture of Tragedy was very moderate: for *Demosthenes* in his Action against *Midias*, (r) which was made O- (r) *Dionys.*  
lymp. cvii, 4, has inform'd us, that the Charge *Halic. de*  
of a *Tragic Chorus* was MUCH LESS than that of *Demost.*  
the *Chorus of Musicians*, which usually perform'd too at the same Festivals of *Bacchus*. *Τραγῳδοῖς*,

(s) says he, καχεῖν καὶ ποτε ἔτ'· ἐγὼ δ' Αὐληταῖς (s) *Demost.*  
ἀνδράσι. Καὶ ὅτι τὸ τοῦ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τ' δαπάνης *c. Midiam.*  
πολλῷ πλεόν ὄντι, ἐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δύναι. i. e. *Midias* p. 362.

was once the Furnisher of a *Tragic Chorus* ; but I, of a *Chorus of Musicians* : and there's no body but knows that the Expense of this is MUCH GREATER

than the Charge of that. And yet the Cost even of a Music Chorus was no very great matter; as we gather from this, that *Demosthenes* alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. 'Tis true, he magnifies it as much as he can, and questions whether he should call it (t) *Generosity* or *Madness* in himself, to undertake an Expense above his Estate and Condition: but we ought to receive this as a Cast of his Rhetoric; for to be sure, he would never undo himself, by taking an Office, which no body forc'd upon him. But another Orator, *Lysias*, a little ancients than he, has given us a punctual account of the several Expenses of the Stage. (u) When Theopompus, says he, was Archon (Olymp. xcii. 2.) I was Furnisher to a Tragic Chorus, and I laid out xxx Minæ. Afterwards I got the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and it cost me xx Minæ. When Glaucippus was Archon (Olymp. xcii. 3.) I laid out viii Minæ upon the Pyrrhichists. Again I won the Victory with the Chorus of Men, and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended 1 Minæ. And when Diocles was Archon (Olymp. xcii. 4.) I laid out upon the Cyclian Chorus iii Minæ. Afterwards, when Alexias was Archon (Olymp. xciii. 4.) I furnish'd a Chorus of Boys, and it cost me above xv Minæ. And when Euclides was Archon (Olymp. xciv. 2.) I was at the charge of xvi Minæ upon the Comedians, and of vii upon the young Pyrrhichists. Now an Attic Mina being equivalent to three Pounds of English Money, it is plain from this Passage of *Lysias*, that the whole charge of a Tragic Chorus did but then amount to xc Pounds Sterling. By the way, I

(t) *Ibid.*  
p. 336.

(u) *Lysias*  
in *Απολ.*  
*Δωδεκά-*  
*α.*

(x) P. 54.

shall correct a fault in the Orator *Isæus*. (x)  
Οὐτὸ γὰρ τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγίους, τίταςθ  
ἐγένετο

ἐγένετο, τραγωδίας ὃ καὶ πυρρίταις ὕστατον. Correct it, τίταρτον ἐγένετο τραγωδίας, καὶ πυρρίταις ὕστατον. This man, says he, being to furnish out Chorus's at the Festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly; that in the Tragic Chorus he came but the fourth, and in the Pyrrichists he was last of all. And now I refer it to the Reader, whether considering this true account of the small charge of a Tragic Chorus, even in *Lysias* and *Demosthenes's* time, he can think it probable, that at the LXXXIVth Olympiad the Tragic Ornaments were so famous for their Richness, as to give Rise to the Metaphor of *Τραγωδία* for Sumptuousness: especially in *Italy*, where perhaps at that time no Tragedy had ever been acted. I must own, it seems to me a very unlikely thing, that this Metaphor should so quickly obtain even in common Conversation; much less be admitted into a Body of Laws, where the Language ought to be plain and proper; and where any Metaphor at all makes but a very bad Figure, especially a new one, as this must needs be then, which perhaps could not be understood at first hearing by one half of the Citizens. 'Tis true, when Tragedy was propagated from *Athens* into the Courts of Princes, the Splendor of the Tragic Chorus was exceedingly magnificent; as at *Alexandria* and *Rome*, &c. which gave occasion to that Complaint of *Horace's*, That the Show of Plays was so very gawdy, that few minded the Words of them.

Hor. Ep.  
ii, 1.

Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, & artes  
Divitiæque peregrinae: quibus oblitus Actor  
Cum stetit in scena, concurrat dextera laeva.  
Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane. quid placet ergo?  
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

And in another place he says, the Tragic Actor was,

Regali



Id. in Arte  
Poet.

*Regali conspectus in Auro nuper & Ostro.*

'Tis no wonder therefore, that in those Ages *Τραγῳδία* might be used metaphorically to signify Riches and Splendor; and so *Philo* and *Lucian*, and some others use it: but I do not find any example of it within a whole Century of the Date of *Charondas's* Laws.

II. But this Objection will be much more considerable, if *Charondas* really lived before the Original of the *Thurian* Government, and even before *Aeschylus* himself the first Inventor of Tragic Ornaments: for it will then be of equal force against *Charondas's* Laws, as against those of *Zaleucus*.

(y) *Theodoret. c. Græc. Serm. 9.*

*Theodoret* tells us, (y) That *Charondas* is said to have been the first Law-maker of Italy and Sicily. And if this be true, he must be Senior to *Zaleucus* himself, and before the very name of Tragedy; much more before the use of this Metaphor taken from it. Or if we allow

(z) In *Aristot. Pol. ii, 12.*

of Their reckoning, (z) that make *Charondas* the Scholar of *Zaleucus*; it's more than enough to our present purpose: for they supposed his Master *Zaleucus* to have been Contemporary with *Lycurgus* the Spartan: by which account they must place *Charondas* ccc years before *Thespis*. Nay even according to *Eusebius*, *Zaleucus's* Laws bear Date above cc years before the Founding of *Thurii*; and above c before the Original of Tragedy. But we have a better Authority than these: I mean *Heraclides* in his Book of Governments; who informs us, (a) That the Rhegians

(a) *Heraclid. de Polit. Nόμους ἐξ ὧν τοῖς Χαράνδου κατὰ νάιν.*

of Italy were govern'd by an Aristocracy; for a thousand men, chosen out according to their Estates, manag'd every thing: and their Laws were those of *Charondas* the Catanian: but *Anaxilas* the Messanian, made himself Tyrant there. Which account

count is confirmed in the main by *Aristotle*, when he says, (b) *The Oligarchy of Rhegium was chang'd into a Tyranny by Anaxilas*. Here I conceive *Heraclides* has very plainly asserted, that *Charondas's* Laws were made before the time of *Anaxilas*: but we are sure (c) this *Anaxilas* died at Ol. LXXVI, 1. after he had reigned at *Rhegium* and *Messana* XVIII years at the least, which com- mence from Olymp. LXXI, 3. Now the first Vi- ctory, that *Æschylus* won at the Stage, was at Olymp. LXXIII, 3. and we may fairly suppose, because he never got the Prize till then, that he had not invented Scenes and Machins and the o- ther Ornaments before. If *Charondas's* Laws therefore were made but the very year that *Anax- ilas* usurp'd the Government; yet they are old- er by VIII years than the original of Tragical Scenes. But without question, *Charondas's* Form of Government had been a good while in *Rhegi- um*, before *Anaxilas* subverted it: for the City had been built then cc years; and the very ac- count in *Heraclides* clearly implies, that the A- ristocracy was of some Continuance.

III. And if this be allow'd, we may safely in- fer, that *Charondas* was no THURIAN; as some of the later Authors call him, (e) *Valerius Max- imus*, and (f) *Themistius*, and particularly *Dio- dorus*, where speaking of the founding of the Ci- ty *Thurii*, he says, (g) the *Thurians* chose *Cha- rondas*, ὁ ἀεὶς καὶ σοφιστὴς, the best and wisest of the Citizens, to draw up a Body of Laws for them. For since he made Laws a considerable time before *Anaxilas's* Tyranny, Olymp. LXXI, he could hardly be alive still at *Thurii* Olymp. LXXXIV, which was L years after. And indeed, there's not one of the old Writers, that I know of, who

(b) *Arist.*  
Pol. v, 12.

(c) See  
here Sect.  
iv.

(d) *Marm.*  
*Arund.*

(e) *Val.*  
*Max.* vi, 5.

(f) *The-*  
*mist.* Orat.  
xiv. Καὶ

τὸ θοῦρον  
καρὰντα.

(g) *Diod.*  
p. 79.

(b) Plato  
Polit. x.  
Ἰταλία ὁ  
Σικελία.

(i) See  
Scymnus  
Chius, and  
others.

(k) Strabo  
p. 529.

who either says he was a *Thurian*, or that he made Laws for the *Thurians*. Plato tells us, (b) *That Italy and Sicily profited by the Laws of Charondas*, but the Cities he does not name. We must learn those of his Scholar *Aristotle*, who expresses himself more particularly, *That Charondas the Catanian, gave Laws to his own City and the other Chalcidic Cities in Italy and Sicily*. Now the *Chalcidic Towns in Sicily* were (i) *Zancle, Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Eubæa, Mylæ, Himera, Callipolis*: in *Italy* there was *Rhegium*; and if any other I know not. But that neither *Thurii* nor *Sybaris* before it, is a *Chalcidic Colony*, is most certain. *Heraclides* therefore agrees with his Master *Aristotle*; where he tells us, as we have cited before, *That Charondas was a Catanian, and Lawgiver to the Rhegians*. Now what could be the reason of this difference between all the Old and some of the Later Writers; but that in the interval of time between them, which was about ccc years, these pretended Laws of *Charondas* came abroad, as directed to the *Thurians*, and calling him a *Thurian*? But we see the true Laws of *Charondas*, which *Aristotle* and *Heraclides* had, were made for the *Chalcidic Towns*, not for *Thurii*. How could these be the Same then? Unless perhaps some may suppose, that the *Thurians* agreed to take the Laws of *Charondas*, which were ready made to their hands; (k) as those of *Mazaca* in *Cilicia* did: so that *Charondas's* Laws might be given at *Catana* and *Rhegium* a good while before Olymp. LXXI, and yet given too at *Thurii* at Olymp. LXXXIV, 1. This Supposition indeed may serve to shew, how *Charondas's* Laws might possibly be *Thurian*; but it cannot excuse *Diodorus* and the



the rest, who call *Charondas* himself a *Thurian*; since by this account he was dead before *Thurii* was ever heard of. But in the next place, what if I prove, that neither Himself, nor his Laws were received by the *Thurians*: then I humbly conceive, that Copy of them which *Diodorus* used, will be allowed to have been a Cheat

III. If we will take *Athenæus's* word, (l) *ZA-* (l) *Athen.* *LEUCUS* was Law-giver to the *Thurians*: though p. 508. a little before, (m) he had quoted a Law of his to (m) *Id. p.* the *Locrians*. Which is a sign, that he did not 429. out of ignorance mistake the one City for the other. By the *Thurians* here, he seems to understand the *Sybarites*, who were afterwards called *Thurians*: and we may suppose, that at their Settlement Olymp. LXXIV, they continued their old Constitution of Government, made at first by *Zaleucus*, for that the ancient *Sybarites* once used his Laws, appears from *Scymnus Chius*; who assigns this for one of the Causes of their Ruin, that they did not adhere to them:

(n) λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς μὴτε τοῖς νόμοις ἔτι

τοῖς τῷ Ζαλευκῷ τὰ πόλιν τε συντελεῖν.

(n) *Scym-*  
*nus Chius,*

v. 345.

And that the *Thurians* at their first Plantation received them again, though they refined and multiplied them even to excess, we may gather from *Ephorus*; (o) who speaking of *Zaleucus's* (o) *Strabo,* Laws, which he made for the *Locrians*, and p. 260. commending them for their Simplicity, But the *Thurians*, says he, afterwards aiming at exactness in every thing, grew more famous by it, but were worse govern'd. For the fairest Exposition of this Passage seems to be this, That the *Thurians* had once the Laws of *Zaleucus*, which afterwards they refined upon. And if we consider those Passages of *Athenæus* and *Scymnus*, it may pass too for the Truest.

IV. But

IV. But however, whether *Zaleucus's* Laws were receiv'd or not by the *Thurians*; those of *Charondas* we may justly believe were not, by the accounts we have of both His and Theirs.

(p) *Stob.* There's a large (p) Fragment of *Theophrastus's* *Serm.* 48. (I suppose, out of his Tracts about Laws) which gives us some Notices about the *Thurian* Laws

(q) *Oi* concerning Buying and Selling. (q) *The Buyer* *Θερακοί*, was to give Earnest to the Seller presently, and a piece of Money to Three of the next Neighbours,

(r) *Ἐν τοῖς Θερίων τῷ μὲν ἀρραβῶνα ὄραχῆμα, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν αὐθήμερον.*

(s) *Σπέρησις τῷ ἀρραβῶνι· ὅπως δὲ οἱ Θερακοί.*

(t) *Ἐκλίσις ὅση ἀν' ἀποδῶται· καὶ δὲ τὸτο ἐν τοῖς Θερίων ἢ ἀνισθὲς ζήμια.*

(u) *Χαρώνδας καὶ Πλάτωνος ὄραχῆμα καλεῖται διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν· ἐάν τις πσεύσῃ, μὴ εἶδεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αἰτίον εἶδεν τῆς ἀδικίας.*

that they might remember and bear witness of the Bargain: (r) and then the same Day he was to pay the whole Price, and if he fail'd to pay it, (s) he lost his Earnest. And if the Seller did not stand to his Bargain, (t) he lost as much Money as the Thing was sold for: which, says *Theophrastus*, was a very unequal penalty; that the Buyer should forfeit the Earnest only, and the Seller the whole Price: the one being so much more than the other. But (u) *Charondas* and *Plato*, says he, went another way to work; for they enact, That all Buying and Selling shall be with ready Payment: and if any man trust, it shall be at his own peril. The Law shall give him

no remedy if he's cheated; for by Trusting he brought the Cheat upon himself. Now that *Theophrastus* reports this truly of *Plato*, it appears from *Plato* himself in the xi Book of his Laws; where this very Order about Buying and Selling is still extant. We may fairly suppose therefore, that *Theophrastus* is as exact in what he says of *Charondas*.

*Charondas.* And I conceive it's as plain here, that *Charondas's* Laws were different from the *Thurians*; as that Ready Payment is different from Giving Earnest and being Trusted. The Passage of *Theophrastus* is both faulty in the Original, and mistaken by the Interpreter; but the Reader may easily see, how it ought to be corrected and translated, by the places I have cited in the Margin.

V. We have very good Evidence, that the Form of Government which *Charondas's* Laws were adapted to, was an Aristocracy or Oligarchy. (x) *Many of those Law-givers*, says *Aristotle*, *that design to establish Aristocracies, mistake themselves.* Then he reckons up Five Artifices, by which they impose upon the People: and to One of them he adds, "Ὡςπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρόνδα νόμοις, *As it is in the Laws of Charondas*: and he concludes the whole with this, Ταῦτα μὲν ὀλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας, *These are Oligarchical Artifices in making of Laws.* This passage is a most plain intimation of what I asserted above: but *Heraclides* says it down right in his Account of the *Rhegians*, (y) *who formed themselves*, says he, *into an Aristocracy, being govern'd by χίλιοι, a Thousand of the wealthiest Citizens, and using the Laws of Charondas.* Add the other places of *Aristotle*, where he says, (z) *The Rhegian Government was changed from an Oligarchy to a Tyranny by Anaxilas*; nay, and (a) *that the Thurian Government was ὀλιγαρχικώτερον a sort of Oligarchy*: and then I suppose this Point will be sufficiently prov'd. But *Diodorus* from the Copy of *Charondas* which he used, represents the Constitution to be a *Democracy*: as when he says, (b) *A man that proposed a New Law, must have* (b) *Diod.*  
a Rope p. 82.

(x) *Aristot.*  
*Pol.* iv, 12,  
13.

(y) *Heraclid.*  
*de Polit.*

(z) *Aristot.*  
*Pol.* v, 12.

(a) *Ibid.*  
v. 7.



- Rope about his Neck, till ὁ ΔΗΜΟΣ the PEOPLE determined for or against it: and again, (c) That a Woman without any Fortune, κατέφυγεν εἰς τὸ ΔΗΜΟΝ, appealed to the PEOPLE, (d) and the PEOPLE οὗτος ὁ ΔΗΜΟΣ voted to make a new Law for her: and lastly, (e) That a Blind Man advised τοῖς ΠΛΗΘΕΣΙ the MULTITUDE to alter a Law: add to these his exprefs Declaration, that (f) the Thuri-ans form'd Πολίτευμα ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ a Democratical Government; and then I suppose it will appear very probable, That Diodorus's Copy of Charondas's Laws was not the same with that of Aristotle and Heraclides.

- (g) Aristot. VI. Charondas, (g) says Aristotle, had ἑνὶ ἰ-  
 Pol. ii, 12. σον nothing peculiar in his Laws, except One. On the contrary, Diodorus tells us from His Copy, (h) That he had πολλὰ ἰδια, many things peculiar; and reckons half a score of them: and yet that Single thing observ'd by Aristotle does not appear among them. Does not this look as if the Laws they speak of were quite different? This is One shrewd suspicion, that Diodorus's Copy was not genuine. But let us consider the Philosopher's words, Χαράνδρ' ἰδίον μὲν ἑνὶ ὅσῃν, πλὴν αἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ΨΕΥΔΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ· πρῶτον δὲ ἐποίησεν τὴν ΕΠΙΣΚΕΨΙΝ. So the passage is read in the common Editions, and the Interpreter translates it, *Primus his de rebus accurate consideravit*: which is quite beside the Sense of the Author. There are two Faults in the Greek, that must first be corrected, before we can come at the right meaning. First for ψευδομαρτύρων we must read ψευδομαρτυριῶν: because δίκη is joined with the Name of the Things, and not of the Persons; as δίκη ἀσβετίας, ἀγάμης, ὀβριγμῆς, &c. not δίκη ἀσβετῶν, ἀγάμων, ὀβριγμῶν. (i) Demosthenes con-  
 t. 3

*tra Energum*: Ταῖς δίκαις τῷ ψευδομαρτυριῶν. (k) I. (k) P. 38.  
*sem*, Τὴν τῷ ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην ἡγωνίζετο. And  
again, (l) Ἡ τῷ ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη εἰσῆς. 'Tis a (l) P. 52.  
fault therefore in the same Orator, where we  
read (m) Τὴν τῷ ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκην ἁλόμην; and in (m) P. 38.  
*Pollux* (n) Κατὰ τῷ ψευδὲ μαρτυριῶν δίκην, ὃ καὶ (n) *Pollux*  
ἐπισκήψαται καὶ αἰμαρτυριῶν ἐλέγχο; we must correct viii, 6.  
it, ἐπισκήψαται ψευδομαρτυριῶν: as the excellent  
MS. of the late Learned *Isaac Vossius* has it. The  
other fault in *Aristotle* is ἐπισκεψις; the true E-  
mendation of which is ἐπισκηψις, which signifies  
an Action at Law against False Witnesses. For  
if a man was cast in a Trial by false Testimony,  
he might enter his Plea to have another Trial to  
prove the Witnesses perjur'd. *Charondas* there-  
fore, according to *Aristotle*, first ordain'd this  
'Επισκηψις: and if we could know the first Date  
of it, we might then arrive at the true Age of  
*Charondas*. The *Athenian* Orators often men-  
tion this 'Επισκηψις as a Law in force at *Athens*;  
so *Demosthenes*, *Isæus*, (o) *Lysias*, and out of (o) *Lysias*  
them the Lexicographers, *Pollux*, *Harpocration*, c. *Pamphilo*-  
*Suidas*, *Etymolog*. But whether it was one of *nom*.  
*Solon's* Laws, or at what time made after his  
Death, I am not able to tell. But there's a  
probability, that it was made before the Found-  
ing of *Thurii*, rather than after. For *Lysias*, and  
who in his youth was one of that Colony that  
founded *Thurii*, speaks we see of this 'Επισκηψις,  
and without any hint, that it was a New Law.  
And He return'd from *Thurii* to *Athens* at Ol.  
xcii, 1. Take the Middle therefore between  
the Institution of *Solon's* Laws Olymp xlvi, 3.  
and the Pleadings of *Lysias*; and it will fall up-  
on Olymp. lxxix, 2. which is 119 years before  
the founding of *Thurii*. So much odds are there,  
B b that

that the *Ἐπίστασις* was enacted at *Athens* before *Thurii* was founded; and consequently that *Charondas* the first Author of the *Ἐπίστασις* was more ancient than that Colony; and by consequence that the Copy of his Laws, which *Diodorus* used, was supposititious.

VII The Case of *Charondas* in *Stobæus* is the very Reverse of *Zaleucus*'s: for he has made *Zaleucus* write his Laws in the Common Dialect, who as a *Locrian* ought to have used the *Doric*; and he has introduced *Charondas* in the *Doric* Dialect, who either as a *Catanian* or a *Thurian* would more probably have used another. For *Catana* and the other Cities, that *Aristotle* says he gave Laws to, were *Chalcidic*, that is, *Ionic* Colonies: and the *Thurians*, whose Lawgiver he was according to *Diodorus*, were a mixture indeed of several Nations, but principally

(p) *Diod.* *Attic.* (p) *Diodorus* says, That *Lampon* and  
2. 77, 78. *Xenocritus*, both of *Athens*, were *Κῆσαι* the  
Founders of *Thurii*: and that when the *Sybarites*  
sent to *Sparta* and *Athens* to desire a Colony,  
the *Spartans* refused them; but the *Athenians*  
undertook it, giving leave to any of the *Peloponnesians* to share with them if they pleased.

(q) *Plut. v.* (q) *Plutarch* also ascribes the Colony to the  
*Lyfie &* *Athenians*; (r) and names one *Hiero* an *Atheni-*  
*v. Periclis.* an for the Founder. (f) *Dionysius Halicarn.* attri-  
(r) *Idem.* butes it to the *Athenians* and the rest of *Greece*;  
*v. Nicia.* making the *Athenians* to be the Principal. 'Tis  
(f) *Dio-* true indeed, (r) *Scymnus Chius* makes *Thurii* a  
*v. Ly-* Colony of the *Achæans*; but this can hardly be  
*file.* true, unless we understand it of *Sybaris*, which  
(r) *Scym-* was afterwards called *Thurii*: for That indeed  
*nic v. 325.* was an *Achæan* Colony. (u) *Diodorus* adds,

(u) *Diod.* That at *Olymp.* LXXXVI, 3. Ten years after the  
p. 93. first



first Settlement, the *Thurians* debated whose Colony they were, and who should be call'd their Founder. The *Athenians* claim'd it, because (x) the greatest Number of Inhabitants came from *Athens*: but those of *Peloponnesus* oppos'd it, because many came from thence too. At last they agreed to send to *Delphi*, that the Oracle might determine the Point; and they were answer'd, That *Apollo* himself was to be counted their Founder: and so the matter ended, no Nation pretending to that Honour. But however, that the *Athenians* had the greatest Party and strongest Interest there, appears doubly; both (y) because in the *Athenian* Invasion of *Sicily*, the *Thurians* adhered to the *Athenians* against the *Sicilians* and *Spartans*; and because the (z) *Thurian* Money had a *Pallas's* Head with a Helmet, exactly like the *Attic*. I am not ignorant, that after the Defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, Ol. xci, 4. the *Thurians* too among the rest of their Confederates, deserted them; (a) and ccc *Athenians* were banished from the Colony. But the Laws of *Charondas*, as *Diodorus* relates, were made upon the first Establishment there, above xxx Years before that Overthrow: and I leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if at that time the great Number and Power of the *Athenians* at *Thurii* do not make it more probable, That their Laws, if then made, would have been in the *Attic* Dialect rather than the *Doric*.

VIII. There's a very odd Passage in *Stephanus Byzantius*; (b) Ἀπὸ τοῦ Καλάνος Χαρωνδᾶς, ὁ δὲ διδόνμεθ' ἔν Αἰνῶσι νομοθετῶν, Of Catana was *Charondas*, that celebrated Lawgiver at Athens: and another in *Suidas* more odd than that; Νομοθετᾷ παρ' Αἰνῶσι πρῶτον ἐγένετο Δεγκίων, καὶ

μὲν τῶτον Σόλωνα, καὶ μὲν τῶτον Θαλῆς, καὶ μὲν τῶτον Αἰ-  
 σχύλῳ, *The Lawgivers to the Athenians were*  
*first Draco, then Solon, then Thales, and then*  
*Æschylus.* What shall we say to these Passages?  
 we must own there were many Νομοδῆται Makers  
 of Laws at Athens after Solon's time; but yet I  
 can hardly believe, that Charondas, and Thales,  
 and Æschylus are to be reckon'd of that number.  
 As for Suidas, I am persuaded, that for Αἰσχύλος,  
 the true Reading is Ζάλευκος: so that putting  
 a full stop after Νομοδῆται, as it is in the Para-  
 graph just before, the meaning of Suidas will be  
 thus: LAWGIVERS. *The first was Draco at A-*  
*thens; after him Solon, after him Thales, after*  
*him Zaleucus.* Where he does not assert, that  
 Thales and Zaleucus were Athenian Lawgivers;  
 but only that their Laws were more recent  
 than Draco's and Solon's. We have seen already  
 from Aristotle, (c) how some maintain'd that  
 Zaleucus was Thales's Scholar; meaning Thales  
 the Cretan, who was almost ccc Years before So-  
 lon's time: but Suidas, or his Author, confound-  
 ing Thales the Cretan with the Philosopher  
 Thales the Milesian, has by consequence put him  
 after Solon. This perhaps may be no unlikely  
 account of the Passage of Suidas: but the other  
 of Stephanus is very hard to make out. For e-  
 ven Plato and Aristotle forbid us to allow of the  
 Vulgar Reading, Ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι; for speaking of  
 this Charondas, (d) they make him Lawgiver in  
 some Towns of Sicily and Italy; but say not one  
 word of his Laws at Athens. Add to this, that  
 ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, which all the Editions and MSS. seem  
 to agree in, is not Greek: for they ever say,  
 Ἀθήνῃσι without the Præposition; as they will  
 find, who please to examin it. These things  
 seem

(c) See here  
P.

(d) P. . .

seem to warrant a Conjecture; that *Hermolaus* the Epitomizer of *Stephanus*, or some of his Copiers, mistook, and put ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι for ἐν Σαλαμίᾳ. And yet on the other side, that *Charondas's* Laws were famous at least, if not in force, at *Athens*, we have a good Authority, (e) *Hermippus* in his Treatise Of Lawgivers; who informs us, <sup>(e) Athen. p. 619.</sup> That *Charondas's* Laws used to be sung at *Athens* <sup>Ερμιπ. π. 619.</sup> over a glass of Wine, *Ἰδόντες Ἀθήνησιν οἱ Χαρώνδου νόμοι παρ' οἶνον.* For the very Title of the Book <sup>Νόμοι</sup> shews, that *NOMOI* here do not signify Songs and Tunes, as *Ὀλύμπιοι νόμοι*, *Μαρσύου νόμοι*, but really Laws. Now *Aristotle* puts a Problem, (f) *Why* <sup>(f) Arist. Prob. XIX. 28.</sup> are Tunes called *Νόμοι*? and he answers, *Is it, because before the use of Letters, men sung their Laws, that they might not forget them? as the custom continues yet among the Agathyrsi.* Which Passage I think will go a great way towards putting an end to our debate about *Charondas*. For if Laws were sung before the knowledge of Letters, as *Aristotle* says; and if *Charondas's* Laws were sung at *Athens*, as *Hermippus* says: then the consequence seems fair and natural; that they were first sung at *Athens*, before the Date of *Solon's* or *Draco's* Laws, which were written upon wooden Tables, and fixed up for the public view. And by this account *Charondas's* Laws must be sung cc years before the very naming of *Thurii*. Besides this, we may justly infer, that his Laws were written in some sort of Verse, or tunable Measure: for otherwise how they should be sung over Wine, I do not understand. And to confirm us in this suspicion, there's a passage in *Strabo*, of which his Learned Commentator has said nothing; but from this View it will be plain and <sup>(g) Strabo. p. 539.</sup> casie. (g) *The Mazacenes of Cappadocia*, says



he, use the Laws of Charondas, αἰετούμενοι καὶ Νομοφῶν, and appoint some person to be their LAW-SINGER, who is among Them the Declarer of the Laws, as the Lawyers are among the Romans. Now how comes it to pass, that Charondas's Laws required a Law-Singer ΝΟΜΩΔΟΣ, a Word and Office never heard of but in this passage of Strabo? Unless there were something peculiar in them, that whereas other Laws were in Prose, They were in Verse, and to be sung by the People. To give an instance, how they might be sung at Athens; One of the Laws of Charondas, (b) as Diodorus says, was Περὶ τῆς Κακομιλίας About avoiding Ill Company: Now the Athenians had a Scolion or Catch which they used to sing παρ' οἶνον over a glass of Wine: (i)

(b) Diod.  
p. 79.

(i) Arist.  
Schol. p.  
356.  
Athen. p.  
695.

Ἀδμήτε λόγον, ὦ ταῦρε, μαθὼν τὴν ἀγαθὴν φίλει.  
Τῶν δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχε, γυνὴς ὅπ' δειλῶν ἐλίγη χάεις.  
The Measure of it is neglected in the vulgar Athenæus, but it's like that in Alcæus and Horace,

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite primis severis arborem.  
Μὴδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσεις πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω.

Now if instead of Ἀδμήτε λόγον, one should say thus;

Χαρώνδε νόμον, ὦ ταῦρε, μαθὼν τὴν ἀγαθὴν φίλει.  
he would have the very Law, that Diodorus speaks of, About evil Conversation. But we have One of his Laws really extant in Verse, though not of Charondas's own making, but of one of the Comic Poets:

(k) Diod. p.  
80.

(k) Τὸν νομοθέτην φασὶ Χαρώνδαν ἔν πνι  
Νομοθεσία πάντ' ἄλλα καὶ τυυπὴ λέγειν.  
Ὁ παῖσιν αὐτῷ μητρυσίαν ἐπιστάζων,  
Μήτ' εὐδοκίμειδω, μήτε μετεχέπω λόγῳ  
Παρά τοῖς πρῶτοις ὡς ἐτίσασκτον κακόν

Κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν θεσγμάτων πιποισμῶν.  
 "Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες γάρ, φησι, γήμας τὸ πρότερον,  
 Εὐήμερῶν κατὰ παυσον· εἴτ' ἔκ ἐπέτυχες,  
 Μανικὸν τὸ πῶθεν δευτέρας λαβεῖν πάλιν.

So these *Iambics* are to be read in *Diodorus*. In the common Editions the two first Verses are taken for Prose, and supposed to be *Diodorus's* words, not the Poets. But it's now evident, that they belong to the rest, and I have only chang'd ταῦτα into ταυτὴ for the sake of the Measure. Even the great (l) *Grotius* was in the common mistake, and believ'd them to be Prose; and upon that account, he alter'd the viith Verse thus, (l) *Grotii Excerpta ex Trag. Com p. 919.*

"Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες γὰρ τὸ πρότερον γήμας, φίλε;  
 because, I suppose, he could not apprehend what φησι belong'd to: but now it's plain, that it refers to *Charondas*. In the last Verse both the Editors of *Diodorus*, and *Grotius* too, admit of the vulgar reading, πῶθεν δευτέρας, the second Experiment: but at that rate, it is not true Greek; for λαβεῖν here will not bear a Genitive Case. I have corrected it therefore, πῶθεν δευτέρας, the Experiment of a second Wife. Well; if it appear probable from these several Particulars, that *Charondas's* Laws were drawn up in some kind of Verse or Measure fit to be sung: we need no other proof to detect the Imposture of *Stobæus's* Writer. For all the Fragments that are produced there, are flat and down-right Prose, without the least footsteps of poetical Measure. For example, this very Law, which we have now cited from the Comic Poet, is thus express'd in *Stobæus*. (m) Ὁ μητρυσὶν ἔτι- (m) *Stob. γαμῶν μὴ ἐυδοξείτω· ἀλλ' ὀνειδίζειτω, ὥς περ αἴπῳ· ὦν, Serm. εἰκαίας διατάσσεται. He that marries a second Wife* xlii.

to be Stepmother to his Children, let him be disgrac'd, as being the Author of his own Disquiet. This Law the Writer might meet with in the Poet cited above, or some other Author now lost; and therefore he inserted it into his Collection, to make the Cheat pass the more easily. But I appeal to those that are skill'd in the ancient Poetry; if there be any Musical Measure of any sort whatsoever in the words that he has given us. He seems to have heard too, that *Charondas's* Laws were used to be sung, as we have shewn from *Hermippus* and *Strabo*; he concludes therefore with this. Προσάσει δ' ὁ νόμος, διδάσκει τὰ νομοίμα τὰς πολίτας ἅπαντας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τὰς παιᾶνας λέγειν ᾧ ἂν προσάσει ὁ ἐσιτάς, ἵνα ἐμφυσῇται, ἐκείνῳ τὰ νομώματα: *The Law enjoins, that all the Citizens shall learn these Proœmis; and at their Feasts, some Person appointed by the Master of the Feast shall say them, after the Hymns are sung; that the Laws may become familiar to every body.* He is so far in the right indeed, that these Laws, that he has put upon us, are to be said, and not sung: for there's nothing of Harmony in them: nor do they need a *Law-singer*, Νομῳδός, as the true Laws of *Charondas* did: nor would the *Athenians* have sung These μετ' οἶνον at their Merriments; for the very Laws of *Solon* have as much of Tune and Verse in them. But the sagacious Reader may observe too a very odd and peculiar usage of the word Ἐμφυσῇται; which this Writer puts here to signify *being natural, as it were, and familiar.* And that we may not think it a fault of the Copier, there's the same word in the Page before, Ἐμφυσῇται ἐκείνῳ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ σπουδαιώτατον ἔσεται ἀρετῆς; *That the best and the most seminal Virtue may become natu-*  
*ral*



val to them : though in both places even common Syntax requires, that we should read it, *ἐμφορῶτας*. Now in all the Authors that I can think of, it has quite another meaning, *To be puffed up, and be proud*, from *φυσία*, *to blow* : but this mock *Charondas* believ'd it came from *φύσις*, *Nature* : which is mere Barbarism ; for the first Syll. ble of *φύσις* is short, and the first of *φυσία* long. This, with some other words, both in *Charondas* and *Zaleucus*, and the Matter too of each of them, makes me suspect the Author was no Native of Greece : but I do not pretend to determin that ; neither do I assert any thing positively on either side of this whole Debate about the two Law-givers. I rather desire to stand a Neuter, till the matter shall be decided by some abler Hand : and if I might have the Nomination, it should be He, whom the whole Learned World will allow to be the best able, his Excellency Mr. *Ezekiel SPANHEMIUS*.

I Return now to our Learned Examiner, and I find him still at his old work of Cavilling and Mistaking. He has spent two miserable Pages in ridiculing me, as he thinks, for saying *Empedocles* wrote an *Epic Poem* ; a Name which he thinks belongs to no Poems, but such as the *Ilias* and *Aeneis*. What will he say then to *Athenæus*, who calls *Archestratus's Gastronomica*, a small Poem about Fish and Cookery, an EPIC POEM. (n) *Ἐμπέδωκον* ὅ, says he, *τὴν ποίησιν* ? What (n) *Athen.* to (o) *Quintilian*, who among (EPICOS) the *Epics* P. 4. reckons *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Nicander* ? Is not (o) *Quint.* *Empedocles*, as much an *Epic*, as these are ? X. 1. What will he say to *Laertius*, *Plutarch*, and others, who usually say *Parmenides's Ἔμ*, and *Xeno-*

Xenophanes's *Ἐποποιίαν*, and the *Pythagorean's* *Χεῖρα Ἔμ*? What to Suidas, who says Orphen<sup>s</sup> wrote *Ὀδύππῳ Ἐπῳῶς*; and Timotheus about *Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, &c. Ἐπῳῶς*; and Tribonianus upon Ptolemee's Canon *Ἐπῳῶς*? Are not these Poems Philosophical, as well as Empedocles's?

(p) *Arist. Nicom. VII, 3.* But what will he say to (p) *Aristotle*, (q) *Plutarch* and (r) *Simplicius*, who expressly call Empedocles's Poems *ἘΠΗ*? For pray what difference between (q) *Plut. de Aud. Poet.* *Ἔμ* or *Ἐποποιία*, and *Ποίημα Ἐπικόν*? *Athenaus* (r) *Simplic. ad Phys. Arist. p. 7. & 258.* plainly shews us, that they have all the same Importance; for the same Poem of *Archestratus*, which in one place he calls *Ἐπικόν ποίημα*, in (f) another, he calls *Ἐποποιίαν*; and in a (t) third he calls the Author *Ἐποποιός*. But let us see Mr.

P. 45.

*B's* happy address in managing this Cavil. If the Dr. says he, has met with an account of Empedocles's writing an Epic Poem, he knows more of his Works than Laertius did, who was so absurd as to pass it over in silence. A noble Paragraph indeed, to come from such a Master of Sense and Style. If Laertius did not know of that Epic Poem, how was he absurd in not speaking of it? Mr. B. may please to explain this, who at least is answerable for the Language of his Book. But his Assistant perhaps that consulted Books for him, is to blame here for the Matter; and the next time that Mr. B. sees him, he may justly call him to account for deceiving him about Laertius. For that Author reckons up among other Poems of Empedocles's, (u) *ΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΙΣ*, The Expedition of Xerxes; which he afterwards calls *ΠΕΡΣΙΚΑ*. And I dare appeal to Mr. B. himself, if That was not an Epic Poem in his own sense of the Word. 'Tis true, Laertius adds, that Empedocles's Sister is reported to have burnt that

(u) *Laert. Emped.*

*Prof.*

that Poem. But that's nothing to the present point; for Mr. B. challenges me to produce any Voucher for *Empedocles's* writing an Epic Poem: and that I have now done. Nay if *Aristotle's* Copies do not deceive us, that Epic Poem was extant in His time, (x) for he quotes a fragment of it,

Ἄλφιτον ὕδατι κολλήσας

But I own, that for *Περσικοῖς*, I would there read *Φυσικοῖς*, as others have done before me; because the very same Fragment is quoted by him (y) in another place out of *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς*: and the very Sense of it, *A Paste made of Meal and Water*, shews it rather belongs to *Physics*, than to the Expedition of *Xerxes*.

But can the Dr. be so wretchedly ignorant, says Mr. B. as to think every large Copy of Hexameters is an Epic Poem? On whose side the wretched Ignorance lies, the present Age and Posterity will judge. But it's plain, Mr. B. supposes, that *Empedocles's Physics* were but a large Copy of Verses. And yet *Laertius* would have taught him, that those *Physics* consisted of 5000 Verses, which are above twice as many as are in all *Virgil's Georgics*. Nay they were divided into several Books; and *Simplicius* cites the FIRST and SECOND of them; (z) *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Φυσικῶν*, (a) *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς Φυσικῶν*. Mr. B. seems to have as false a Notion of *Empedocles's* ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ, Treatise of Expiations: for he compares it with *Theocritus's Pharmaceutria*; as if they resembl'd one another both in Bigness and in Subject. Now the one has but 166 Verses in it; and the other, as *Laertius* says, had 5000: is not Mr. B. then very exact in this first way of Comparison? As for the Subject of them,

(x) *Arist. Probl. XXI.*

22. *Εμπεδοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς.*

(y) *Meteor. 4.*

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(z) *Simplic. Phys. Arist. p 34.*  
(a) P. 86.

P. 46,  
47.



P. 47.

them, the *Pharmaceutria* of *Theocritus* is nothing but the Charms and Philtres of a Woman to make a man in love with her : and what is that to *Kaθαρμοὶ* the Expiations of *Empedocles* ? which were either the Lustrations of Cities and Countries from Plagues, Earthquakes, Prodigies ; or of private Persons from Diseases, Dreams, Murders : or rather (if Mr. B. say true, *That the Subject of that Treatise was in great measure drawn from the Pythagoreans*) the *Kaθαρμοὶ* must signify the Purification of the Mind in the *Pythagorean* way ; which *Hierocles*, *Jamblichus*, and others speak so much of. Mr. B. goes on, *That we have a large Fragment of His directed to the people of Agrigent his Townsmen ; so that the Subject was no higher, than an Account of Himself to his own Countrymen : and may not Doric then be proper for little Poems, where men of ordinary rank are addressed to.* Here he supposes this Fragment to be a different piece from the *Kaθαρμοὶ*, being a little Poem, says he, to the *Agrigentines* : whereas *Laertius* twice tells us, that the Fragment is out of the *Kaθαρμοὶ*, the beginning of which work was thus,

ὦ φίλοι, οἱ μέγα ἄνδρες καὶ ξανδοὶ Ἀγρίαντες  
Ναίστε —.

So that a Book of 5000 Verses is again dwindled into a little Poem. And then to infer from the first Verses of it, that the Subject of the whole was nothing but an Account of himself to his Countrymen, is just as if he should argue from the first Verses of the *Georgics*, that the Subject of them is nothing but *Virgil's* account of Himself to *Mæcenas*.

To shew that *Phalaris's* Epistles might be writ in *Doric* at first, but afterwards be translated ; he

he instances in the Pieces of *Periclyone*, and *Aristoxenus*, and *Zaleucus*, three *Pythagoreans*, who in all probability wrote in Doric; and yet in *Stobæus's* time some part of the Writings of the One were in Ionic, and those of the Others in the Common Dialect. Now as for his King *Zaleucus*, I have endeavour'd to shew above, that he was no *Pythagorean*, and that the Writings ascribed to him are a Cheat: and the second Writer *Aristoxenus* was at first indeed a Scholar to *Xenophilus* a *Pythagorean*, and wrote the Lives of *Pythagoras* and his Followers; but he was afterwards *Aristotle's* Scholar: neither did he reckon himself among the *Pythagoreans*, as appears from *Laertius* and *Diodorus*: The last of the *Pythagoreans*, (b) says *Laertius*, were *Xenophilus* and (b) *Laert.*  
*five others*, whom *Aristoxenus* saw. And *Diodorus* in *Pyth.*  
*places* (c) τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων τὴν τελευταίαν (c) *Diod.*  
*Ἰαίαν*, the last of the *Pythagorean Sect*, at *Olymp.* p. 386.  
 ciii, 3. which was XLIV Years before *Aristotle's* Death, whom *Aristoxenus* expected to have succeeded; but *Theophrastus* was preferr'd before him. Why should *Aristoxenus* then write in Doric, who both liv'd at *Athens*, and was no *Pythagorean*? Mr. B's third Writer is *Periclyone*, who, though a *Pythagorean* writ in Ionic. Mr. B. declares more than once, that He despises the mean Employment of *Index-hunting*; but his Assistant and He, as we have seen in several Instances, are not always of the same Opinion. For the hint of this *Ionic* Fragment of *Periclyone* was taken out of *Stobæus's* Index: but if he had read the Author, and not dip'd into the Index only, he would have found in the very first Chapter two Fragments of *Periclyone's* Book, Περὶ Σοφίας, and both of them in the Doric.  
 The

The *Ionic* Fragment is spurious therefore: for why should she write Philosophy in two Dialects? Nay, to deal freely and openly, I believe all her Fragments are spurious; as most of those of *Pythagoric* Treatises are justly suspected to be: for they appear'd but late in the World, and long after the times of their pretended Authors. *Porphyry* in his MS Commentary upon *Ptolemy's Harmonics* (which I am glad to hear the very excellent Dr. WALLIS is now publishing at Oxford) cites a Passage of *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*, Οὐ μάλιστα, says he, καὶ γνώσια τῶν λόγων τὰ συγγεγραμμένα, whose Writings in particular are suppos'd to be genuine. Few of the rest will be thought so in the Judgment of knowing Persons: and particularly this *Perietyone* will be exploded for a mere Forgery. For who ever heard before of this *Pythagorean* Lady? *Jamblichus* has given us a List of all the Women of the Sect, that He ever heard of; and there's no such among them. *Stobæus* is the only man, that mentions Her, or her Writings: and I am perswaded, that the Forger of them design'd to have them pass in the name of that *Perietyone*, who was *Plato's* Mother. For they thought it a point of Decorum, to make even the Female Kindred of Philosophers copy after the Men. So in the counterfeit *Socratic Epistles* we have *Socrates's* Wife *Myrto* setting up an Academy for the Ladies. And among the *Pythagoric* Writings we have a Book (d) *About Humane Nature*, Αἰετὸς Πυθαγόρου Λευκάντας, which the Learned *Cantabrigie* translates *Aresæ Pythag.* He seems to take it for *Aresæ*, one of the Successors of *Pythagoras*: but the true Version is thus, *Æsara Pythagora F. Lucanæ*, By *Æsara Pythagoras's* Daughter, she

(d) *Stob.*

*Eclog Physf.*

P. 105.



the Lucanian. And yet neither *Jamblichus*, nor *Porphry*, nor *Laertius*, when they give us an account of that Philosopher's Daughters, take any notice of *Æsara*. But there's a late Author in *Photius* that mentions her; though the Passage is so corrupted, that the Lady is lost in't. The Sons of Pythagoras, says he, were *Mnesarchus* and *Telauges*;  $\epsilon\ \Sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\ \text{Μυία}\ \alpha\iota\ \text{θυγατέρες}$ , and *Sara* and *Myia* his Daughters. Correct it,  $\epsilon\ \text{Αἰονίεα}$ : the Syllable *Αι* was lost here, because the same in *KAI* preceded it: so that henceforward they may register this *Æsara* in the List of the *Pythagorean Women*, and blot out *Sara* whom no body ever heard of.

I must now consider half a Dozen of Mr. B's P. 54, 55, Pages by the Lump. A very Learned Person, in 56, 57, 58, excuse for the *Attic Dialect* of *Phalaris*, had 59, 60. objected to me, (e) *That Ocellus the Lucanian*, (e) *Euri-* though a Dorian by his Country, had not written in *pid. Ed.* Doric, as appear'd by his Book yet extant, *De Natura Cantab. Universi*. Now when I was drawing up the former Edition of this Dissertation, I observ'd (f) 523. (f) *Stob.* *Stobæus* quoted some passages of *Ocellus* in Doric, *Phys. c. 24.* which are extant word for word in the present Book, the Dialect only alter'd: whereby I knew the whole Treatise was writ originally in the *Doric Dialect*. I can truly say, I observ'd this my self without knowing that any other had done it before me. And I was induced to think, that no body had done't, from this very Objection about *Ocellus Lucanus*; which was made by a man of very great Reading, and yet plainly implies, that He had no where met with the Observation. And I was confirmed further in the belief of it from the *Cambridg Edition* of *Ocellus*, which was the only one I had then by me; for the First Annotation

Annotation printed there is a Question, *Why, since Archytas, and Timæus Loctus, and Theocritus wrote in the Doric Idiom, Ocellus should write it Attic?* to which no Answer at all is given. Were not these things enough to perswade one; that the Observation had not been made before? I must confess, I was not ignorant that one *Vizzanius* had set out an Edition of *Ocellus*; but being an Editor of no great esteem (the Editor of *Phalaris* must pardon this freedom) I had not purchased the Book, nor knew at all that he had said this thing before me: neither did I think it worth the while to let the Press stand still, while I sought for it; because I knew the *Cambridge* Edition was latter than *Vizzanius's*, and would probably have had the Observation in it, if *Vizzanius* had lit upon't. Besides that I was prone enough to believe, that the Learned Greek Professor, the Author of the Objection, could not be a stranger to *Vizzanius's* Edition; so that I concluded from His not knowing it, that *Vizzanius* had not said it. This is a true Account of this matter about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and I hope it is so fair a one, that all ingenuous Persons, not ting'd with Envy and Malice, will be satisfied with it. I shall now make some Remarks on the Examiner's Harangue, wherein he has labour'd to make the World believe, that I stole the Observation, which I gave out for my own, out of *Vizzanius's* Preface. Which being about Matter of Fact, and within the reach of my own knowledge, I do averr to be a Calumny; and that the Account I have here given is true in every part of it. But let us see how he makes out his Indictment. *He finds the same places in Stobæus named by Vizzanius and Me:*  
there-

therefore I stole the Observation from him. Wonderfully argued! But are not those Passages in *Stobæus* the only Ground, that the Observation is bottom'd on? If two Persons therefore, without concerting together might hit upon the Observation, which I presume Mr. B. will not deny, is it not necessary that they must both hit upon those Proofs, which the Observation solely depends on? If I had concurr'd with *Vizzanius* in some incidental matters not at all necessary to the main Point; it might then look a little more probable, that I had pillaged them from him: but since the Observation in general might be found out without *Vizzanius's* help; the citing of such places as it's entirely founded on, is no further proof that I made use of his help. But Mr. B. argues further: *That the Dr. says it was agreed and covenanted among the Scholars of that Italian Sect, (g) φανή χενάται τῇ παλαιᾷ, to use (g) Jam-*  
*their own MOTHER TONGUE: which, says he, he blick. Vic.*  
*FOUND in Vizzanius, who says the SAME thing, Pyth. p.*  
*and quotes the same Authority for it; (h) Tum 202.*  
*quia Pythagoræos quoslibet Doricæ Dialecto studu-*  
*isse comperio; tum quia id Pythagoræ suadeant in-*  
*stituta, qui semper Idiomatum Græcorum Dori-*  
*cum maxime voluit sectari: i. e. All the Pytha-*  
*goreans used the DORIC, according to Pythago-*  
*ras's institution, who prefer'd that Dialect before*  
*all the rest; as Jamblichus says. Now to see the*  
*acuteness of our Examiner; he has brought*  
*here such an Argument to shew me a Plagiarist,*  
*as is a manifest proof that I am none. For how*  
*could I find that in Vizzanius, which is not in*  
*him? and how does He say the same thing, who*  
*says the very contrary? The thing, as I said it,*  
*is thus; The Pythagoreans injoin'd all the Greeks,*



(i) *Jamb.* Φωνῇ χρεῖ-  
σαι τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἐκείνῃς  
περιγυλλόν, ὅσοι τῆς  
Ἑλλήνων περὶ Ἰλίου πρὸς  
τὴν κοινωνίαν ταύτην.  
τὸ γὰρ ξενίζεν ἐκ ἐδοκίμα-  
ζον.

(i) that enter'd themselves into the Society, to use every man his *Mother-Tongue*: *Ocellus* therefore, being a *Dorian* of *Lucania*, must have writ in the *Doric*. This I took to be *Jamblichus's* meaning. But *Vizzanius* has represented it

thus: That they injoin'd all that came to them, to use the *Mother Tongue* of *Crotona*, which was the *Doric*. Now this is quite contrary to what I make it. For if an *Athenian* or an *Ionian* had list'd himself among them, they must both have spoken *Doric*, according to *Vizzanius*: but in my Interpretation, they must each have retain'd his own Country Dialect. Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true meaning of *Jamblichus*, perhaps all competent Readers will not be of a mind; but I dare say, they will unanimously agree in this, that Mr. B. though he would prove Me a *Plagiary*, has taken such effectual care, that no body will ever be a *Plagiary* from Him.

P. 55. But I had said, *If a man had publish'd a Book, not in his Mother-tongue, he had been banish'd the Society.* Which is an Inference, says Mr. B. that *Vizzanius* did not make. How then have I taken all word for word out of his Preface? But

P. 54. Mr. B. gives four Reasons, why *Vizzanius* did not make the Inference. First, *Because this Injunction was not observed by Empedocles.* Have I not justly observ'd once before, That there's a sort of Fatality in Mr. B's Errors? Could he possibly have brought an Instance more directly against himself? For *Empedocles* was really turn'd out of the Society for writing that Book, that

(k) *Laert.*  
*Emped.*

Mr. B. refers to: (k) and a Law was made up-  
on't,

on't, that no *Epic* Poet from that time should be admitted into the Company. Secondly, he says, *The Author of the Golden Verses wrote not in Doric*; and yet was not expell'd the Society. But can Mr. B. prove, that the Society was in Being, when those Verses were first made? We are sure *Pythagoras* was not the Author of them; but we know not who was. And I believe, no mention is made of them, till above c years after the extinction of that Society. Much weaker therefore is Mr. B's Third Reason, *That Jamblichus, even while he is writing this account of the Pythagoreans, did not observe the Injunction.* For *Jamblichus* was a *Platonic*, and not a *Pythagorean*: and the Society had been dissolv'd above 100 years before His time. The Fourth is, *That Pythagoras himself did not observe this Injunction*; for an Epistle of his is in *Ionic*. True indeed, *Pythagoras* did not observe it, as *Vizzanius* explains the Injunction; but as I have done it, he did observe it; for his *ῥωνή παλαιοῖα* *Mother-Tongue* was *Ionic*, he being a Native of *Samos*. Besides this, I might tell Mr. B. that the Epistle is spurious; so that every way this last Instance is worthy of his Wit and Learning.

There are yet one or two Cavils about this business of *Vizzanius*, which I cannot let pass without an Answer. He says, *The scarcity of* P. 238. *Vizzanius's Book, and the probability of not being trac'd, encourag'd the Dr. to pillage from him*: which is spoken with so much Sense and Truth; that the very contrary may be fairly concluded from't. For how is his Edition so scarce, that has been twice printed within Fifty years, and may be purchas'd at a small value? And where could I expect to be more easily trac'd than here, if I had

really stolen from him? The Discovery that I thought I was the first Author of, was about *Ocellus Lucanus*: and would not any Person, that was minded to sift it, first of all look into the Editions of *Ocellus*? Certainly if I was disposed to be a Plagiary, I would steal with a little more discretion: and not pretend to tell News of *Ocellus*, out of the common Editions of him. And without question there was no improbability of my being trac'd: since it appears that the Examiner was able to trace me. But I had said, *If I may expect thanks for the Discovery, I dare engage to make out, that Ocellus wrote in Doric.* This by a Just and Candid Reader would be thought to imply, that I believ'd the Discovery scarce worthy of Thanks: but Mr. B. would not slip the opportunity of shewing his Good Nature and his Ability at Farce and Banter; so that he discovers in the Expression an extraordinary Air of Satisfaction. And yet this Air is not quite so discernible, as that of Mr. B's a little before; when having offer'd at a slight Correction of *Strabo*, Ἀρχῆας Γελῶν ἀποικίᾳ, for the vulgar Reading Ἀρχῆας Ἰώνων; which *Casaubon* and *Cluverius*, who knew well enough that *Agrigentum* was a Colony of the *Geloans*, had let pass as an Error of the Author's, not of the Copyers; because in some other accounts of the *Sicilian Colonies*, as well as in this, that Author differs from all the rest: the Examiner, I say, admiring and pluming himself for that glorious Emendation, *I wonder*, says he, *how this escap'd the most learned and acute Casaubon's Observation.* Now here's an Air of suspicion, that these fine Epithets were sprinkled here upon *Casaubon*, to elevate some body the higher; and to hint to us, that

P. 54.

P. 51.



that he was *as learned and more acute than He?* But for my own part, I am so far from valuing my self upon a Discovery of *Ocellus's Doric*; that I have expung'd it out of this second Edition; though it was as really my own Discovery, as if no body had hit on't before me. Such a Discovery is but a business of Chance, or at the best of bare Industry; neither is there any Sagacity or Judgment required to it: and it has so little of Difficulty, that not only *Vizzanius*, but even the Editor of *Phalaris* might easily have stumbled on't.

I have run through the Examiner's Authorities, which he has produced on this head: let us now take a short view of his Reasonings. The result of what he has said about Poets that chang'd their Country Dialect, is this: *That they chose such a Dialect as was then in fashion, when they wrote. For there was a fashion in Dialects, and the chief of them had severally their course and period, in which they flourished.* Now I must frankly acknowledge, that let *Phalaris* or *Æsop*, or whoever you will, be spurious; this Reasoning is a genuine piece, and the Examiner's own: for it carries his peculiar Mark and Signature upon it, in that it proves directly against himself. For it's so far from being an account why *Phalaris* should use the *Attic Dialect*, that it's almost a Demonstration, that he would not have used it. Because in the time of the true *Phalaris* the *Attic Dialect* was not yet in fashion: there was no *Attic Prose* then, besides *Draco's* and *Solon's* Laws; and but one Piece or two in Verse. I had expressly urg'd this against the Epistles, *That Phalaris would not write Attic; especially since in those early Times, before Stage-* See here  
Poetry, P. 311.

Poetry, and Philosophy, and History had made it famous over Greece, that Dialect was no more valued than any of the rest. Where it is not only intimated, that there was a Fashion of Dialects: but the very Causes are assign'd, that brought the Attic into Fashion. Phalaris therefore would never forsake his own native Tongue for the Attic, at a time when neither Stage-Poet, nor Philosopher, nor Historian had writ in't.

But the Examiner has come off worse, if possible, in his Account of Prose Writers; that exchange'd their Native Dialect for some other. For *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, though he was born in a Doric Country, yet lived in another; and in the Age of *Augustus*, when the Attic Idiom had been famous for cccc years. What's this then to Phalaris's case, who never stirr'd, that we know of, out of Sicily, and liv'd at a time, when the Attics were as unlearned as their Neighbours. We may apply the same, with a little allowance, to his other Prose Authors. But he should have instanc'd in familiar Epistles, never intended for publick View, such as Phalaris's are; and show'd that even in those cases men have deserted their own Dialect; and this had been something to the purpose. But he'll tell us, he has not been wanting here; for to come closer to the point, says he, we have a Letter of Dion of Syracuse to Dionysius the Tyrant, and a piece of one of Dionysius's, both preserv'd among Plato's Epistles; and written in such a Dialect, as if both Prince and Philosopher (to use the Dr's Phrase) had gone to School at Athens. Here he fancied, he was very smart upon me; but as it generally happens with him, he lashes himself. For, to use the Examiner's Phrase, the Philosopher did really

really go to School at *Athens*, and liv'd with *Plato* and *Speusippus*: and though the *Prince* did not go to *Athens*, yet *Athens*, as I may say, went to him; for not *Plato* only, but several other Philosophers, were entertain'd by him at his Court in *Syracuse*.

But to shew *Mr. B.* what a difference there is between Poems, or Philosophical, or Historical Tracts, designed for the Public; and private Letters about Family Affairs, never intended to be sent abroad; and that an Argument about the Dialect must not be drawn from the one to the other; I'll give him an instance in one of his own List, *Epimenides the Cretan*. *Mr. B.* would prove out of *St. Paul*, that this *Cretan's* Poems were not in *Doric*: but though his Argument fail'd him, I supplied him with a better, which plainly shews they were in *Ionic*. Neither will I upon account of this *Ionicism* impeach those Poems as supposititious: because in those days it was the fashionable Dialect for all *Epic Poetry*. For as <sup>(1)</sup> *Hermogenes* observes, <sup>(1)</sup> *Hermog.* *Ionic is sweet and naturally Poetical*, *ποινικὴ φησὶ* p. 315. *οὐ καὶ ἰδὴ αὖ.* But if *Mr. B.* should produce a private Letter of this *Epimenides*, not written in the *Cretan Language*, then the case would be quite alter'd; for the Letter I should tax as a Cheat, though I did not the Poem: and I have a great example to warrant me in't. *There's an* *Laert in E.* *Epistle goes abroad*, says *Laertius*, of *Epimenides* *pimen.* *to Solon, about the Form of Government that Minos gave to the Cretans: but Demetrius the Magnesian endeavours to prove it spurious, because it is not written in the Cretan Dialect, but in the Attic.* *Mr. B.* may see by this instance, that the Inference will not hold from Poems to Epistles.



Laert.

For I hope he'll allow this *Demetrius* to be a competent Judge here. He was *Cicero's* Praeceptor in Rhetoric, an Acquaintance of *Pomponius Atticus*, and an excellent Critic and Historian. And if He thought it an absurdity for a *Cretan* to write *Attic* Letters, though directed to an *Athenian*; how much more absurd may We think it in *Phalaris* a *Sicilian*, to write *Attic* Epistles to other *Sicilians*? There's another Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon*, which is truly in the *Cretan* or *Doric* Idiom: but for all that, I shall not believe it genuine. For one Forger may be more skillfull than another: and one of the most ignorant of them all is the mock *Sicilian Prince*.

## XIII.

**B**UT since Tyrants will not be confined by Laws; let us suppose, if you will, that our *Phalaris* might make use of the *Attic*, for no reason at all, but his own arbitrary humour and pleasure: yet we have still another Indictment against the credit of the Epistles. For even the *Attic* of the true *Phalaris's* age is not there represented; but a more recent Idiom and Stile, that by the whole thread and colour of it betrays it self to be many Centuries younger than He. Every living Language, like the perspiring Bodies of living Creatures, is in perpetual motion and alteration; some words go off, and become obsolete; others are taken

taken in, and by degrees grow into common use ; or the same word is inverted to a new sense and notion , which in tract of time makes as observable a change in the air and features of a Language, as Age makes in the lines and meen of a Face. All are sensible of this in their own native Tongues, where continual Use makes every man a Critic. For what *Englishman* does not think himself able, from the very turn and fashion of the Stile, to distinguish a fresh *English* composition from another a hundred years old ? Now there are as real and sensible differences in the several ages of *Greek* ; were there as many that could discern them. But very few are so versed and practised in that Language, as ever to arrive at that subtilty of Taste. And yet as few will be content to relish or dislike a thing, not by their own Sense, but by another man's Palate. So that should I affirm, That I know the novity of these Epistles from the whole body and form of the work ; none, perhaps, would be convinced by it, but those that without my indication could discover it by themselves. I shall let that alone then, and point only at a few particular marks and moles in the Letters, which every one that pleases may know them by. In the very first Epistle ; ὡν ἐμοὶ

πες-

\* *Cblliad.*  
p. 196.

*περσέπας*, which you accuse me of, is an innovation in language; for which the Ancients used *περσέρας*. In the CXLII, among other Presents to a Bride, he sends *θυγατέρας τέτταρας ὁμήλικας*; which would anciently have signified *Daughters*: but he here means it of *Virgins* or *Maidens*; as *Fille* and *Figlia* signifie in *French* and *Italian*: which is a most manifest token of a later Greek. Even \* *Tzetzes*, when he tells the story out of this Epistle, interprets it *Maids*, *δεσπαίνας*. In the LXXVII, πολλοὶ παῖδων ἐντες ἐρασά, many that are fond of their children; for that is his sense of the words; which, of old, would have been taken for a flagitious love of Boys; as if he had said, πολλοὶ ὄντες παιδερασά. They that will make the search, may find more of this sort; but I suppose these are sufficient to unmask the recent Sophist under the person of the old Tyrant.

What the Examiner has been pleas'd to animadvert upon this Article, is comprehended under two Heads; his general Reflexion upon the Purity and Stability of the Greek Tongue, and his particular Exceptions to the Words, that I had mark'd out as Tokens of a Recent Writer.

P. 69.

In his general Harangue, he first spends a whole Page to inform us of a great piece of News, that our *English* Tongue has undergone very considerable Changes: then he asks me these



these pertinent Questions, *Do you take the Greek of Lucian to be as different from that of Plato, as our English now is from that which was spoken soon after the Conquest?* are not Homer and Oppian much nearer one another in their Language, than Chaucer and Cowley, though in time they are far more distant? As if I had supposed, that the gradual Alteration of the Greek Language was as great in every Century while it lasted, as that of our *English* Tongue this last hundred years: whereas it's as plain, as words can make it, that I compared the Changes of the Greek during the whole Interval between the true *Phalaris* and the Sophist, which I call'd in a round number *a Thousand Years*, with the changes of our *English* in the last Hundred. Then he commences a formal and Sophistical Declamation about the *Reasons, that made the Greek Language so fix'd and unalterable*: where he gives us some shining Metaphors, and a polish'd Period or two; but for the Matter of it, it is either some common and obvious Thought, dress'd and curl'd in the Beauish way; or some new Mistake, which now at last has its happy Birth from the fertile Genius of our Examiner. The Reader shall judge between us, whether I pay him in his own Coin, that is, misrepresent him; when he has consider'd what I shall now say.

The Accusation, that I brought against the Epistles, was this; *That the Author has writ them in the New and Recent Attic; not that which was in use in the Age of the true Phalaris; whom the Examiner himself owns to have been Contemporary with Solon.* So that if we can make any Discovery what the *Attic* Language was in *Solon's* time: we may be sure that the true

P. 70.

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true *Phalaris* would have spoken in the same way, had he a mind to have used that Dialect. There's an Oration ascribed to *Lysias*,

(a) *Lysias* (a) *against Theomnestus*; which *Harpocration* once  
κατὰ Θε- or twice questions if it be genuine: but whe-  
ομνήσε. ther it be *Lysias's* or not, it's all one to our pre-  
sent purpose; for we know the Time that it was

(b) *Dionys.* *Lysias's*. That Orator died (b) at Olymp. c, 2. or  
Halic. c, 3. and this Oration appears to be made three  
in *Lysia.* or four years before at Olymp xcix, 4. For

the Person, who speaks it, tells us; Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔτη  
εἰς τεράκοντα. ἔξ ὅτε ὑμῖς κατεκληύδατε, εἰκοστὴν τε-  
τὴν φαίνομαι ἐν τεισχαδικῇ ὥν, ὅτε ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ τῶν

(c) *Lys. p.* 116. Τεράκοντα ἀπὸ θνησκα. (c) I am now, says he, xxx  
years old: and this is the xxth year, since you A-

thenians return'd hither: so that I was XIII years  
of Age, when my Father was kill'd by the Thirty  
Tyrants. This is the common Reading of that  
Passage; but if we examin it, it will be found to be  
a manifest Depravation. For the Thirty Tyrants

(d) *Diod.* (d) began Olymp. xciv, 1. and in fear of them  
and others. half of the *Athenians* forsook their Country:

then at Olymp. xciv, 4. the Thirty were de-  
posed, and those that had left *Athens* (κατεκλη-  
λεύδατε) return'd again. If the Person then, that  
spoke this Oration, was xxx years old in the  
xxth year after the return of the *Athenians*: he  
could not possibly be XIII years old, nor above x,  
when the Thirty Tyrants murder'd his Father.  
But the true Correction of this place may be  
had from the next Oration, which is called *The*

*Lys. p. 119.* *Second against Theomnestus*, but is really no-  
thing else but the rough Draught of the other:  
where the Person's Age is thus set forth: Ἐγὼ ἔ-  
σι μοι δύο καὶ τεράκοντα. ἔξ ἧ δ' ὑμῖς κατέλθετε, εἰκο-  
στὴν

ἐν τῇ· φαίνομαι ἐν δωδεκαίτης ὢν, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ τετρακοντα ἀπέθνησκεν. *I am now, says he,*  
 XXXII years of Age; and this is the xth year  
 since your Return: so that I was XII years old, when  
 my Father was kill'd by the Thirty. Now this ac-  
 count is agreeable to History and Truth: for if  
 the XXXII year of this person's Age was coinci-  
 dent with the xth after the return of the *Athe-*  
*nians*: then his xth falls upon the last year of  
 the Thirty Tyrants; and in that we must sup-  
 pose his Father was kill'd. So that in the other O-  
 ration, for ἐπ λ. we must read, ἐπ λβ. and ἰβίτης  
 for ἰβίτης; for the numbers being thus written  
 in numeral Letters were very liable to be mista-  
 ken. Upon the whole therefore, as I said be-  
 fore, this Oration must have been written at O-  
 lymp. xcix, 4. which is ccxiii years after the  
 Archonship of *Solon*, when he made his Body of  
 Laws. Now by the Laws of *Athens*, if a man  
 call'd another *Ανδ'εφόνον*, a Murderer, it was pe-  
 nal: so that the Person, who speaks this Orati-  
 on, brings an Action against *Theomnestus*, for  
 saying, *He had kill'd his Father*, Τὸν πατέρα ἀπέ-  
 τόνειναι. The Defendant makes his Exception  
 to the Indictment, because he did not call him  
*Ανδ'εφόνον*, which was the Word that was penal  
 by Law. But the other replies, that the Sense  
 and Meaning of the Laws was to be regarded,  
 as well as the Words: (d) *For though Things, says* (d) *Lysias*  
*he, continue the same; yet we do not use some of* P. 118.  
*the same Words, that our Ancestors did.* (e) *Let* (e) P. 117.  
*the Crier read some of the old Laws of Solon.*  
 ΔΕΔΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΟΔΟΚΑΚΗ. Here what  
 was *Ποδὸκακὴ*, the Stocks in *Solon's* time, is now  
 called Τὸ ξύλον. ΕΠΕΓΓΤΑΙΝ ΕΠΙΟΡΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ  
 ΤΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΔΕΔΙΟΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ  
 ΔΡΑ-



ΔΡΑΣΚΑΖΕΙΝ. Here is *Ἐπορκεῖν* to swear, which we now call *Ὀμῶσαι*; and *Δεσχεῖν* to run away, which is now *Ἀποδιδράσκειν*. ΟΣΤΙΣ ΑΠΙΛΛΗΘΙ ΘΥΡΑΙ. Here's *Ἀπύλλειν* to exclude, for which we now say *Ἀποκλείειν*. ΤΟ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ ΣΤΑΣΙΜΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ. Here *Στάσιμον* does not signify, To weigh Money in Scales, as we now use the word; but to let it out at Use. ΟΣΑΙ ΠΕΦΑΣΜΕΝΩΣ ΠΩΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΗΟΣ. Here *Πεφασμένως* signifies openly, which we now call *Φανερώς*; and *Πωλῶνται* is to walk, now *Βαδίζειν*; and *Οικῶν* is a Servant, now *Θεράποντ*: and there are many more such as these. The ingenious Reader may please to observe the last words of *Lysias*;

(f) Πολ-  
λά ὅτι  
αὐτὰ καὶ  
ἄλλα ὅτιν.

(f) *That there are Many more such as these*: and then he will have a just apprehension of the great change of the Attic Tongue between *Solon* and *Lysias*'s time. Some of those words of *Solon* that our Orator has produc'd here, are mention'd too by others: as *Ποσειδών* is quoted from *Solon*

(g) Demost.  
e. Timoc.  
(h) Plut.  
Solon.

by (g) *Demosthenes*; and *Πεφασμένως πωλῶνται* by (h) *Plutarch*, which he interprets as *Lysias* does, *Ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσιν*. And if a proportionable number of such antiquated words do not occur in the other Fragments of *Solon*'s Laws: the reason is, because the Writers do not cite the very Words, but only express the Sense of them. As when

(i) Plut.  
Sol.

*Plutarch* relates the Law; (i) *That whoever Βιάσεται ravish'd a Free-Woman, should pay a Hundred Drachms*: We know from *Hesychius*, that the original word of *Solon* was not *Βιάσασθαι*, but

(k) Hesych.  
in Βενεῖν.  
(l) Plut.  
Sol.

(k) *Βινεῖν*. But in another place, where he declares, that he cites the Law *αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι*, (l) word for word, *ΕΠΙ ΦΟΝΩΙ ἢ ΣΦΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ*, we do not fail to meet with the old obsolete Idiom, as *Σφαγαῖσιν* here for *σφαγαῖς*.

Now

Now I suppose it's sufficiently plain from these Specimens, that the *Attic* Dialect was not so very stable and immutable, as the Examiner imagines. There were only two Centuries betwixt *Solon* and *Lyfias*: and the Alteration seems to be almost as great, as what has happen'd in our own Language within the same space. For as to the changes of entire Words, the Instances here alledg'd are a plain proof of it: and for the Orthography or way of Spelling, which is the principal variation of the Modern *English* from the Old; we should find as considerable a Difference between *Solon's* and *Lyfias's* Spelling, if we had a sight of the Original *Κύρβεις* Tables of his Laws. For in *Solon's* time there were (m) but XVIII Greek Letters in all, the rest being invented afterwards by *Epicharmus* and *Simonides*: and we are sure, that the whole XXIV were not in (n) Public Use at *Athens* till the Archonship of *Euclides*, Olymp. XCIV, 2. So that some of the words cited above by *Lyfias* and *Plutarch* were by *Solon* spell'd thus: ΔΕΔΕΣΘΑΙ· ΤΕΙ ΤΗΤΡΑΙ· ΠΗΟΝΟΙ Ε ΣΠΗΑΓΑΙΣΙΝ. Upon all accounts therefore the *Attic* was no more privileged from change than the other Languages of the World are. Nay, we may suppose, there was a greater change in it betwixt *Theseus* and *Solon*, than between *Solon* and *Lyfias*: the former Interval being three times as long as the latter. For we know, (o) that the *Attic* and *Ionic* were originally the very same Language; and yet afterwards we find them to differ exceedingly. I make no question, but the *Ionians*, who were *Attic* Colonies, had a gradual Change in their Dialect, as well as *Athens* their common Mother had. For *Herodotus* informs us, (p) That the

(m) See here p. 241, 242.

(n) See *Meursius Fort. Attic. p. 63. Vales. Harpocrat. p. 101.*

(o) See here p. 314.

(p) *Herod. l. 142. Χαράκλῃ- ρες γλώσσης τέων- ρες.*

Ionians had four quite different Idioms of Language : so that it's evident that They too had varied from the Ancient Attic. But yet it's pretty observable, that several of those antiquated words of Solon's are what we now call *Ionian* : as Πωλύμαι for βαδίζω is very frequent in *Homer*,

Οὐτί ποτ' εἰς ἀγρὴν πολέσκετο κυδιάνεσσαν.

And so Οἰκῆ for Στερόπον is doubly *Ionian* ; both as to the whole Word, and as to the Termination of it, ῆ for ῖωσ : and this too is several times in *Homer*,

Ἐξ ὕπνου γόωσα φίλος οἰκῆς ἐχέρει.

(q) *Dionys.  
de Thueyd.  
p. 147.  
Μικρὸς  
τινας δια-  
φορὰς.*

And this illustrates, and is it self illustrated by *Dionysius Halicarn.* who asserts clearly and fully to our purpose, (q) *That the Ancient Attic Dialect had but some small variations from the Ionic.* Now to apply this to the Epistles of *Phalaris* ; I would crave leave to ask the Admirers of them, if the *Attic Dialect* there be after *Solon's Example* ; as it would certainly be, if the Tyrant had writ them ? Is the Formation of Nouns after *Solon's Model*, Αἰσι for αἰς, and ῆ for ῖωσ ? Are there any antiquated words there, as πωλεῖν, δεισχεῖν, πεφασμένως, &c ? And yet the Sense of some of them occurs there, but express'd in a more recent way. Though if we consider what *Lysias* says, *That there were πολλὰ πιαῦτα* MANY such in *Solon's Laws* ; it must be own'd, that the True Epistles of *Phalaris* had been full of such Words, as perhaps would have puzzled a better Scholar ( if there can be one ) than the late Editor of the False ones.

The Examiner seems to take pains to persuade us, that the *Attic Dialect* was of such a fix'd and durable nature ; that it's in vain to pretend to distinguish any different Ages of it. But the



the Greeks themselves were of another Opinion ; if They may be allow'd in their own Language to be as knowing, as Mr. B. Some of them were so nice, as to distinguish a middle Age of that Dialect between the times of *Solon* and *Lyfias*. *Dionysius Halicarn.* tells us, (r) That *Lyfias* (r) *Dionys.* was the best Pattern of the Attic Tongue, not of that v. *Lyf.* Ancient one, that *Plato* and *Thucydides* used, but of the Fashionable one in his own time. So that here are three sorts of Attic specify'd within the compass of two Centuries : for I suppose it's plain, that *Thucydides's* Language is as different from that of *Solon's* Laws, as from that of *Lyfias's* Oration. *Demetrius Magnes*, in the passage above cited, calls a pretended Letter of *Epimenides* to *Solon* an Imposture, (s) because it was (s) *Laer.* written in the Attic Tongue, and even in the New in *Epim.* Attic. Do but substitute the name of *Phalaris* *Γεγραμ-* instead of *Epimenides* ; and 'tis exactly the same *μὲν Ἀτ-* Indictment that I have made to the Epistles. *ἰδί φωνῇ,* *ἡ τεύτη* All the three, *Epimenides*, *Solon* and *Phalaris* *νεία.* were Contemporaries; and if *Epimenides's* Letter was detected to be a Cheat, because it was the New Attic ; by the same rule we must discard *Phalaris's* : for *Demetrius* could know of no Newer Attic, than that of *Phalaris's* Epistles. Nay there's nothing more common in the Greek Writers than this distinction of the (r) Old and (r) *Ἀρχαία* New Attic; as may be seen in *Etymologicon M.* *ἡ Νέα* *Ἀττικ.* *Eustathius*, *Prolegom. ad Aristoph.* *Synefius de* *Insomniis*, &c. The Attic Language, says *Lucian*, (u) has in tract of Time undergone many (u) *Luci-* changes, but the word *Ἀπορεῖς* has had the luck to *an de A-* continue all along. So far was he from believing *πορῆ. Πολ-* it so fix'd and enduring, as the Examiner dreams *λὰ ἐν ἡμέ-* it was. *ἡ ἀντὶ*

The Causes of the Changes in the *Attic* Language are not so secret and abstruse, but that a Man of less Sagacity than Mr. B. might easily have found them out. For if we consider the great conflux of Strangers to that City; the vast numbers of Slaves from all Nations; and of Foreigners that settled there; the frequent Wars that they had abroad, and the Hired Troops that they often maintain'd at home; and their mighty Trade both in their own Port and all over Greece: we shall rather admire, that the Alterations in their Dialect were so few, than affirm with Mr. B. that there were none at all.

(x) *Athen.* (x) In *Demetrius Phalereus's* time, at Olymp. cx. p. 272. the Inhabitants of *Attica* were 21,000 Citizens, 10,000 Foreigners Naturaliz'd, and 400,000 Slaves. Now if there were above XIX Slaves and Strangers to one Citizen, as by this account it plainly appears; this Cause alone is more than sufficient to introduce a great Change in their Dialect.

P. 71. But the ingenious Mr. B. tells us, *That the Empire of the Greeks did not a little contribute to the stability of their Language*; that is, as he afterwards expresses it; *to the keeping it entire and unmix'd*. Now I am of opinion, that if another man had been to name some of the Causes of the *Change and Mixture* of the Greek, or indeed of any other Tongue, he would have pitch'd upon *Empire* in the first place. For even Common Sense will tell one, that if a Nation extends its Conquests over other Countries of a different Speech, and retain them in subjection by standing Armies and Garrisons, and by keeping all the Civil Power and Publick Offices in its own Hands; it may extinguish indeed by this means, the Ancient Language of the Conquer'd; but

but its Own too must needs have a little mixture, and imbibe something from the Tongue that it destroys : as by pouring a great quantity of Water to a little Wine,

Ἀπώλεσας τὸ οἶνον, ἐπὶ χέας ὕδωρ,

you may quite destroy the Wine, but yet the Water will tast of the mixture. It is evident from the Laws of *Numa*, and the XII Tables, and the Inscription on the *Columna Duiliana*, compared with the Plays of *Terence*; that the *Roman* Language had a greater Change in the last c years between *Duilius* and *Terence*; than in the cccc between *Numa* and *Duilius*. And the true Reason of this was *Empire*; for before *Duilius*'s time in the first *Punic* War the *Romans* had got nothing beyond *Italy*: but in the following Century they carried their Eagles almost all over *Europe*. So that the vast Confluence of People from all the Provinces, the introducing of Foreign Artificers and Captive Slaves from every Quarter, and the Natives that return'd home from the Expeditions, made an Innovation of Language at *Rome* it self. And if *Alexander*'s Conquests in *Asia* had not altogether as great an effect upon the Greek Tongue; the Reason was, because the Empire was soon divided into so many Branches. But if *Alexander* had return'd out of *Asia*, and plac'd the Seat of his Empire in some City of *Greece*, and transmitted it entire to Posterity, the vast Crouds of those that would have come to Court from the furthest parts of the Monarchy, would have made the same Alteration of the Language there, as afterwards happen'd at *Rome*.

But Mr. B. is in great admiration at the Stability of the Greek Tongue; It was incomparably,



P. 70. he says, *the most fix'd and enduring of any that we are generally acquainted with.* What Languages *We*, that is the Examiner and his Assistant, *are acquainted with*, I know not: and therefore I have nothing to say against this Proposition. But when he goes on, and tells us, *That no other Language, that has been of known and familiar use in the World, has been as durable as the Greek; and that it was absolutely the most Holding Tongue in the World;* the Examiner had better have *holden his Tongue*, than have talked so crudely and erroneously. For we are sure from the Names of Persons and Places, mention'd in Scripture before the Deluge, not to insist upon other Arguments, that the *Hebrew* was the Primitive Language of Mankind; and it continu'd pure for above 3000 years, till the Captivity into *Babylon*. Even from the Date of the *Mosaic Law* to the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, there's a distance of 900 Years: yet the Language of the two Writers is the very same. What can the Examiner shew like this, either for Continuance or Purity, in the Greek Tongue? I will mention one Language more, and that is the *Syriac*. The Holy Scripture informs us, that *Laban the Syrian*, when he made a League with his Son-in-law *Jacob*, call'd the heap of Stones, that after the Custom of those times was erected for a Memorial of it, *Genes 31. יגר שדדוּתָא Igar Sabdutha, The heap of Witness*: which we are sure, from the *Syriac* Versions of the *Old and New Testament*, continued to be pure and Vulgar *Syriac* for 2000 Years: nay the very same Language is said to be preserv'd and spoken to this day by the Maronites of *Mount Libanus* in *Syria*; so that the *Syriac* has lasted for above 3400 Years with little or no variation.

The

The Examiner makes a mighty flourish about the *Sweetness, and Smoothness, and the Music of the Greek Tongue*; and assigns that as the reason of its lasting so long. But at that rate he must make another Speech about the *Sweetness and Smoothness* of the Eastern Tongues, since They lasted much longer. But the true reason of that long continuance both of *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, was because the Nations continued unmixed and separate from Strangers: and the Preservation of the Greek Language, though not in the same degree of Purity and Duration with the two other, is wholly owing to the same cause. For till the time of *Alexander*, the Wars and the Business of the Greeks were for the most part among one another, and not with foreign Nations. So that though the particular Dialects were perpetually chang'd and diversifi'd by their mutual Conquests and Commerce, yet the same Language for the main continued still. But when the *Roman* Government was establish'd among them, immediately the Latin names of Offices, and Terms of Law, &c. over-run the old Greek Language; so that we have Dictionaries of Barbarous Words of *Greece*, almost as voluminous as those of the True ones.

P. 70.

Mr. B. avers, *That we have Greek Books writ by Authors at almost 2000 years distance, which disagree less in Phrase and manner of Speech, than any two English ones at 200 years distance*: But Mr. B. is not aware, that the Reason of this was not, because the same Phrases and Manner of Speech continued all that while in Civil and Popular use: but purely because the Later Writers would imitate the Old ones: as the Moderns now imitate *Cicero* and *Virgil*. This is

P. 71.

evident from the innumerable Greek Lexicons and Scholiasts, some yet preserv'd, but most of them lost; the Design of which was to explain the obsolete words in the Old Writers of Verse and Prose by such other Greek words as were then in use. For *Homer* and *Archilochus*, *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, were not thoroughly understood by the vulgar Greeks in *Oppian's* time, but only by the Learned. Nay even *Oppian* himself, who took the allow'd privilege of using antiquated Words (as among Us *Spencer* and *Milton* did, though a little more sparingly) could not be understood in his own Town, except by the Learned. And to shew farther, that it was Imitation only, that makes the Greek Books of different Ages so alike; that general manner of Speech call'd Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος, *The common Dialect*, which the Writers after *Alexander's* time commonly used, was never at any time or in any place the Popular Idiom: but perfectly a Language of the Learned, almost as the Latin is now. I say *almost*, because they did not tie themselves up so strictly to imitation; but that still their Style had some Leaven from the Age that each of them liv'd in. 'Tis the Felicity therefore of the Latin Tongue, that it's no longer in popular use; and it's more fitted upon that very account to be the Universal Language of Learning: because it's no longer liable to those Changes, to which living Languages are naturally obnoxious; but by being Dead, it's become Immortal. The Greek indeed would have done as well for that purpose: but there ought to be but One such Language, and the Latin has already got the Possession. As for our *English* Tongue, the great Alterations it has undergone in the two last Centuries



Centuries are principally owing to that vast Stock of Latin words which we have transplanted into our own Soil. Which being now in a manner exhausted, one may easily presage that it will not have such Changes in the two next Centuries. Nay it were no difficult contrivance, if the Publick had any regard to it, to make the *English* Tongue immutable; unless hereafter some Foreign Nation shall invade and over-run us.

I have now examin'd Mr. B's general Reflections upon the Stability of the Greek Tongue; which he has made so sinistrously, and with so very little Judgment, as if he aspired after the Character of *Homer's Margites*,

Ὅς μὲν ὅπισθε το πολλὰ, κακῶς δ' ἠπίσσετο πάντα.

who knew a great many things, but all of them P. 208, wrong. But let us see what Exceptions he has made to my particular Instances of *Phalaris's* recent Language. <sup>209, 210, 211.</sup>

I. The first that I had produc'd is out of the first Epistle, *πειτέπω*, to accuse; which Mr. B. perhaps believes he has answer'd in an Harangue of four Pages. But if I may be allow'd to speak freely, 'tis such miserable Chicanry, 'tis so much below even himself (*I complement him when I say so*; to return him his own Civility) that I cannot abuse my Reader's Patience in winnowing and sifting it, since the whole is nothing but Chaff. He had translated *πειτέπω*, to exhort: but I observ'd, that in this place neither Sense nor Syntax would allow of that signification. As for the Syntax, he has not so much as offer'd any Example either Greek or Latin, where *πειτέπω* in the sense of *Exhortation* admits a Dative Case after it, as it has here: Yet however he still contends, that the Sense of the Pas-

P. 54.

sage will admit that meaning of the word. And to give him his just Commendation, he has taken the right way to put an end to any Dispute: for a man that talks at that rate resolves not to be confuted. If I say that Grass is green or Snow's white, I am still at the Courtesie of my Antagonist: for if he should rub his Forehead, and deny it, I do not see, by what Syllogism I could refute him. So if the Learned Examiner shall still insist upon't, that the *Sense* of the place is *to exhort*: I have nothing further to urge, but must leave him either to be laugh'd at, or pitied, or admired, as his Readers are dispos'd towards him.

I had observ'd, that the *Latin Version* of Phalaris, which is *falsely ascribed* to Cujacius (for both Original and Translation of this Book have the luck to be father'd upon wrong Authors) interprets *αἰσχρολογία* to *accuse*; so that Mr. B. might have learn'd from thence the true meaning of this Passage: but it so happen'd, that that Edition, though in the publick Library at Oxon, lay all the while conceal'd from our late Editor, that then lived there. Upon this Mr. B. commences a very heavy Charge against me; 'tis a greater blemish to me, he says, than want of Judgment; I'm a man of extraordinary Confidence, that can so boldly assert what it's impossible I should know; that would face him down, that he never saw, what he knows himself to have often seen and used: (that is, before he finish'd his Edition of Phalaris) and at last he avers, That indeed the Edition of Cujacius was one of those Printed Copies he meant in his Preface. Now this is a very tender Controversie, and I'm afraid the very softest handling of it will touch somebody to the Quick. Honour and

and Reputation are nice things ; and if once they happen to receive a Flaw, they are not easily repair'd. I will not make my self an Arbitrator here, but the Reader shall judge between Mr. B. and Me. The words of his Preface are these ;

(y) *There are two Versions of Phalaris, that I had before me ; the one by Naogeorgus, publish'd in the year 1557 ; the other, as it seems, by a certain Jesuit, for the use of their Schools, in the year 1614. The Jesuit is pretty ele-*

(y) *Versiones dua, altera à Naogeorgo edita An. 1557. Altera à quodam, ut videtur, Jesuita in usum Schol. Soc. Jes. 1614. Jesuita in dictione non inornatus est, sed laxus, &c.*

*gant in his Language, but he is too loose and diffuse : so that he always differs from the Style of the Author, and often from the Sense. There's a third Version too by Francis Aretine. Now I must own, that at that time, when I first publish'd my Dissertation I had not seen this Edition of the Jesuit, that Mr. B. here speaks of ; and I believ'd it had a Translation peculiar to it. For I trusted to Mr. B's account, that the Jesuit had made it ; and consequently, that it could not be the same with Cujacius's I concluded therefore he had never seen Cujacius's Version : because he expressly says, he made use of Three only, that of Naogeorgus, and the Jesuit's, and Aretine's. And where now was my extraordinary Confidence, in saying he had not seen the Edition of Cujacius ? and how was it impossible, that I should know it ? I believ'd my Inference to be true and Logical, and I'll put it into the form of a Syllogism, that Mr. B. may examin whether it agree with His System of Logic.*

Mr. B. made use of Three Versions only, one made by Naogeorgus, another by a Jesuit, and a third by Aretine :

But



But *Cujacius's* Version was neither made by *Naogeorgus*, nor by a *Jesuit*. nor by *Aretine*:

Therefore Mr. B. made no use of *Cujacius's* Version.

If it be such a *Blemish* to me, and such extraordinary Confidence, to pretend by virtue of this Syllogism, that *Cujacius's* Edition was then unknown to Mr. B; I shall have the worse opinion of all Books of Logic for't, not excepting Mr. B's own System. I had a small suspicion too besides, that the Editor had not seen that Edition in the Publick Library; because it is not enter'd in the Catalogue under the Title of *Phalaris*; but of *Epistolæ*, and *Cujacius*. So that a Person that does not otherways know of that Edition, cannot find it in that Catalogue, unless by a great chance, or by reading it all over. I believed likewise, that Mr. B. had not seen the Edition of Aldus: because Aldus's Text is sometimes better than that which Mr. B. has follow'd. I had that opinion then of his Judgment; that I supposed he had not seen those things, because he did not give them the Preference: as indeed it was a third Argument to me, that he had not seen *Cujacius's*, because he did not follow him in the true Translation of the word *μετρίων*. Thus I reason'd at that time; but I am now sensible, that I argued weakly enough: for I have found by tedious Experience, that he can stumble upon things without seeing them, and see and handle things without understanding them.

The Reader has now a fair and ingenuous account on my part: let us see if Mr. B's have the same Characters of Candor and Veracity. He affirms with great Warmth and Vehemence, that he had (*præ manibus*) before him and in his hands both

both the Edition of the Jesuit, and that of *Cujacius*: and he adds too, *that the Version ascribed to Cujacius is exactly the same with that put out by the Jesuit.* Which is very true, for the Jesuit only reprinted it. Give me leave now, without calling Mr. B's Honour in question, to argue a little for Dispute's sake, that notwithstanding this repeated Asseveration, yet he had not *Cujacius* by him. *Cujacius* was printed at Geneva in the year 1606. And the Jesuit's Edition, that Mr. B. used, was printed at Ingolstadt, 1614. Now Mr. B. tells the world in his Preface, *That the JESUIT made that Version; and the JESUIT, he says, is elegant in his Latin, but differs from the Style of the Original.* But how could Mr. B. suppose, that the Jesuit made it at Ingolstadt 1614; if he then knew that *exactly the same Version was printed VIII years before at Geneva*? If he had both the Books before his Hands, he could not possibly make such a horrible Blunder. Those that have a just esteem of his Wit and Sagacity, will never believe, no not upon his own word, that he could be guilty of such wretched Stupidity. There must needs be some other way then for solving this difficulty, tho' I confess it's too hard for me. I refer it therefore to the Reader's Consideration; and if he find it gravels Him too, it may call a certain Verse to his Memory,

*Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab  
uno*

*Disce omnes——*

II. Another word of a recent Stamp was *Su-  
aine*, which in *Phalaris* signifies a Maiden: and I took that to be a manifest token of a later Greek: and that it might not be suspected, that

P. 67.

P. 67.

Mat. ix, 22.

Mark v, 34.

Luke viii,

48.

I put a wrong meaning upon the word, I observ'd, that even *Tzetzes* took it in the same sense that I do. But *Mr. B.* with the assistance of two Concordances, which shewed him the word *θυγάτηρ* in the Old and New Testament, has found out an Answer. For he says, that in *Prov. xxxi, 29.* Πολλὰ θυγατέρες ἐκτίσαντο πλούτη, *Many Daughters have got Riches*; *θυγατέρες* must mean *Women* or *Maidens*. Now the Original here is *בנות* *Daughters*, and it's well known to any one, that ever perused the Septuagint, that they often translate word for word; though the Phrase that results from it, be against the Genius of the Greek Tongue. This has so fill'd that Version with Hebraisms, that one may affirm, *Demosthenes* himself could not have thoroughly understood it: and the Greek Fathers oftentimes mistook the sense of it for want of skill in the Hebrew. What does *Mr. B.* mean then by this Instance out of *Proverbs*? For if his *Sicilian Prince* have Hebraisms in his Style, here's a new Argument to shew him a cheat: and we must impeach him not only for Atticizing, but for Hebraizing too. But I'll leave *Mr. B.* to manage this new Topic: and go on to his instances from the New Testament; where our Saviour says to the Woman, *Θάρσει θυγάτηρ, ἡ πίστις σε σέσωκε σε.* *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy Faith hath made thee whole*. Where *Mr. B.* supposes *θυγάτηρ* means not properly *Daughter*, but *Woman*. Now if we view this Argument on every side, we shall find it in all respects worthy of its Author. For were it true here, that *θυγάτηρ* means *Woman*, it would be another Hebraism or Syriaism: which instead of supporting *Phalaris's* credit, is enough to overthrow it. Nay  
were



were it a genuine Greek Phrase, this would still come very short of being a good Answer. For I accuse this Sophist of a Recent Style, much later than the Language of the true *Phalaris's* time: and Mr. B. in justification of him, brings a passage of the Evangelists, that come DC Years after *Phalaris*. But if it will give him any satisfaction, I'll allow that the Sophist himself was as ancient as the Evangelists: no wonder then if the same use of the word θυγάτηρ should be found both in Him and Them. But yet I humbly conceive, it would not follow, that the Old *Phalaris* would use it so. But the worst of all is still behind, That θυγάτηρ in the *Gospels* does not signify *Woman*, but properly and strictly *Daughter*. For it was the common way in Conversation, not only in the *Eastern* Countries, but every where else, when Persons of Age and Authority spoke kindly to their Juniors, to say, *Son*, or, *Daughter*; and the others again used to say, *Father*, or, *Mother*: though there was no Kindred at all between them. So *Helena* in *Homer* calls *Telemachus*, *Son*:

Δωρὸν τοι καὶ ἐγὼ, τέκνον φίλε, ἔγωγε δίδωμι.

And her Husband *Menelaus* too accosts him in the same Language:

Αἶμαί τοι εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος, οἷ' ἀρρεύσεις.

On the contrary, *Euryalus* greets *Ulysses* with the title of *Father*:

Δεῦρ' ἄγε καὶ σὺ, ξῶντι πάτερ, πείνησαι ἀέθλων.

And so *Bacchis* says to *Chremes* in *Terence*;

— — — *Asperum,*

*Pater, hoc est; aliud lenius fodes vide.*

There are other Instances innumerable of this custom in Conversation. Our Saviour therefore call'd the Woman *Daughter*, as *Eli* said to *Samuel*,

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*Samuel, My Son.* But must we infer from thence, that the words *Son* and *Daughter* may signify absolutely *Man* and *Woman*, as *Συγάτης* does in *Phalaris*? 'Tis an Inference that may become *Mr. B.* but if other Authors should follow his Fashion, it would sit but scurvily upon them. But he has another Invention yet in reserve; and it's best to make way for him; for he seems to be in a Rapture with it. 'Tis probable, he says, that in the more ancient MSS of *Phalaris* it was written contractedly *Σεγας*, which may be read either *Συγάτης* or *Σεξαίνας*. And being full blown with the opinion of his wonderful Acuteness in discovering this rare Expedient, He will ask, he says, an INSULTING Question; If our great Dealer in MSS did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he observ'd it, without owning it, where is his Sincerity? Why they are just where they were before this Question was put: and I dare warrant that neither of them are in danger of being hurt by't. For I deny that there's any such Abbreviation used in any Greek MSS, as *Σεγας* for *Σεξαίνας*. This the Examiner should have first prov'd, before he pretended to argue from it. But he'll never be able to do that, nor to produce one single Instance, no not out of all the MSS of the *Bodley*. For Abbreviations were never made use of, but in words that come frequently; so that both Labour and Room was saved by their repeated Contractions: as *πρ* was written for *πρῶτος*, *αυος* for *ἀνδραποῦς*; and in the old Copies of the Bible *Σε*, *κς*, *χς* for *Σιός*, *κίος*, *χίος*; because those words come in almost in every Verse. But if a Writer should abbreviate such words as *Σεξαίνας*, which scarce comes once in a whole Book, he would save himself but

but one moments Labour, and make his Copy unintelligible. 'Tis a mere Dream then of our Examiner, to think *ἑγὼ* may stand for *ἑγὼ παι-  
ρας*: and 'tis just as if he should say, that *πῆ*  
may stand for *πῆσις*, or *αὐτὸς* for *αὐτὸς ἐκ*. So  
seasonably has he put his *Insulting* Question; at  
a time, when he may think he comes very well  
off, if Himself be not insulted on.

III. Another Instance of Language, which  
the true *Phalaris* would not have used, was  
*παῖδων ἑγὼ*: for the Sophist speaks of *Parents*  
*who love their own Children*; but in the old time  
those words had a lewd signification. But to  
this the Gentleman replies, *that to Him the Ar-  
gument seems to lie quite the other way. For in*  
*later times the words were Scandalous; so that a*  
*Sophist would not have put 'em in Phalaris's mouth:*  
*but in Phalaris's time the Expression might be in-*  
*nocent.* True, a Sophist of Learning and Good  
Sense would have put proper words in the Ty-  
rant's mouth: but this sorry Declamer, as he  
has committed many worse blunders, so he might  
be guilty of this. We may know his character  
from that wretched ignorance of History and  
Antiquity which he so often discovers: and 'tis  
a just punishment upon him to have such Tran-  
slators and such Defenders. But let us see, how  
Mr. B. proves, that in the true *Phalaris's* time  
the words had an innocent meaning. *When Pha-*  
*laris, he says, would express the scandalous Love*  
*of Boys, he does not use this word, as later Authors*  
*do: for he calls Lycinus* *πῆρον ἐν παῖσι*, but not  
*παῖδεσσι*. Here our Learned Examiner takes  
*πῆρον ἐν παῖσι* to be equivalent to *παῖδεσσις*; and  
so indeed his Translation expresses it, *Cum pueris*  
*scortatorem esse*. But his Assistant methinks might  
have

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Ep. iv.



have taught him better, that ΠέρονΘ is not *Scortator*, but *Scortum*, *Cinædus*. Had he ever read *Æschines's* Oration against *Timarchus*, he would have met with a Dozen instances: and indeed it's never taken in any other Sense. The true Version therefore of *πέρων εν παισι* is *Inter pueros Cinædum, A Catamite, when you was a Boy*. So that this Argument, instead of shewing that the Sophist would put proper words in Phalaris's mouth, has only shewn, that a late Editor puts improper words in the Sophist's mouth.

To convince Mr. B. that *παιδεσθῆς* had no innocent meaning, even so early as *Phalaris's* time; *Solon* a Contemporary of the Tyrant's, forbid it by Law to all Servants. He made a Law, (z) says *Plutarch*, Δούλον μὴ ξηραλοῖσθιν, μηδὲ παιδεσθῆν, That Servants should not love Boys. And that the vile Practice of it was in *Sicily* then, as well as in *Athens*; Mr. B. who believes the *Epistles* genuine, may be satisfied from the iv, which we have newly cited: for if *Lycinus* was ΠέρονΘ, there was somebody else *παιδεσθῆς*. And they that have a lower opinion of those *Epistles*, may be convinc'd of it by another token; because *Chariton* and *Melanippus*, two *Agrigentines* and Conspirators against *Phalaris*, are infamous for *παιδεσθῆς*: though the Devils Oracle celebrated them for it,

(a) See *Athenæus*,  
*Ælian*, *Epist. Præp.*  
*Evang.*  
P. 65.

(a) Εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων ἢ Μελάνιπποϋ ἔφθ, Θείας ἡγνότητος ἐφημερίαις φιλόποτο.

But Mr. B. further objects, That *Παίδων ἐρασαὶ* and *Παιδεσθῆσαι* sound very differently. Musically argued indeed! there's a very sounding Syllable *ων*, that makes them differ extremely. But we'll allow Mr. B. to be a good Judge of Sounds; if he'll allow others to be tolerable Judges of

of *Sense*: and in That the words are so exactly alike, that the nicest Writers never thought of distinguishing them. (b) *Æschines* therefore, (b) *Æschin.* when he speaks of the same Law of *Solon*, does *c. Timar-* not use παιδεαστῖν, as *Plutarch* does, but παιδός *chum.* ἐράν: and even *Plutarch* himself in another place Δύλον ἐ- expresses it so, (c) Δούλοις ἐράν ἀρρένων παίδων ἀ- λευθέρου παιδός μὴ πῦπ. Let them sound then never so differently, ἐράν. they are equivalent we see in signification. (c) *Plut in*

*Mr. B.* concludes this point with what he *Ερωτικῶ.* thinks to be his strongest defense; That παιδε- P. 66. σῆς is used in *Plato* in a virtuous Sense. True perhaps; but let us see how he proves it. Why, he brings a Passage out of *Plato's Symposium*, Πάν- τως ὁ τοιούτῳ παιδεασῆς τε καὶ φιλεασῆς γίγνεται. But *Mr. B.* has once shown us already, how very See here skilfull he is in *Plato's* Writings; and his second P. 279. Essay upon them does not degenerate from his first. The matter lies thus: The subject of that Dialogue of *Plato's* is an Encomium of *Love*; and each of the Guests makes a set Speech in its Commendation. But we must not suppose that all the Speeches are Philosophical, and becoming the mouth of *Socrates* or *Plato* himself; but they are suited to the Characters of the several Persons that speak them. Some of them therefore are lewd enough, according to the company. For even *Agatho* himself, the Master of the Feast, was a Catamite; as appears by the Dialogue it self, and by the old Comedians and others. Among the rest then, *Aristophanes* the Comic Poet is introduc'd making an Oration about Love. And he tells a long Fable, that at first Mankind were all made double, with two Heads, four Arms, four Legs, &c. and there were three sorts of them, some were double

E c

Men,

Men, some double Women, and some Hermaphrodites. Afterwards upon some offense they had committed, *Jupiter* split them all into Two's: from whence arises now in Mankind that natural Desire of some Companion, as his other Half to perfect his Being; and even all the Varieties of that Desire proceed from the same cause. For of those that in the former State were Hermaphrodites, the Male Half still desires the Woman, and all such are now Lovers of Women and Adulterers: and the Female Half desires the Man; and such are Lovers of Men and Adulteresses. But of those that in the original State were double Men, both the Halves now are Lovers of Males; so that when young, they are Catamites; and when grown up, they are *μυσσηγαστοι*, Lovers of Boys: and of those that were double Women, both are now *ἐμυσεύσαι*, Women Lovers of Women. This is the Substance of *Aristophanes's* Speech; and as it's observ'd by some of the Ancients, that *Plato* in his *Symposium* makes *Aristophanes* have a drunken Hiccough; taking that revenge upon the Poet for abusing his Master *Socrates*: So I am persuaded, that from the same Motive he has put such a Speech in that Poet's Mouth, as shews him to be, what he really was, a very debauch'd Fellow. And is not Mr. B. now a man of wonderful Judgment, to produce a passage out of this Speech of *Aristophanes*, as an instance that *μυσσηγαστος* has a virtuous Sense? What sort of Sense was in himself then, I leave others to judge. For if the *μυσσηγαστος* there has an innocent meaning; by the same rule the *μυσηγας*, and *μυσηγασται*, and *ἐμυσεύσαι*, must be harmless names too: which perhaps Mr. B. will not be willing to affirm.



firm. But he says, *That the Speaker himself professes afterwards, that he meant not those words of a lascivious Love:* which is just after his usual way, to defend one Error by another. For the very words that he cites there prove the contrary to what he draws from them. *Aristophanes*, to make the Fable he had told look probable, describes some instances of such vehement Lovers, that the one cannot live at ease one moment out of the other's Company. In which cases, says he, the Pleasure of Venery does not seem a competent cause of it; but the true reason is, that every such Couple were the Numerical Halves; that made up one compleat Person in the former State: whereby they have such a natural Propension to one another, that, if it were possible, they would be one Body again. Is it not evident here now, that a *lascivious Love* is supposed; only it is not allow'd as an adequate cause? Read but *Aristophanes's* own Plays, and the \* Character that's given of him in this very *Symposion*, and then say, if his Meaning can be so chaste here.

We have seen now what a rare Commentator upon *Plato* our Learned Examiner is, and I shall leave him to be scourg'd, not only by the *Platonists*, as he did Me, but by every one that understands good Sense and Decorum. But yet after all, I am far from asserting that *παιδείας* and *παιδης* are never innocently meant in *Plato* and other Socratical Writers. For the word was used by them metaphorically; and though it had better been let alone, and no Scandal been given by it, yet in self the Metaphor was proper and just. For a Philosopher may be said to be the true *Παίδης ἐργης* in opposition to the others: since what They admire in Beauty out

of impure Lust, He loves and reverences as an Image of the Divine Beauty. But even This is a certain Argument, that Παιδὸν ἑαυτοῦ could not in those Ages signifie *Lovers of their OWN Children* (as it does in *Phalaris's* Epistles) no not metaphorically. Because there was nothing to take such a Metaphor from: for, though Sodomy was an Epidemical Vice in those unhappy Ages of the World; yet the Abomination of a Father with his own Son, such a horrid mixture of Sodomy and Incest, was never spoken of even then, nor had any Name. Nay, though we should suppose, that such a complicate Wickedness had been practised among them; yet the Name would have been even then accounted too foul and abominable, to be employed for a modest Metaphor.

IV. Mr. B. has had the Privilege of committing a great number of Mistakes; and upon a review, I do not find he has yet made out, that I have writ one single word amiss; except where by a small slip of the Memory *Buda* was put for *Belgrade*. Four hundred Pages then have been all spent in refuting his Abuses and Errors; a very great exercise both of Patience and good Nature. For a Recompense of all which tedious Labour, I desire but one small favour of him, *That he'll give Me leave to make the next Mistake*: I'll promise him it shall be no shamefull one, and it shall be the only time I'll trouble him in this way, in all the Controverſie that I have with him. Among the Words that I believ'd had an innovated Sense in the Epistles of *Phalaris*, there were Πεδίσκου *to give before hand*, and Διῶκος *to follow as a Friend, not as a Pursuer*. I could not call to mind at that

that time any old Writer, that had used them so : and the Press staying for more Copy (for the whole Dissertation was carried thither Leaf by Leaf, while the Ink was scarce dry on them) I had no leisure to make any search. I will freely own therefore to Mr. B. that my Memory, which is none of the best, deceiv'd me here. For I had formerly read those very Passages, that he produces; and when I read them, I understood them in the same Meaning, that he does; though at that time they were quite out of my mind.

But though I was mistaken by a deceitful Memory; yet the Glory, that Mr. B. acquires by correcting the Error, is too light, to be put in the balance against his Faults. Though I shall not go about to make it less; but give Him and his Admirers leave to magnify it as much as they can. He has told me, *That I expose my self to be corrected by every one, that can turn an Index or a Lexicon.* And to explain himself he adds in his

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Margin this passage of (d) *Quintilian*; which serves for no other purpose there, but to shew he understood it not. For *Quintilian* does not speak of such *Index's* as Books have now-a-days: but after

(d) *Quint. x, i. Nec sane quisquam est tam procul à cognitione eorum remotus, ut non Indicem certe ex Bibliotheca sumptum transferre in Libros suos possit.*

he had nam'd several of the Greek Poets, *Homer, Antimachus, Euphorion, &c.* I pass over the Names of the rest, says he, for there's no body so destitute of the means of knowing them, but he may copy the Catalogue of them out of a Library. This shews us, that in those days too, the Libraries had Catalogues of the Books belonging to them; but what Relation has that to *Lexicon's* and our Modern *Index's*? Mr. B. presently excuses himself for the Multitude of Quotations, that fill the Margin of



that Odd Work of his. And indeed after such a Citation from *Quintilian*, it was very seasonable to beg that pardon, though upon another account than He was aware of. But to forgive our Examiner this Blunder, 'tis very true what he says, *that a Man that can turn an Index or a Lexicon* might easily correct those mistakes of mine. For those significations of *δῶν* and *ἐγὼ δῶν*, which I had then forgot, are taken notice of in the *Greek Concordances* and *Constantine's Lexicon*. Mr. B. then has taught the World nothing, nor improv'd Learning in any sort; for the Things were known, we see, a hundred years ago. And it's pretty remarkable, that after all the Clamour of the Examiner, and some inferior Tools that have seconded him,

(e) *Virum  
in volu-  
dis lexicis  
satis dili-  
gentem.*

(e) *That I know nothing but out of Index's and Lexicons*; yet the Only Mistake, that their united Learning could convict me of, had been avoided, if I really were such a Turner of *Index's* and *Lexicons*.

A Mistake through mere Forgetfulness, and but once or very seldom committed, has been always esteem'd one of the Best sort, and to leave the least Blemish upon the Author. For if That were enough to disgrace a Writer, no body could escape the Infamy, except those that were inspir'd. If I do not make false Judgments of Things, and if I reason truly from Premises: for a bare Error of the Memory I shall not be solicitous, but fairly trust my Reputation to the present Age and Posterity. Whatever the World shall think of my Performances, I shall acquiesce in the Censure. As I do not write Books for Fame; so I am not concern'd about the Reception they shall meet with:

— *Valeat*

—Valeat res Ludicra, si me

*Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.*

However, when I consider what the Things are, that among the best Judges raise or depress the Character of a Man of Letters; I had much rather be found guilty of forgetting those unusual Significations of *διώκω* and *διώκω*, than of managing the Matter as Mr. B. has done. For of Eight Examples, that he has brought of the latter of those words, Six are nothing to the purpose. The thing that I had said was this; That *διώκω* then only signify'd to pursue; when that which fled, fear'd and shun'd the Pursuer: as where Achilles pursues Hector in Homer;

Τῷ δὲ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς τινε' ἔπειθε διώκων·

Περίδω μὲρ ἑδιδόξεν ἱερουργε, δῖος δὲ μὴν μέγ' ἀμείνων.

And Mr. B. in refutation of this has produc'd Six Instances, where *διώκω* does not at all mean to pursue, but in a metaphorical sense to desire, to court, to seek. And what are all these to the Point? I spoke of that Sense of *διώκω*, when it signifies to pursue. 'Twas the very Supposition, that it had the meaning of Pursuing; which Notion, when it belong'd to it, was accompany'd, as I then thought, with another of being shun'd. As for the figurative Sense of desiring and seeking, That I had not forgot; for 'tis the most common acceptance of it. The only true way then. to answer me, was to bring an Instance, where it means a Pursuit, but yet without being shun'd; as when one Friend pursues or follows after another. And I own that Two of his Instances plainly prove this; but the other Six, that are all Metaphor, among which are those out of Scripture, are not at all pertinent to the business: and they are a greater Evidence of His

bad Judgment, than Mine are of My bad Memory.

P. 61, 63. Mr. B. makes a mighty out-cry, as if my forgetting a Greek word in the *Septuagint* or the *New Testament*, was to subvert the Authority of them; and he has an Enquiry to make of me, *Whether I think my Philosophical Lectures serve more to the establishment of Religion, than my Criticisms do to overthrow it?* The Gentleman has told us, what disposition he's of; for he thinks *Ridicule the most diverting thing in the World*. But I humbly conceive, that he had better employ his Talent at *Grimace* and *Banter* upon other occasions, than where the Scripture is concern'd. For it shews no great reverence to those Sacred Writings, to bring them, though it be but as Accessaries, into Farce and Ridicule. And perhaps it's no great Discretion in him to cast such an oblique slur upon my *Lectures against Atheism*. They were preach'd upon an Establishment of the Great and Good Mr *Boyle*, to whom this Gentleman has the honour to be related; and though they are much below what I could wish them, and what the Subject of them deserves; yet the World has receiv'd them favourably, and they are translated into more Languages than one. He had better therefore have omitted this little Affront upon those Sermons; lest the Readers calling to mind the Founder of that Lecture, should be invited to make a Comparison between Him and another of his Name.

The most excellent Bishop *Pearson* had design'd a new Edition of *Ignatius's* Epistles with an ample Commentary: a specimen of which Posthumous Work has been publish'd by the Learned Dr. *Smith*; and the whole is earnestly expected



expected from him. For though it has not pass'd the last Hand of the Author; yet it's every way worthy of him, and the very Dust of His Writings is Gold. In that publish'd Specimen there is this Annotation upon the words of Ignatius, ΤΟΝ ΤΜΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΑΝΤΑ. *Vox Paulina, ex 2 Tim. 3. 15. Τὰ δυνάμειν αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ εἰς σωτηρίαν.* Quæ te possunt sapientem reddere. *Neque ante eum vox activa eo sensu reperitur cum accusativo Personæ.* Where the Bishop positively affirms, That Σοφίζω in the acceptation of making wise is a word of St. Paul's framing: for before Him no body us'd it in that Sense. But in this his Memory deceiv'd him; for, as Dr. Smith observ'd to me, there is the very same Use of the word in Psalm XVIII, 8. Ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου πᾶσι, σοφίζου ψῆμα; and Psal. CIV, 22. Καὶ τὸς πρεσβυτέρους αὐτοῦ σοφίᾳ. What shall we say now to this? for the Bishop's case is exactly Mine. His Lordship had forgot one word in the Bible, and I had forgot another. Will the Examiner insult upon that Great Man, as he has done upon Me? I will only change the Persons, and we'll see how his *Insulting* and *Grimace* becomes him. The Bishop avers that St. Paul is the First, that uses Σοφίζω for making wise. What shall we do then for the Septuagint? At this rate that Translation must come after St. Paul: So that the Writings that carry their Names must be ccc years younger than we Christians suppose 'em. And that Version ascribed to the LXX cannot be an ancient Work, but was penn'd by some recent Sophist. What shall we say to this? Shall we allow Bishop Pearson to be a scurvy Critic, or shall we in Tenderneſs to his Honour give up our Greek Bibles? Perhaps the Bishop may for this once be mistaken; but I have one

Enquiry

P. 66.

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*Enquiry more to make of him on this occasion, and that is this, Whether he thinks his Exposition of the Creed serves more to the Establishment of Religion, than his Criticisms do to overthrow it? For is he not positive, that Σοφισμ in that sense was first used by St. Paul? And is not the very same Word in the same Sense to be met with twice in the Septuagint? Should not so profound a Grecian and Divine, as He is, have look'd a little into the Old Testament, before he had pronounc'd such rash and groundless Assertions? Could men imagin One who writes at this rate, to have any Meaning, they would think he had a very ill one: but the whole management of his Controversies clears him from all suspicions of Meaning and Design. These are the very words of Mr. B. only the Bishop and his Writings are substituted for Me and Mine: not that I make any Comparison of my poor Papers with that Great Man's incomparable Works: but I would shew, that Mr. B's Argument holds alike against us Both. And Mr. B. must needs acknowledge now, that I have One good Page in This Edition of my Dissertation, as well as I had in the Former: for being his Own, I think I know his humor so well, that he cannot but be pleased with it.*

*Pref.*

But to put an end to this Article. The only thing that Mr. B. has said well upon this Head, is about the meaning of Two words: which may prove indeed, that I was mistaken; but it does not at all defend his *Phalaris*. For of the Five words, that I instanc'd in, the greater Part do still keep their Ground: and if Two Strings be broken, here are Three yet left, that will hold as strongly as all the Five. If the *Sicilian Prince* therefore has no better a Champion, than Mr. B.

is;

is; his Case will still appear to be desperate. For the wild Question that the Examiner puts to me; *How do you know, but those Words might be in use in Phalaris's time, and be drop'd afterwards when the Learned Age came on, and be reviv'd again, as that declin'd?* though it deserve no answer, yet it has one. For we know from the Laws of Solon, who was Phalaris's contemporary, that the Language of the Epistles was not the Language of that Time. Nay though we had not those Remains of Solon's to shew, Mr. B's Suppositions would still be very infirm ones. For here are Three Revolutions of the same words, *Used, Drop'd, Reviv'd*, that are all precariously suppos'd without any manner of Proof. A way of Argumentation that some *Young Writers* may make a Dust with; but then their Works will hardly live to be Old ones. P. 61.

## XIV.

**B**UT should we connive at his using the *Attic* Dialect, and say not a word of those flaws and innovations in his Stile; yet there is one thing still, that, I fear, will more difficultly be forgiven him; that is, a very slippery way in telling of Money. This is a tender point, and will make every body shy and cautious of entertaining him. In the LXXXV Epistle he talks of a *Hundred Talents*, *πάλαντα ἑκατόν*; of Fifteen more, in the CXVIII; Eight, in the CXXXVII; Seven, in the CIV; Five, in the CXLIII; and Three in the XCV.

These



These affairs being transacted in the middle of *Sicily*, and all the persons concerned being natives and inhabitants there; who would not be ready to conclude, that he meant the *Talent* of the Country? since he gives not the least hint of his meaning a foreign Summ. If a bargain were made in *England*, to pay so many Pounds or Marks, and the party should pretend at last that he meant *Scots* Marks, or *French* Livres: few, I suppose, would care to have Dealings with him. Now this is the very case in so many of these Letters. In the Lxxth indeed he is more punctual with *Polyclitus* his Physician; for he speaks expressly of *Attic* Money, Μυριάδας Ἀττικὰς πέντε, 50,000 *Attic* Drachms. But this is so far from excusing him, that it is a plain condemnation out of his own mouth. For if it was necessary to tell *Polyclitus*, that he meant the *Attic* Money, and not the *Sicilian*; why had he not the same caution and ingenuity towards all the rest? We are to know, That in *Sicily*, as in most other Countries, the Name and Value of their Coins, and the way of reckoning by Summs, were peculiar. The Summ *Talent*, in the *Sicilian* Account, contained no more in Specie than Three *Attic* Drachms, or *Roman* Denares; as plainly appears from

from \* *Aristotle*, in his now lost Treatise <sup>\* Pollux, lib. ix. c. 6.</sup> of the *Sicilian Governments*. And the words of *Festus* are most exprefs, † *There* <sup>† Talento- rum non u- num genus : Atticum est sex milli- um denari- um, Syra- cusanum trium de- narium.</sup> are several sorts of Talents : the Attic contains 6000 Denares, the Syracusan 3 Denares. What an immense difference! One Attic Talent had the real value of Two Thousand Sicilian Talents. Now, in all these Epistles the very Circumstances assure us, that by the word *Talent* simply named, the Attic Talent is understood. But should not our wise Sophist have known, that a *Talent*, in that Country where he had laid the Scene of his Letters, was quite another thing? Without question, if the true *Phalaris* had penn'd them, he would have reckon'd these Sums by the *Sicilian* Talents, encreasing only the Number : Or should he have made use of the Attic Account, he would always have given exprefs notice of it : never saying *τάλαντον* alone, without the addition of *Ἀττικόν*.

THE Examiner enters upon this Article with such an Air of Satisfaction, as carries in it an Assurance of Victory. *If the Dr. says he, can make this out, I promise to renounce the whole Sett of Epistles.* Now here's fair encouragement for me to take pains; since if I can carry this Single Point, I shall have the honour of making by it so Illustrious a Profelyte. But if we consider that

that extraordinary Zeal, that he shews all along for his *Sicilian Prince*; we may look upon This as a *Defiance* rather than a *Promise*. Nay I am inform'd, that this Part in particular is by some others, as well as by himself, believ'd to be unanswerable; nay that some have proceeded so far in its Commendation, as to suspect that it was not written by the same Hand, that made the rest of the Book. But I shall do the Examiner that piece of service, to clear him of that hard Censure upon account of this admired Chapter; for I will prove it's no better than the rest of the Performance; but every Paragraph in't either Mistake or false Reasoning, from beginning to end.

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Before he comes to the business it self, he will shew us how captious he can be, and how expert at Chicanry. He would ridicule my Comparison of the *Sicilian Talent* in *Phalaris* to the *Scots Marks* and *French Livres*. For the Case, he says, is just contrary. Now the ground of my Comparison was this: By the spurious *Phalaris* the Reader is made at first to believe, that great Summs of Money are expended, Ten Talents and a Hundred Talents: but when he comes to look narrowly into the matter, he finds he's deceived; for the *Sicilian Talent* must be intended, if he be the truly *Phalaris*; and by that means the account will fall and dwindle from a Hundred Pounds Sterling to a single Shilling. Let the Reader be judge now, if the comparison was not just. But he asks me, *What cloudy Author had I been conversing with, that could give this perverse turn to my Imagination?* If conversation with a cloudy Author would necessarily confound a man's head; Mr. B. might be secure, for



for his Book could never be answer'd. But I hope, that notwithstanding that dangerous *Conversation*, that I have had with it for some time, I can yet be able to *clear up* all the puzzling and perplex'd Stuff, that he has brought or can bring against me.

But first it may not be improper, for the satisfaction of such as read not *Phalaris's* Epistles, to shew the *Attic* Talent must be meant there, value 180 *l. English*; not the *Sicilian* Talent, which is no more than Five Groats. I suppose here, See here as I did above, that the *Attic* Pound weight of P. 360. XII Ounces is equal to an *English* one: so that a *Mina* weighing XII Ounces of Silver may be reckon'd equal to three Pounds Sterling. There's no need of greater exactness in our present Calculations. Now the Tyrant is introduc'd complaining, that the *Catanians* by an Incurſion into Ep. 104. his Territories had plunder'd him of VII Talents: which if they be supposed *Attic* Talents, make 1260 *l. Sterling*; but if *Sicilian*, but 12 *s. 7 d.* too small a Summ for a Prince to be concern'd at. In another place, out of great Liberality Ep. 143. he gives v Talents for a Lady's Portion; which in *Attic* is 900 *l. Sterling*; but in *Sicilian*, 9 *s.* too small a Fortune for a Lady of her Quality. There are more instances of this sort; and in several places too he names *δραχμαὶ*, *Drachms*, which were no *Sicilian* Money.

Mr. B. begins with an attack against the Credit P. 75, 76. of my Witnesses, *Pollux*, *Festus*, and *Aristotle*. And first he cavils at my calling *Aristotle's* Book a Treatise of the *Sicilian Governments*. He owns *Aristotle* wrote an account of the Governments of the *Sicilian Cities* (as the Πολίτεια Συρακουσίων, Ιμερίων, Αλεξανδρινών, Γελών, &c.) but it does not appear

appear that the Book bore such a Title. But if that do not appear, something else plainly does, That Mr. B. was in great want of Arguments, when he descended to such trifling Exceptions. Among which I must reckon what he says against the Authority of Pollux; That one of Seberus's MSS wanted those Pages whence this Passage is cited: so that there's room to doubt, whether it be genuine. But it was extant in the MS from which Aldus first printed the Book; and in a MS of the late Is. Vossius's, a Transcript of which I have by me; and in the Palatine MS used by

(a) Salmas. (a) Salmasius. The same Seberus informs us, that one of his MSS wanted all the iv last Books, and two of them wanted viii: will Mr. B. therefore discard all those, and leave us Two only of the Ten? And is it not something like a Riddle, that so small a hole will make room for him to doubt, if Pollux's passage be genuine: and yet no room is wide enough to let him doubt, if his Phalaris be genuine?

But allowing the Passage to be Pollux's own; yet we are told there, he says, that a Sicilian Talent is equal to XII Νύμμοι, and a Νύμμος equal to three Ομόλια; which Ομόλια is a corrupted word, and must be help'd out by a Correction: so that all that we can talk from Pollux about the Nummus and the Talent, is bottom'd upon a mere Conjecture. But this Objection of the Examiner is bottom'd upon a mistake of his own: for the MS of Vossius has it plainly ἡμισβόλια. Nay though all the Copies were corrupted here, they would do the Examiner no service; because our Accounts with Phalaris about his Talents are not so nice as to depend upon ὁμόλια or ἡμισβόλια, a Penny or three half Pence. For we know from another Passage, which

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P. 23.

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“ TWO



“ two sorts of *Sicilian* Talents : the Old one consisting of xxiv Νύμμοι, the New one of xii : which small one I have follow’d in my Computations, though *Phalaris* must be supposed to reckon by the most Ancient. This indeed is very material, and I know not how to come off ; for I have sunk the *Prince’s* Expenses half in half. Let them be stated then, as Mr. B. will have them : and so the *Catanians* plunder’d *Phalaris* of 1 l. 15 s. 2 d. and the Lady’s Fortune, that he paid out of his Coffers came to 18 s. both which Bills I had cut off in the middle. And is the matter now mended by this, or is my Argument at all the weaker for’t ? Mr. B. shews himself to be a better Steward of his Master *Phalaris’s* Revenue, than of his own Reputation : for he owns *the point is not worth contending for*. But however it serves to fill a whole Page, which is no inconsiderable service. The reason, why of the two Accounts, that were both equal to my main purpose, I chose to follow the latter, was, because *Festus* reckons the *Syracusan* Talent by *Aristotle’s* lower Rate : So that two Authors concurring in’t, I gave it the Preference.

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Mr. B. grows at last angry with *Pollux* himself ; and will give him no credit in this matter. For he cites such things here out of *Aristotle*, as cannot be admitted, no not upon *Aristotle’s* own Testimony. “ As where he tells us, That the “ *Sicilians* reckon’d δύο χαλκῆς, two brass Pieces “ to be equal to ἑξάλιτρα, six Litra ; and six “ brass Pieces to be equal to half a Litra. But “ how can two be xii times as many as six ? Again, says he, to confound us the more, he tells us from the same *Aristotle*, “ That ἑξ πάλαντα, six “ Talents are equal to two brass Pieces, and “ that

“ that *τρία τάλαντα*, three Talents are equal to  
 “ three brass Pieces. But how can three be  
 “ more than six? Now if this Argument have  
 any force in’t, it must prove that *Aristotle*, or  
*Pollux* at least, could not count Three, nor  
 knew the difference between Two and Six. Mr.  
*B.* I dare say, is the first man that disputed at  
 this rate: and till such another *Aristotle*, as he  
 describes here, comes into the world, perhaps  
 he will be the last. The whole Banter is only  
 founded upon three false Readings of *Pollux*,  
 (c) *Ἐξάλιτα*, and (d) *Ἐξ Τάλαντα*, and *Τρία Τά-* (c) *Pollux*  
*λαντα*. The two first belong to one and the same *P. 216.*  
 thing, and must both be corrected *Ἐξάντα*; and (d) *P. 436.*  
 the third *Τριάντα*. So slight an Emendation  
 makes the whole Passage consistent: and I shall  
 shew by and by, that it’s both necessary and cer-  
 tain. *The Examiner must give me leave now and* *P. 67.*  
*then to ask him one of his own Questions*, though  
 I will not give it as he does, the Epithet *INSUL-*  
*TING*; *If our great Dealer in spurious Authors*  
*did not observe this, where is his Sagacity? If he*  
*observ’d it without owning it, where is his Sinceri-*  
*ty? One of the two will be very hard press’d:*  
*but for his Sincerity I’ll be Voucher in this parti-*  
*cular; because its plain by his miserable offer at*  
*a Correction, to be consider’d anon, that his Sa-*  
*gacity was not awake here.*

But he says, *Pollux in the same place informs*  
*us*, “ That the Talent of every Country was  
 “ divided into LX Minæ, and each of those Mi-  
 “ næ into c Drachms. If the Sicilian Talent  
 “ then was but three Attic Drachms, the *Sicili-*  
 “ *an Mina* was no more than one *English Far-*  
 “ thing and a half, and the *Drachm* not the  
 “ *cxvith* part of a Farthing, and yet in Silver

too; a Species of Money not to be counted without the help of Microscopes: so that when we have occasion hereafter to express the Value, or rather Worthlessness, of any contemptible Performance, we shall say, it is not worth a Sicilian Drachm. I like the Gentleman's Motion well; and since we can never have a better occasion of using this new Saying, I must crave leave to tell him, that his own Performance in this very Paragraph is contemptible, and not worth one of his imaginary Sicilian Drachms. For there's no such thing in Pollux, as what the Examiner tells us from him, That the Talent of each Country was divided into LX Mi-

(e) Pollux p. 437. Ἡ μινᾶ  
ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἔχου-  
σιν εἶχε δραχμὰς Ἀπικὰς,  
ἐπὶ καὶ παρὰ πῶς ἄλλοις  
ταῖς ὁππωρεῖς, δυναμένας  
πρὸς λόγον τὸ κατ' ἐχού-  
σας τάλαντα, κατὰ τὴν  
πρὸς Ἀπικὴν καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν.

nae. I will set down that Author's words: (e) As the Mina, says he, at Athens contained c Attic Drachms, so the Minae of other Countries contained c Drachms of each Country: which Drachms were in value to the Attic Drachm in the same proportion, as the Talent

of each (above-mention'd) was to the Attic Talent. Here it's evident from Pollux, that the Mina of every Country contain'd c Drachms, and the Drachm of every Country was the 6000th part of the Talent of that Country: but here is not the least hint, that the Talent of every Country contain'd LX Minæ. These two, I humbly conceive, are very different Propositions: though the Examiner, with his Logic System in his head, confounded them. Where-ever there were such names of Money as Minæ and Drachms, there was a Talent: Pollux therefore observ'd truly, that in every Country these two bore the same Proportion to Attic Minæ and Drachms, as Talent did to Talent. But then it is not true in the Reverse, That where-ever there was a Talent,



lent, there were *Minæ* and *Drachms*: for in *Sicily* and the *Doric Colonies of Italy*, *Tarentum*, *Rhégium*, *Neapolis*, there was a *Talent*, but no such Name, nor Species, nor Summ, as either *Mina* or *Drachm*. The *Talent* there was not divided into *Minæ* and *Drachms*, but into *Νέμους*, *Λίτρας*, *Οὐγκίας*. *Pollux* therefore has quite separated his account (f) of the *Sicilian Money* (f) *Pollux*, from that of other Nations: but if the *Sicilian Talent* had been divisible into *Minæ* and *Drachms*, as the other Talents he there speaks of; he would certainly have included That too in his general Estimation of Talents. Let the Reader now be Judge, if the Examiner's Performances here do not deserve his own new invented Expression, *Not worth a Sicilian Drachm*. Let him take it then to himself; for he tells us, that his *Sicilian Prince* was (g) celebrated for (g) *Præf Phalar*. his Justice, when he made *Perillus* handfel his own Invention. Mr. B. therefore cannot complain, if He gives the first Handfel to His: though the Phrase carries a lower *Worthlessness* in't, than he was aware of For he computed the *Sicilian Drachm* to be the *LXVth* part of an *English Farthing*: whereas now it plainly appears to be Nothing at all; and exactly of the same value with an *Utopian Drachm*.

Mr. B. in his Margin quotes two very Learned Men, *Brerewood* and *Gronovius*; who affirm, he says, *that every Talent contains 6000 Drachms*. P. 81, 82. Now if this had really been their Opinion; yet it had signified nothing here: for we do not go by Authorities, but by Truth. If they believ'd so, they were certainly mistaken: neither do *Pollux* and *Suidas*, the Authors cited by *Brerewood*, say any such matter. But if Mr. B had

either been diligent or ingenuous here, he would have seen; that it was only a loose Expression of those two Learned men, that drop'd from them unawares: for *Brerewood* in the same Page, and *Gronovius* in the same Chapter, that Mr. B. has quoted, expressly affirm on my side, that the *Sicilian* Talent was anciently Six, and afterwards Three Denares. Mr. B. we see has another obligation here to excuse himself to the Reader for his multitude of Quotations.

P. 68.

P. 83, 84.

His next Attempt is upon the Passage of *Festus*, *Talentum Syracusanum trium Denarium*: which he ushers in with an Harangue about *Festus's* Abridgment of *Verrius Flaccus*, and *Paulus Diaconus's* Abridgment of *Festus*: a Story known to every Body, that have once look'd into *Festus*. But what was this to his Purpose? Let *Paulus* be as mean a Writer, as Mr. B. pleases: yet this Passage is not cited from His Epitome, but from *Festus* himself. But Mr. B. will now tell us something, which is more to his purpose; That all the Editions of *Festus* take care to warn us, that for *Syracusanum trium Denarium*, we ought to read, *Syracusanum trium Millium Denarium*: and thereupon, to make a Show and a Noise with, he crams his poor Margin with half a dozen Citations. Now the thing is no more than this: The first Editor of this Passage of *Festus*, not understanding how a Talent could be so little a Summ as Three Denares, put that Conjecture in the Margin for an Emendation, as he thought it: and so it has been continued since, and some of the Editors have espoused it: for all Editors, Mr. B. knows, are not infallible. But the MS Copy of *Festus*, and the Text of all the Editions, represent it as it's quoted by Me: and

and all the best Writers about Money have for this Hundred years embraced it, *Scaliger*, *Brerewood*, *Salmasius*, *Gronovius*, &c. and before this Section is ended, it will be made out to be the True Reading.

But he'll prove now out of *Sicilian Writers*, *p. 85, 86*, and those that speak of *Sicilian Affairs*; that the *87, 88.*

Talent of that Country had not such a low value as I would assign to it out of *Festus* and *Pol-lux*: but of all his Authors there's but One, that writes in the *Sicilian Dialect*, and that is *Theocritus*; and he indeed mentions a *Mina* as the price of a Woman's Gown, and *vii Drachms* paid for *v* Fleeces of Wool; which cannot be of that low and small sort of Drachms, that *Mr. B.* has now discover'd by the help of his *Microscope*. Now allowing, what *Mr. B.* supposes, that *Theocritus* speaks here of *Sicilian Money*: yet it ought to be consider'd, that he lived near *ccc* Years after *Phalaris's* time; in which interval the Species of Money might be alter'd in *Sicily*. That the Money of *Syracuse*, where *Theocritus* was born, was recoin'd in that time, is very certain. *A-*

*ristotle* informs us, (b) That *Dionysius* the First (b) *Arist.*  
got all the Money and Riches of *Syracuse* in- *Polit. v.*

to his hands in Five years time. And (i) that (i) *Arist.*  
having borrow'd money of the Citizens at Inte- *Oecon. ii.*

rest; upon their demanding it, he order'd every 20,

man upon the pain of death to bring in all the money he had; and when the money was brought in, he recoin'd it, and made every piece of New money pass for double the former value, and so paid them out of their own Silver. So

the *Romans* in (k) the first *Punic War* recoin'd (k) *Pliny*  
all their Brass money; and made every Ounce *xxxiii, 3-*

go for *vi* times as much as it did before But



(1) Δραχ-  
μῶν δύο  
Σικανικῶν  
Δραχμῶν.

*Dionysius* perhaps did not only recoin the money of *Syracuse*; but alter the Species too and the Names of it: for *Aristotle* there says, he coin'd (1) a *Drachm* which he put off for a double *Drachm*. Now we may gather from *Aristotle* himself, as *Pollux* has cited him, that among the old *Sicilian* money there was no such Name as a *Drachm*. *Dionysius* therefore, or some body before him, had alter'd the money at *Syracuse*, and had introduc'd the *Greek* Species there. But perhaps we ought not to take *Aristotle*'s words so strictly and literally in this place. In his Accounts of the *Sicilian* Governments, whence *Pollux* has his Citations, he was obliged to use the words of the Country: but in his *Oeconomics* he might take the common Liberty of Writers, to reduce the *Sicilian* money to some Equivalent of the *Attic*. By the *Drachm* therefore of *Dionysius* he may mean perhaps the *Sicilian* Δραγματεον or Denare, and express it by the Name of *Drachm* as known among the *Græcians*, and about the same value. But let this be as every one pleases: I suppose it will be allow'd, that in ccc years time the Species of money might be alter'd in *Sicily* as in *England* by the late great Reformation of our Coin, the Species call'd Nine-pences and Four pence half-penies are gone, and perhaps may never be reduc'd into use again. What *Aristotle* therefore tells us about the Old *Sicilian* Money cannot be refuted from the Species of *Theocritus*'s time, or any that come after him.

Besides this I have another Answer to this Instance from *Theocritus*; for the Poet does not speak of *Sicilian* Money. The Passages that Mr. B. cites are out of the xvth *Idyllion*;

Γο. Πραξινὸν, μάλα τοι τὸ χαλαπὺ χέει ἐμπειρόναμα  
Τὺ το πρίπει· λέγε μοι, πῶς κατέβα τοι ἀφ' ἑσῶ;

Πρ. Μὴ μνάσῃς, Γοργῶι· πλεον ἀργυρίῳ καδαρῶ μνάει  
Ἡ δὲ ——— and again,

Χαῖμος ταυτὰ γ' ἔχει, φθόρε' ἀργυρίου, Διοκλείδης·

Ἐπὶ δ' εὐχαμῶν κυνάδας, γεραίαν ἀποσίλημα πρῶν,

Πέντε πόκος ἔλας' ἔχθες, ἅπαν ῥύπε' ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργῳ.

where it's own'd, that *Minæ* and *Drachms* are spoken of: but who are the Persons, that speak? Mr. B. tells us, *They are Syracusan Ladies*. No wonder, that he has made Ladies of two Women of low Rank; for he made a *King Zaleucus* from a Shepherd: and to go to the Palace to see a Sight there, like the King's Fine Coach, is in Mr. B's Language, *To appear at Court*. But to let that pass; pray, where are these *Ladies*, when they say this? I must declare here my Astonishment at the Conduct of our Examiner: and it seems to Me to be wholly unaccountable, unless I have recourse again to that Fatality of mistaking, that he seems to lie under. What, was he *not awake* here neither; that he could not see, the Scene of this *Idyllium* was not at *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, but at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*? The *Idyllium* it self, had he ever read it, would have told him this over and over;

Βαῖς τῷ βασιλῆϊ ἐπ' ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ.

Let's go to King Ptolemee's Court, says one Woman to the other; and so away they foot it, and return home before *Dinner*. Now if they lived in the same City, this Journey of theirs is feasible: but to go from *Syracuse* to *Alexandria* and back again in a Morning, and on foot too over the Sea, is a stretch something extraordinary. To be short with the Examiner, they were Natives indeed of *Syracuse*, but they had remov'd  
to

to *Alexandria*, and there they had Husbands, and Children, and Servants, and Dwelling-houses. All this appears from the very Poem; and that Mr. B. may not say, that the Minæ and Drachms here were laid out upon Cloaths at *Syracuse*, before their Departure from thence; the very Verse that he cites will teach him the contrary, Πέντε τέτταρος ἔλαβ' ΕΧΘΕΣ — YESTERDAY my Husband laid out VII Drachms upon Wool. But if Mr. B. shall pretend to have known that the Scene of all this was at *Alexandria*; where was his Sagacity, that he could not see the *Alexandrian* money must be meant, and not that of their old Country *Sicily*? If a *French* Refugee drives a bargain here at *London* with Sixpences and Shillings; will Mr. B. infer from it, that those Species are the money of *France* too? Here's another of his Performances, not worth a *Sicilian* Drachm: and his facetious Computation, that the VII Drachms in Theocritus must be short of the Eighth part of a Farthing, if they were paid in the Dr's money, must, like the rest of his Assertions, be interpreted backwards, and then it will be true. For in the Dr's account they were *Alexandrian* Drachms; and consequently not lower than the Common *Attic* Drachms, but double their value.

P. 87.

But Mr. B. will scatter his Learning occasionally, besides what he bestows upon his main Subject. He acquaints us, that in the first Passage — Πλὴν ἀργυρίῳ καὶ δύο μνᾶν Ἡ δὲ — H. Stephanus in the Margin reads it Μνᾶς: and accordingly Mr. B. translates it, It costs somewhat more than a Mina or Two; as if the Original was Πλὴν μνᾶς ἢ δύο. And to allow Mr. B. all the Favour we can, the Latin Versions have interpreted

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interpreted it so before him, *Plus mina una & altera; Plus mina una vel quibus.* Now a Mina was a Pound weight of Silver, and consequently equivalent to Three Pounds Sterling. And I'll crave leave to ask Mr. B. what Sense there is in His or Their Version? *Pray what does your Gown stand you in?* Answer, *It's a very dear Gown; it costs me above THREE or SIX pounds.* Pray whoever talk'd at this rate? What? is there no medium between *Three* and *Six* Pounds? If I should ask a Friend, what he rents his House at; and he should tell me, *At above Forty or Fourscore Pounds a Year:* it might pass perhaps for a Bapster; but an Answer I should not take it for. And yet the Woman in *Theocritus* is very serious, and does not seem to have been of those, *that take Ridicule and Grimace for the most diverting thing in the world.* If *Theocritus* had really writ at this rate, I perceive it would pass upon Mr. B. but I'm afraid that King *Ptolemy*, a good Judge of Wit, whom *Theocritus* presented this Poem to, would have paid him for't in *Sicilian Drachms*. But the fault is not the Poets, but theirs that translate him; and the true Reading is MNAN, the Genitive *Doric* for *Mnān*; and the Construction is, *Πλέον ἢ δύο μνᾶν ἀργυρίω καδαῖω*, *It cost me above Six fair Pounds.*

There's another fault too in the Second Passage, that the Examiner cites,

*Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς χμῶν κυνάδες, γεραίαν ἀποσίλμασα πηγῶν.*  
for in the old Editions of *Aldus*, and others, 'tis

*Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς χμῶς κυνάδες.* —

which, because it was not understood, was chang'd by the Later Editors. But the ancient Reading is the True; if we take it, as it ought to be taken, *Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς χμῶς*, the Accusative

tive *Doric* for ἐνάδ' ἐχμυς, from the Adjective ἐνάδ' ἐχμυς. The Sense indeed will be the same still, but the Composition will be more elegant: Mr. B. may say, and he has good reason, That the not correcting these Passages cannot be imputed as a Fault to Him; when such Great men, as *Stephanus*, *Casaubon*, *Heinsius*, &c. fail'd as well as He. We'll allow this therefore, and not lay these Omissions to his charge; but then he ought not to abuse and calumniate others, who have honest Endeavours to improve this part of Learning, if Envy will let them be quiet.

The other Authors, that Mr. B. has produc'd, to shew that Talents, Minæ, and Drachms, of an equal value with those of *Greece*, were current in *Sicily*, are *Thucydides*, *Plato*, *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch*; but not one of them was a *Sicilian* except *Diodorus*; and he too wrote his History in a Foreign Country, and uses the Common Dialect, and comes cccc years after *Phalaris*. Now to answer all these Instances at once, for the Thing is too Vulgar to be insisted on particularly; I must acquaint him with what every body else knows, but to Him is a secret, That all the Authors, that write in the *Attic* or Common Dialect do of course turn the Sums of money of any Country that they speak of, into the *Attic* Account; not meaning that the *Attic* Coins were used in Specie upon these occasions, but that the money of whatever sort it was, was equivalent in weight or value to so much *Attic* money. And the end that they had in so doing, is conspicuous enough: for designing their Histories for general use, they thought the best way to be understood by All, was to reduce the money to some Species

cies universally known. And if Mr. B. had ever compared the Greek and Latin Writers of the Roman History together, he must necessarily have observ'd it. I'll give him one or two Examples of it, which may serve instead of all.

(m) *Livy*, who as a Roman writes in the Style<sup>(m)</sup> *Livy*, of his own Country, tells us, *Servius Tullius*<sup>lib. I.</sup> divided the Roman Citizens into five Classes; the first was of such as were rated at *Centum millia æris*, that is 100,000 *As's* or *brass Money*: the second at 75,000; and so on to the lowest.

But (n) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who wrote<sup>(n)</sup> *Dionys.* for the Greeks, turns these accounts into *Attic*<sup>Halic. p.</sup> Silver, and makes the first Class to be rated,<sup>22.</sup>

Ἑκατὶν Μυῶν, ἢ Μυριάων Δραχμῶν, at a 100 *Mine*, or 10,000 *Drachms*. And the second Πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα Μυῶν ἢ ἑξακισχλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων Δραχμῶν, at 75 *Mine*, or 7500 *Drachms*, and so to the Fifth.

Now this account of the Greek Historian cannot be true, if we understand those *Drachms* to have been used in Specie: for it's known that the *Romans* had no Silver Money till ccc years after the time of this *Servius*. But *Livy* and he agree in the Value, though not in the Species: for x *As's* of Brass being equivalent to one *Attic Drachm* of Silver; 100,000 of such *As's* are worth 10,000 *Drachms*: and 75,000 *As's* worth 7500 *Drachms*.

The same *Livy* informs us, That *Camillus* was threatned to be fined *Quingentum millium æris multa*, 500,000 *As's* of Brass: which (o) *Plu-*<sup>(o) *Plut. in*</sup> *tarch* represents in Silver Money, and calls it, *Camillo*.

πέντε μυριάδων ἀργυρίῳ ζημίωσιν, a Fine of 50,000 *Drachms*. And yet the *Romans* had no use of Silver Coin till a hundred years after *Camillus*. If *Plutarch* therefore in his account of *Camillus* has turn'd the Roman Money to *Attic*, why may he not



not have turn'd the *Sicilian* so in his History of *Timoleon*? And if He did it, why not *Polybius* too? and why not *Plato* and *Thucydides* much rather, being Natives of *Athens*? *Diodorus*, it's true, was a *Sicilian*; but as he forsook the Dialect of *Sicily*, so in consequence he ought to depart from it in the Names and Species of its Money: and not fill his History with *νῦμαι*, and *ὀγκια*, and *ἐξάντις*, and *πεντόγυια*, words that no body would understand abroad, but Grammarians and Antiquaries. Besides that, as I observ'd before, he is so many Centuries junior to *Phalaris*, that the Money of that Island might possibly be alter'd to the Greek Species in all that tract of time. But that the old names of Money continued there till the time of *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, LXX years after *Phalaris*'s Death, *Diodorus* himself will teach us. For he says, that upon the De-

feat of the *Carthaginians*, *Demareta* the Wife of *Gelon*, coin'd a new Piece of Money, (p) of the value of ten Attic Drachms; but the *Sicilians* call'd it from its weight *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*. This passage even alone will shew that there was no such Money,

(p) *Diodor. Sic. p. 21.*  
 ἔειχεν Ἀθηναῖς Δραχμαῖς  
 δέκα ἐκλήθη δὲ οὕτως  
 Σικελιώταις ἀπὸ τοῦ σαδ-  
 μῦς Πεντηκοντάλιτρον.

nor Name as *Drachm* in those days in *Sicily*. For if there had, they would have call'd this Money *Δεκάδραχμον* from the value of ten Drachms: and not *Πεντηκοντάλιτρον*, from the weight of Fifty *Litrae*. From which compound word it plainly appears, that the *Litra*, one of those *Sicilian* Coins that I and my Authors contend for, was yet in use in the time of *Gelon*. Without question therefore it was used there in *Phalaris*'s time, and if you admit of the *Litra* for a *Sicilian* Coin, you must take all the rest after it; that

are

are mention'd by *Aristotle* and *Pollux*; as the *Δραχμή*, the *Ημιλίτειον*, &c. for these plainly refer to and suppose one another, as a half Crown English supposes a Crown. And what has the Examiner got now by his approv'd Sicilian *Writers*? To what purpose are his ridiculous Computations, *A Talent* 1 s. 10 d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . for a Month's pay of a Ship. 200 *Mina*, 6s. 3 d. for the magnificent Funeral of a General? I know not what they can stand for there, but to be Emblems of his own Performance; which at first view, and to unskillfull Readers, seems a business of great Value and Price, as the Greek Talents and *Mina* were; but when examin'd more narrowly, it dwindles into Talents of eighteen Pence, and *Mina* of three Farthings.

P. 87,  
88.

But see what it is to be engag'd with such a Master of Defense: *He may freely admit*, he says, of the low value of the Sicilian Talent, and yet think the Letters genuine. For there are several suppositions, that must all be shewn impossible, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from hence, to prove them spurious. To prove Suppositions to be impossible, is a very hard task indeed: and if nothing less than that will serve, 'tis more difficult to convince Mr. B. than to convert a Jew. But let us see what his Suppositions are: I. There might be a low value of the Sicilian Talent in some other Age, and yet the Talent of Phalaris's time might be higher. But I'll presently shew him that in *Epicarmus's* and *Sophron's* time, the very next Generation to Phalaris, the Sicilian Money was as I have stated it: and (q) *Aristotle* says, that τὸ ἀρχαῖον, in old time the Talent there was but xxiv 437. νῦν μὲν, about vii s. Engl. II. Or a low Talent might be in other parts of Sicily, but a higher at *Agri-*  
gentum.

P. 88,  
89.

I. P. 89.

II.

(r) *ibid.*

(f) *Pollux*,  
p. 2, 6, 436.  
Εν Αρε-  
γαντίνων  
Πολι-  
τείᾳ φησὶν  
Ἀργυρίῃς  
ζημιῶσαι  
πνα λ. Λί-  
τρας.

gentum. But (r) *Aristotle* tells us in general, Σικελικὸν τάλαντον, The SICILIAN Talent was xxiv νύμμοι; which must include *Agrigentum*, unless Mr. B. will carry that too into *Crete*, as he did *Astypalea*. Nay the Philosopher expressly says, (f) That the Λίτρα was AGRIGENTINE Money: and if the Litra come in there, the Talent and all the rest will follow it. III. Or there might be a low Talent of baser Metal, suppose Brass equal to a Litra: and yet Phalaris's Silver Talents might be higher. Here are so many Blunders in this supposition, that I scarce know which to begin with. He believes a Talent in *Sicily* was a single piece of Money, or a Coin; but it was a Summ, as a Pound is in *England*. And upon this he fancies a brass Talent was less than a Silver one: which is just as if he should say, that a Pound paid in Copper Farthings is less than a Pound paid in sixpences. But from whence could he have that extravagant Stuff, a brass Talent equal to a Litra? I am afraid again, that he was not awake here: but methinks he might have got out of his Nap in his second or third Edition. A brass Litra of *Sicily* weigh'd a Pound, and lx of them made a Talent. And a small Coin of Silver, of equal value to a Litra of Brass, had from thence the name too of Litra (as among the *Romans* the Silver Coin was call'd *Denarius*, because it was valued at x As's of Brass) and lx of those Silver Litrae made the ancient Talent of Silver. So that a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Brass were both equal in value, and both contain'd lx Litrae. But Mr. B. has a Marginal Note here, That the Talents in *Pollux* are compared to χαλκοί, and are lower in value than they. Admirably observ'd indeed! this same Margin of his has in several places



ces quite out-done the Text. The Text here says, *a Talent of Brass was equal to a Litra*; but the Margin tells us, *it was less than a Χαλκός*; which was but the *xii*th part of a Litra. So that both Text and Margin together form a Proposition exactly like this: *A certain Book of a late Writer's, is worth four Shillings, and too dear of three Pence.* But the shamefull mistake of this marginal Note is founded upon a corrupt Reading in *Pollux*, "Εξ τάλαντα, ὅπερ ἔστι δύο Χαλκοί, that is, *Six Talents, which is two brass Pieces*: which I have already observ'd, and shall presently prove, is to be corrected 'Εξ ἄντα. And I dare appeal to any English Reader, though he understands not one word of Greek; if the Passage, as I have faithfully translated it, does not betray it self to be corrupted. For the Author being to make a general comparison of Money; would have express'd it, as all the world uses to do, in the lowest numbers of Proportion; and would certainly have said *Three Talents make One brass Piece*; not *Six make Two*. And yet Mr. B. with all his Acuteness, could argue from this Reading, as if it were genuine. IV. Or there might be a low Value (*Talent* I suppose he would say) used by the Natives and ancient Inhabitants of Sicily; and yet the Talent used by the Greek Colonies, that placed themselves there, might be higher. But the very Names of the Money we speak of, shew they belong'd not to the *Sicanians* or *Phœnicians* in Sicily, but to the Colonies of Greeks; as Οὐγκία from ὄγκος; Νόμισμα from νόμος; Τετραῖς, Τετράς, 'Εξᾶς, Ημιλίτειον, Δεκάλιτρον: these are certainly Greek words, and neither *Phœnician* nor barbarous *Sicanian*. And *Diodorus* says, the Σικελῶται, *Sicilian Greeks* (not the ancient Inhabitants

IV.

V.

of the Island) call'd the Money, of Gelon's time Πεντηκοντάλιτρον. Pollux also and Aristotle say expressly, they were the Moneys  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$  Δωρίων, of the Dorian Colonies in Sicily; and that Νέμειον was a Coin of the Tarentines in Italy, who were a Dorian Colony too, and had no concern with the old Sicanians. V. Or if these Letters might by a later hand be chang'd out of the Doric Dialect into the Attic; the same hand might make them speak Attic in the valuation of the Monies. This is his last supposition, and the pleasantest of them all: and though I doubt not but the very Proposal of it will be received with Laughter by all competent Readers; yet I'll give him an Answer to it, when I consider the general way of his Defense. We have now got, and I hope safely, over all his Suppositions: and tho' I will not pretend to have shewn them impossible, yet I have shewn them so groundless and absurd, that a Wise man will be asham'd of them. But to prove any thing of this Nature impossible is truly an impossible thing. For how can we bring Demonstrations about matters of mere History? If nothing therefore but downright Impossibility will convince the Examiner, that his Phalaris is spurious; he may still to his Comfort believe them genuine. But at that rate he's well prepared to believe all the Stories of Ovid's Metamorphoses or Apuleius's Ass.

P. 89.

But our misfortune is, that though we have stood the shock of so many Suppositions, yet we are just where we were before. For lastly, he says, though none of his Reasonings should hold, 'tis agreed by those who treat of these matters, and give us this low value of the Sicilian Talent, that wherever the word Talent is used by Greek Writers (as it

it is in *Phalaris's Epistles*) without any addition, the Attic Talent must be understood. And for this he quotes *Gronovius*, *Bernard*, and *Brerewood*. Now allowing this to be true, what would our sagacious Critic infer from't? Do not I my self affirm too, that in *Phalaris's Epistles* the Attic Talent is understood? The very circumstances of every Passage there, where Talent is mention'd, shew he meant the Attic: and 'tis the sole ground and foundation of all this Article against him. Mr. B. therefore may assure himself, that I shall never make *Phalaris's Epistles* an Exception to that rule of *Gronovius*. That the Attic is meant in the Epistles will be allow'd on all sides: but whether the true *Phalaris* would have used the word so, there is the Question. And do Mr. B's marginal Citations prove any thing of that? *Diodorus*, though a *Sicilian*, had good reasons for his reckoning by Attic Money: because he wrote in the common Dialect, because the Attic valuation was then universally known, because other Historians had done so before him. But must *Phalaris* therefore be supposed to have used the Attic Accounts, at a time when the Attic Talent was no better known than the *Sicilian*? Must he do it in private Letters, that were never intended for the Public? in stating the Expenses of his Household; which being laid out in *Sicilian Money* could not be express'd in Attic without puzzling Fractions? If Mr. B. will obstinately maintain such Absurdities as these: he'll fully satisfy his Readers, that what-ever there was in *Phalaris's Accounts*, in Mr. B's Genius there's nothing of Attic.

Mr. B. declares, That he finds the Moderns go into the opinion of a Sicilian Talent of low value,

P. 83.



P. 84.

without any other Authority, as he can find, but the obscure and interpolated Passages of Pollux and Festus; but the Notion ought to be supported by good Authorities taken from approv'd Sicilian Writers, or others that purposely treat of Sicilian Affairs. I will give him an account therefore of the Authorities we go upon; and I believe it will presently appear, that the approv'd Sicilian Writers, such as *Epicharmus* and *Sophron*, who were nearest the Age of *Phalaris*; and those that purposely treat of Sicilian Affairs, such as *Aristotle* in his account of the Sicilian Governments, do all countenance and support the Notion, That the Sicilian Money was different from the *Attic* both in Species and Name. But for the clearer illustration of what I shall say here, I will give a Table of the Sicilian Coins according to those Authors; and compare them with the Roman Coins, which were all borrow'd from them.

*A Table of the Sicilian Money.*

## METAL. SICILIAN. ROMAN. VALUE.

Brass or Silver. }	τάλαντον.		60 Brass or Silver Litra.
Silver. }	Πενήκον-τάλητον.		50 Litra.
Silver. }	Δεκάλιτον.	Denarius.	10 Litra.
Silver. }	Νόμισμα.	Nummus, } Sestertius. }	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Litra.
Brass or Silver. }	λίτρα.	Libra, As, } Libella. }	AP <sup>d</sup> weight of Brass, or a Piece of Silver equivalent.
Brass, Silver. }	Ημιλίτειον.	Semissis, } Sembella. }	Half a Litra.
Brass. }	Πεντέγκιον.	Quincunx. }	5 Ounces of Brass.
Brass. }	Τριάς.	Triens. }	A Third part of a Litra.
Brass. }	Τετρας.	Quadrans, } Teruncius. }	A Fourth of a Litra.
Brass. }	Εξάς.	Sextans. }	A Sixth of a Litra.
Brass. }	Ούγκια.	Uncia. }	1 Ounce of Brass.

This Table comprehends all the Names of the *Sicilian* Sums or Coins, from the Highest down to the Lowest: and I shall now subjoin the Passages of Authors, which establish and warrant every one of them.

## T A Λ A N T O N.

(*ε*) Pollux, *The Sicilian TALENT*, (*ε*) says Pollux, had the lowest Value of all. Of old, as Aristotle teaches, it contain'd XXIV Νῦμμοι; but afterwards only XII. Now a Νῦμμο Nummus, as I shall shew presently, was the 14th part of a Denare: so that the Ancient Talent contain'd VI Denares, and the latter III. And Suidas falls in exactly with A-

(*υ*) Suid. *ristotle's account*: for he informs us, (*υ*) That among the Sicilian Greeks a Talent was anciently XXIV Nummi, but now XII. In the Vulgar Editions 'tis μνῶν, but the true Reading is Νῦμμων, as the Passage of Aristotle clearly shews; and so it's corrected by Budæus and every body since, that have treated of these matters. The word Νῦμμων, being not understood by the Copier, was corrupted into μνῶν. To these Authorities we may add Festus, who giving the value of several sorts

(*κ*) Festus, of Talents, says, (*κ*) *The Neapolitan contains VI Denares; the Syracusan III; and that of Rhegium Half a Denare.* What Festus here calls the Neapolitan Talent, has the same value with the Old Talent of Sicily: which is not to be wonder'd at; since Aristotle and Pollux affirm that the Νῦμμο, one of the Coins of Sicily, was common to the Tarentine and other Dorian Colonies of Italy. And the Syracusan Talent of Festus is the very same with what Aristotle and Suidas call the Later Sicilian. Here are four Authorities then, Aristotle, Pollux, Suidas, and Festus, for the low valuation of the Sicilian Talent. And the Alteration, that Mr. B. and some others would introduce into the Text of Festus, now appears to be groundless. They would interpolate it thus, *Syracusanum trium*  
(Millium)



(*Millium*) *denarium*, The *Syracusan Talent* had 3000 *Denares*. But what Authority have they for this Talent of 3000? None at all. Is it not a glorious Correction then, and worthy to be embrac'd by Mr. B. to change the Reading that's warranted by Three Authors, and to substitute another, that's supported by none? And what will they do with the following words, *Rheginum victoriati*? Will they insert *Millium* there too, and make it neither Latin nor Sense? But if the Talent of *Rhegium* was but equivalent to Five Pounds of Brass; why must that of *Sicily* be thought too low, when it's made equal to Thirty or Sixty?

'Tis very certain, that the *Romans* call'd the common *Attic Talent*, *Talentum Magnum*, The Great Talent; an Expression never used by any Greek Author: so that the Reason and Ground of it has been a great Enquiry among the Antiquaries of the last Age. But the Ingenious and Learned (y) *Gronovius* has lit upon a Conjecture, that has all the Characters of Truth and Certainty. The *Romans* had no such Summ nor Name as *Talent*, in their way of Accounts; but by their Dealings with the Neighbouring *Greeks*, the *Sicilians*, *Rhegians*, *Tarentines*, *Neapolitans*, they knew a Talent among Them stood for a small Summ of Silver. Afterwards when they extended their Commerce or their Conquests to other parts of *Greece*, they found a Talent there meant a vast Summ of 6000 *Denares*; which was 1000, or 2000, or 12000 times as much as the Talents of their Neighbours. This latter therefore was call'd the Great Talent, and in process of time *Talent* alone; the other acceptance of the word falling into disuse. I do

(y) *Gronov.*  
*de Pecun.*  
*Vet. iii, 3.*

not question, but all competent Judges will receive this Notion of *Gronovius* with approbation and applause. And as the Expression *Talentum Magnum* is so fairly explain'd by the Low *Sicilian Talent*: so reciprocally the Low Value of that Talent is plainly made out by the Expression *Talentum magnum*.

But there's one thing not yet accounted for, How it came about that in those *Dorian Colonies* the word *Talent* was applied to such inconsiderable Summs. I will crave leave to propose a Conjecture of mine, and submit it to the Censures of the Learned. (z) *Talent* originally is a word of Statics, and means LX pound weight of any thing. Now the Brass *Λίτρα* of *Sicily* being at first a Pound weight, as the *Libra* or *As* was among the *Romans*; LX such *Litræ* weigh'd in all LX pounds, and consequently were call'd a *Talent*. Afterwards when Silver Money came into use among them, the Species of it had their denominations from the Proportions they bore to the Brass *Litra*. So that a small Silver Coin, equivalent in worth to a Brass Pound, was call'd *Λίτρα*; and another Coin containing Ten of them, *Δεκάλιτρον*: just as the *Romans* call'd their Silver Coin *Denarius*, because it was equal in value to *Deni Asses*, Ten Brass Pounds. By the same Rule therefore a Summ of Silver, containing LX Silver *Litræ* or VI (*Δεκάλιτρον*) Denares, was call'd a *Talent*; because it was equivalent to LX Pound weight of Brass. Here I conceive is a probable account, how the *Old Sicilian Talent* came to stand for VI Denares, or, as *Aristotle* expresses it, XXIV *Nummi*. But the same Author acquaints us, that afterwards the Talent sunk lower to the value of XII *Nummi*, or III Denares.

(z) *Suidas*,  
*Pollux*, and  
others.

*Denares.* The occasion of which seems to have been this. As *Solon* diminish'd the *Attic* Drachm a Fourth part in weight, making 100 of them go to a Pound, which LXXV made before; and as the *Romans* being straitned in the First *Punic* War, lower'd their Brass Money Five parts in Six, making their *As*, which till then was a full Pound weight, to be no more than two Ounces: so the *Sicilians* seem to have lessen'd their Brass Money Half in Half; and yet the Old Names (as among the *Romans*) continued still, notwithstanding the change in weight. A Talent of Brass therefore, containing LX of those Half Pound *Litræ*, was no more than III Denares or XII Nummi of Silver. But the *Rhégians*, according to *Festus*, seem to have sunk their Brass *Litræ* from a Pound weight to an Ounce: which is exactly what the *Romans* did in the Second *Punic* War, when they made their *As* to be *Unctialis* of a single Ounce weight. By which proportion, though the Talent even among the *Rhégians* might at first be LX *Litræ*, each of which weigh'd a Pound; yet after they were diminish'd to an Ounce a piece, a Talent of LX such *Litræ* would be worth no more than half a Denare, or the *Victoriatas* of *Festus*.

ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΛΙΤΡΟΝ

We have an account of this Coin from *Diodorus Siculus*; (a) That after *Gelon* had van- (a) *Diodor.*  
quish'd the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, Ol. LXXV, 1. p. 21.  
*Demareta* his Wife interceded in their behalf,  
and obtain'd for them an honourable Peace; and  
upon that occasion she caus'd a new Coin to be  
stamp'd weighing 1 *Litræ*, that is, Five Δεκά-  
λιτραι.



λιτρα, Denares; or as *Diodorus* computes it, x Attic Drachms. This Money was call'd Δημαρέπον from her name, and by the Sicilians Πενήκοντάλιτρον from the weight and value of it.

(b) *Pollux*, The same Money is mention'd by (b) *Pollux*, but he tells us quite another story about the occasion of coining it; That when her Husband wanted money in the War against the Carthaginians, Demareta and the rest of the Women brought all their Silver Utensils to the Mint, and the Coin was call'd Νόμισμα Δημαρέπον. But the very Bigness of the Money, being five times the weight of their heaviest ordinary Coin, shews *Diodorus's* Narrative to be truer than *Pollux's*: for if *Gelon* had been in any straits for Money, he would certainly have stamp'd it in the smallest Species; whereas this was a sort of Medal, and by its magnitude declar'd the greatness of the Victory and the Booty. This *Demareta* was the Daughter of *Theron* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and after *Gelon's* decease was married to *Polyzelus* his Brother; (c) as we learn from the Scholiast of *Pindar*: who adds too, that from Her a Sicilian Coin was call'd Δημαρέτειν. (d) *Diodorus* acquaints us farther, that *Gelon* out of part of the Booty made a Golden Tripus of xvi Talents, and sent it to *Delpi* a Donary to *Apollo*. And there's an Epigram of *Simonides* upon the same Tripus, which I suppose is not yet publish'd, and therefore I shall give it here out of the MS *Anthologia*;

(c) Schol.  
Pind. O-  
lymp. 2.  
Αφ' ἧς καὶ  
τὸ Δημα-  
ρέτειον νό-  
μισμα ἐν  
Σικελίᾳ.  
(d) Diod.  
ibid.

Σιμωνίδης.

Φημί Γέλων', Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θεασύβυλον,  
Παῖδας Δεινομένους τ' εἰπεῖν δ' ἀνδρείωναι,  
ἔξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πενήκοντα ταλάντων  
Δαρσίην χρεῖσθαι τὰς δικάτας δικάταν.

Where

Where it's observable that *Simonides*, who perhaps was then in *Sicily* and saw the *Tripus*, says it weigh'd above 1 Talents; but *Diodorus* says, xvi. If we believe the Scholiast of (e) *Pindar*; 'twas not one *Tripus* only, but several, that *Gelon* dedicated to *Apollo*, and this Inscription was engrav'd on them,

Φημί Γέλων, Ἰέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θεραύβυλον,  
Παῖδας Δεινομένους τὰς τρίποδας δέειναι,  
Βάρεβαρ νικητῆρας ἔδνη, πολλῶν δ' ὀδυσσέων  
Σύμμαχον Ἑλλήσιν χεῖρ' ἴες ἐλευθεύω.

(e) Schol  
Pind Pyth.  
i. Ανα-  
δείναι τῶ  
δεῶ χρυ-  
σὺς τρίπο-  
δας ὅτι-  
γερὰν ἦα  
ταῦτα.

Which appears to be the very same Epigram with that ascrib'd to *Simonides*; and the one perhaps is to be supplied out of the other; the latter Distich of this being to be added to that. But what can be the meaning of *Δαρετίς χρυσῶ*? If we consider the passages already cited out of *Diodorus*, *Pollux* and *Pindar*'s Scholiast, which all belong to the Subject of this Epigram; we can scarce doubt but the true Reading is,

Δαμαρετίς χρυσῶ τὰς δεκάτας δικάταν.

Where the Poet was constrain'd of mere necessity to use a *Pæon* instead of a *Dactyl*; as another Poet did without any necessity,

Ἄλλὰ τὸν ἔπολε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔπειδε.

But the Copiers not considering this, and observing the Verse to have a Syllable too much, contracted the word into *Δαρετίς*; which has been done above DCC years ago, as it's evident from *Suidas*: *Δαρετίς*, says he, (f) ἡ τρίποδα δ' αὐθήμεναι ἔξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πενήκοντα ταλάντων *Δαρετίς χρυσῶ τὰς δεκάτας* where the Word, we see, is set down; but there's no Explication of it. He has only given part of our Epigram, where he found that *Δαρετίς*: and as that Word both in *Suidas* and the Epigram is to be corrected

(f) Suid.  
v. Δαρε-  
τίς.

rected from other Authors; so the rest of that Passage of *Snidas* is to be corrected from the Epigram.

## ΔΕΚΑΛΙΤΡΟΝ, ΛΙΤΡΑ, ΗΜΙΑΛΙΤΡΙΟΝ.

*Pollux*, p.  
216, 436.

*Aristotle* in his Treatise of the *Agrigentine Government* informs us, that a Person was fin'd there (τεράχοντα λίτρας) XXX *Litræ*; and that a *Litra* was equal in value to an *Æginæan Obolus*. The same he repeats in his Discourse about the *Himeræan Government*; That the *Litra* was equal to an *Obolus*, and the *Δεκάλιτρον* contain'd x *Litræ*, and was worth a *Corinthian Stater*. These Particulars are told us twice by *Pollux*, in his ivth, and ixth Book; so that there's no room for any suspicion, that he mistook his Author. *Λίτρα*, says *Hesychius*, ὁβολός, οἱ ᾧ νόμισμα παρὰ Σικελοῖς· οἱ ᾧ ὅππ' ἐσθμῶν· οἱ ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὸ β λῖβρα; *Photius* in his MS *Lexicon*: Λίτρα ἦν μὲν νόμισμα τι ὡς Δίφιλος· ὅππ' τε ἐσθμῶν· Ἐπίχαρμός τε καὶ Σώφρων ἐχρήσαντο· Σοφοκλῆς ᾧ λιτροσκοπόν φησι ἢ ἀργυρομοιβὸν ἀπὸ τῆ νομίσματος. *Hesychius* again, Λιτροσκοπός, ἀργυρομοιβός, ἀπὸ τῆ Σικελικῆ νομίσματος, ὃ καλεῖται λίτρα. Here are two good Authors concurring with *Pollux*, besides the Three others that one of them cites, *Diphilus*, *Epicharmus*, and *Sophron*; but we have not the Names of them only, but the very Passages too preserved to us in *Pollux*. The Comic Poets, (g) says he, of Sicily use the word *Λίτρα*, sometimes for a small piece of Money; as when *Sophron* says, in his Book call'd *Γυναικῶν Μῆμοι*, Ὁ μὲν δὲ δεκάλιτρον (the true Reading here seems to be δέκα λίτραν or λιτραῶν) and again in his *Ἀνδρῶν Μῆμοι*, Σῶπας δ' ἐδὲ τὰς δύο λίτρας δύνάμει· and sometimes for a Pound weight, as *Demologus* in his *Medea*,

(g) *Pollux*,  
p. 215.

Τετρα-



Τετρακονταλίτραι τινὶ νεανίσκῳ πίδααι.

In the vulgar Editions it's πίδααι; which (i) *Sal-* (i) *Salmasius* has truly corrected πίδααι, *Chains of* XL *de Modo*  
*pound weight.* But there's another error still re- *Usur. p.*  
 maining, Δημόλογος, a Poet as unheard of, as <sup>234.</sup>  
*Phalaris's* two Tragedians *Aristolochus* and *Lyf-*  
*inus*: instead of which *Demologus* the MS of *Jf.*  
*Vossius* has it Δεινόλογος, which is certainly the  
 true Reading. For this *Dinolochus* was really  
 a *Sicilian Comic Poet* (as *Pollux* here supposes  
 him) (k) *being a Syracusan, or an Agrigentine,* (k) *Suid. v.*  
*and the Son, or, as others say, the Scholar of Epi-* Δεινολ.  
*charmus, and the Author of* XII *Doric Comedies.*  
 He is cited again by *Pollux*, (l) Δεινόλογος ἐν (l) *Pollux,*  
*Αμαζόνων*; and twice or thrice by *Hesychius*. But *p. 500.*  
 our Author proceeds and tells us, (m) *That even* (m) *Id. p.*  
*some of the Athenian Comicks mention the word* Δί- 217.  
*τρα, as Philemon in his Play inscrib'd* Σικελικός,  
*and Posidippus in his* Γαλάτεια. In the Editions  
 'tis printed Γαλάτη, which Learned men have  
 corrected Γαλάτεια: and the Great *Salmasius* a-  
 cutely observes, that it appears by the Names of  
 these two Comedies, that the Scene and Subject  
 of them were in *Sicily*; so that the Poets there  
 used the word Δίτρα, not as *Attic Money*, but  
 as *Sicilian*. In another place (n) our Author a- (n) *Pollux,*  
 scribes the Play not to *Philemon*, but to *Diphi-* *p. 436.*  
*lus*; as *Photius* also seems to have done in the  
 passage above cited: but (o) *Athenæus* gives it (o) *Athen.*  
 to *Philemon*; so that it was dubious even in *p. 658.*  
 those days, whether of them was the Author of  
 it. The words of *Diphilus* are these;

Οἶον ἀγοράζειν περὶ, μηδὲ ἐν δ' ἔχειν,

Ἐν μὴ κινήσας ἀξίως λίτρας δύοιν.

In the *Vossian MS* it's πάντα for περὶ; which may  
 seem the truer Lesson; because of the elegant

Op-

Opposition there between πάντα and μηδ' ἓν. But πασα too is a very tolerable Lection, being a Dish made of Cheese and other Ingredients; and the Cheese of Sicily, where the Action of this Play lies, was famous; as the Poet tells us (p) in this very Comedy. But Epicharmus,

(p) *Athen.*  
*ibid.*

(q) *Pollex,*  
436.

continues (q) *Pollex*, mentions several names of Money in his Play call'd Ἀρπαγαί. The Passage there is thus represented in the *Vossian MS.* Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς ἀμπατάκιον ἀργυρίου, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμίλιτερον δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι. And I guess from the Emendation of (r) *Salmasius*, that the *Palatine MS* had it exactly so too; and perhaps the *MS* of *Vossius* is nothing but a Copy of it. *Salmasius* has thus reduced the words into Trochaic Verses:

(r) *Salmas.*  
p. 151.

— Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,  
"Αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς, αἱ πητέγκιον  
ἀργυρίου, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον, αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμίλιτερον δεχόμεναι  
Πάντα γινώσκοντι—

Where in the third Verse the true Measure is not observ'd, a Spondee being put there instead of a Trochee: but as for μωρὰς in the second Verse, the *Dorians* frequently made the Accusative ας short, as we see in *Theocritus*. I would read the whole in this manner;

— Ὡσπερ αἱ πονηραὶ μάντιες,  
"Αἰδ' ὑπονέμονται γυναῖκας μωρὰς, ἀμ πιντέγκιον  
ἀργυρίου, ἀλλὰ ἢ λίτερον, αἱ δ' ἂν ἡμίλιτερον  
δεχόμεναι, καὶ πάντα γινώσκοντι τῷ πᾶν λόγῳ.

The three last words do not appear in the *MS*; but the vulgar Editions have τῷ τι λόγῳ: which must be lengthen'd by a Syllable, to close up the Trochaic. The meaning of the Passage is this; *Like those roguish Fortune-tellers, that wheedle foolish*

foolish Women, some of them exacting a five-Ounce piece of Money, some a Litra, some half a Litra; and, as those silly Women believe, they know all things.

Αμ in the Second Verse is for αν: for in ancient writing when the Ν came before Μ or Β or Π or Φ, it was chang'd into Μ; as in the *Chron. Arundelianum*, ΕΜ ΠΑΡΩΙ for εν Πάρω; and in the Marble of *Smyrna*, ΕΜ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ for εν Μαγνησία: and the modern Greeks, though they write it Ν in those Cases, yet they pronounce it as Μ. In the third Verse I read ημιλίτριον instead of ημίλιτρον: for I observe that's the form of the Compounds with ημι, as Ημισαφόριον, ημισωράκιον, ημιδιπλοίδιον, ημισφαίριον, ημιπόδιον and many more. Another Passage from *Epicharmus* is thus cited by the same *Pollux*. (f) Έγω

γδ τὸ βαλάντιον λιτροδεχάλιτρον ἐξάνγιόν τε καὶ πεντάγχιον. which is thus exhibited in the *Vossian MS*. (f) *Pollux*, *ibid*.

Έγω γδ τότε βαλάντιον λιτροδεχάλιτρον σατῆρ ἐξάντιόν τε πετάγκιον. And so in all probability the *Palatine MS* reads it, as one may gather from (t) (r) *Salmasius*, who thus corrects it by the help of p. 260. it.

— Έφ' ᾧ γδ τὸ βαλάντιον, λίτρα,

δεχάλιτρον σατῆρ, ἐξάντιόν τε καὶ πετάγκιον.

But by this Emendation both the Verses have false Measure; neither does the Sense appear very elegant. It seems to me very probable that σατῆρ in the MSS is an Interpolation; because in other places *Pollux* tells us, that the δεχάλιτρον was worth a *Corinthian σατῆρ*: from whence the Interpolator borrow'd it, and clapt it in here. But it cannot be *Epicharmus*'s own for two reasons, both because it is no *Sicilian* word, and because it makes a Tautology. If I may have leave to propose an Emendation, I would read the passage thus: — Έγω



— ἔχω γὰρ πύρα βαλάντων λίτρων

δεκαλίτρων τε πλήρεις ἑξάντων τε καὶ πέντευχίων.

*I have my Purse, says he, full of Litrae and Denares, and Two-ounce Pieces, and Five-ounce Pieces.*

NOT MMOS.

(u) Pollux.  
P. 436.

(x) Varro  
de L. L. p.  
41.

*Julius Pollux, (u) who wrote his Book at Rome, and dedicated it to the Emperor Commodus, tells him, That the Word Νῆμμος appears indeed to be of Roman Original, but it's really Greek, belonging to the Dorians of Sicily and Italy. So Varro also expressly teaches, that the Word Nummus was borrow'd from the Sicilians: (x) In argento, Nummi: id à Siculis. The same Pollux adds, that Aristotle in his Treatise of the Tarentine Government says, a certain Coin there was call'd Νῆμμος, which for its Impress had Taras the Son of Neptune astride upon a Dolphin. Half a score of these Tarentine Νῆμμοι with that Stamp upon them are in Goltzius. Again our Author acquaints us, That according to Aristotle the Old Talent of Sicily contain'd xxiv Νῆμμοι, but the later xii only: and that a Νῆμμος was equivalent to an Obolus and a Half. And then he confirms the Authority of the word Νῆμμος by two Passages of Epicharmus; the First of them, Κῆρυξ ἰάν εὐθὺς πρὶώ μοι δέκα νέμμων μόσχον καλήν; which is thus to be distinguish'd, and reduc'd to Iambics.*

— Κῆρυξ ἰάν

Εὐθὺς πρὶώ μοι δέκα νέμμων μόσχον καλήν.

There seems to be no room for doubting, but that the Verses were thus written by the Poet; and yet the Reader may take notice, that there's a Spondee in the Fourth Place instead of an Iambic;

æmbic; but then it is softened by two short Syl-  
ables that come immediately before it. The  
same Measure seems to be used in the Second  
Fragment of *Epicharmus*, cited by *Pollux*: 'Αλλ'  
ὁμως καλαὶ καὶ ποὶ ἄρες εὐρήσουσι δέμοι καὶ νέμμεν, πω-  
λατίαι γὰρ ἐντὶ ταῖς ματρὶς; which is thus reduci-  
ble to Trochaics; though here the MS do not  
assist us:

'Αλλ' ὁμως καλαὶ τε ποίτ' ἄρες εὐρήσουσί μοι

Δέκα νέμμεν, πωλατίαι γὰρ ἐντὶ μετὰ τὰς ματρὶς.

πῖ. I take to be a true Doric word, from whence  
come πότις. πότις.

### The Divisions of the ΛΙΤΡΑ.

ΠΕΝΤΟΤΤΙΚΙΟΝ a Coin of Five ounces Brass,  
or of Silver equivalent to them, is mention'd  
by *Epicharmus*, in that fragment produced a-  
bove.

—'Εξέδωκεν τε καὶ πεντογυῖον.

The Latins call'd it *Quincunx*. And perhaps,  
as the Latins had the *Septunx* too, so the *Sicili-  
ans* might have *Επτεύγιον*, though we have now  
no Author that mentions it. I will correct here a  
passage of *Festus*, which has created some trouble  
to the Learned Antiquaries of this and the last  
Age. *Sextantarii Asses*, &c. The *As's*, says he,  
of two Ounces weight, call'd *Sextantarii*, came into (y) *Fest.*  
use in the Second Punic War, to which he adds, in *Sextant.*  
*Septuennio quoq; (anno) usus est, ut priore numero;*  
*sed id non permansit in usu, nec amplius processit in*  
*majorem.* Here *Festus* is very much blam'd by *Bu-  
dæus*, *Hottoman*, *Harduin*, and others; for af-  
firming that the *Sextantarii Asses* continued in  
use Seven Years only, since it plainly appears  
from *Pliny* that they lasted a good while longer.  
But the fault is not in *Festus*, but in those that

H h

transcribed

(z) Varro  
de L. L.  
iv. p. 41.

transcribed him ill; for the true Reading is thus : SEPTUNCIO quoque VARRO usus est, ut priore Numero, &c. that is, *Varro used the word Septuncium as he did the Number before it (Sextans); but the Word did not continue in use, nor did the Compounds from Uncia go to a higher number than Seven.* He means, the *Latins* did not say, *Octuncium, Nonuncium, Decuncium.* But let us hear (z) *Varro* himself, who will be Voucher for this Emendation. *Septunx, à septem & uncia conclusum. Reliqua obscuriora, quod à diminutione : & ea quæ deminuuntur, ita sunt ut extremas syllabas habeant : ut à duodecim una dempta uncia, Deunx : Dextans, dempto Sextante : Dodrans, dempto quadrante : Bes, ut olim Des, dempto triente.* The meaning of which is, That they went no higher than *Septunx* in the Compounds from the Number and *Uncia*, but they said *Bes* for VIII Ounces, *Dodrans* for IX, *Dextans* for X, *Deunx* for XI : So that when *Festus* tells us in another place ; *Nonuncium, quod vulgo magistri ludi appellant, significat novem uncias :* we are to understand him, that *Nonuncium*, though it was used by Schoolmasters when they taught Boys, was no legitimate word nor of popular use.

(z) Pollux  
p. 216.  
416

ΤΡΙΑΣ. ΤΕΤΡΑΣ. ΕΞΑΣ. The account that *Pollux* gives of the divisions of the λίτρα is described from *Aristotle's* Book of the *Himeræan* *Polity* : The Passages are very faulty; but because they come twice over, they may easily be corrected by comparing one with the other, and both with the *Roman* *Moneys* which were borrow'd from *Sicily*. *Αριστοτέλης*, says he, ἐν τῇ *Ἱμεραίων Πολιτείᾳ* προσην, ὡς οἱ μὲν Σικελιώται τὰς δύο χαλκὰς ἐξέλιττον α) (P. 436. ἐξ τετραλῆα) καὶ πέντε, ὡς οἱ δὲ Οὐγκιᾶν τὰς δὲ πέντε Τριτάκουλα (P. 436. τεία



τρία τάλαντα) τὸς δὲ ἐξ Ημίλιον, ἢ δὲ ὀβολὸν,  
λίτραν, ἢ δὲ Κρείνδιον σαπῆρα Δεχάλισρον, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς  
ἀὺς δύναται.

Where the first Error of the Copyers is ἐξάλισρα in one place, and ἐξ τάλαντα in the other : in the former place the *Vossian* and *Palatine* MSS have it, δ'ξαντα, in the latter they vary not from the Editions. Now from all the three words compared together, the true Reading easily results, Ἐξάντα. so *Hesychius* ; Ἐξᾶς, αἰδθ (νομίσμαθ) αἰδθ Συρακυσίοις, and *Arcadius* the Grammarian in his MS. *Tract* Περὶ Τόνων, quoted by *Salmasius* ; (b) Ἐξᾶς ἐπὶ ποσότητις ὃν περιπαταί which is word for word too in *Theodosius's* MS. Epitome of *Herodian's* Book call'd *Καθόλου*, in the Public Library at *Oxford*. And we met with the word just now in the fragment of *Epicharmus* :

(b) *Salmas.*  
*de Mode*  
*Usur.* p.  
256.

Δεχάλισραν τε πλήρες, ἐξάντων τε, καὶ πενήγχιων.

For the MS there reads it ἐξάντων : and it's well known that α are commonly mistaken by Copyers for ω. I my self have had frequent experience of it in sheets from the Press : as in my notes on *Callimachus*, it's somewhere Printed τῶν instead of πόν. The Second mistake of *Pollux's* Copyers is Τειάκοντα and Τρία Τάλαντα, for Τειάντα. *Hesychius*, Τειάνθ πέννη, λαμβάνουσα Τειάκοντα, ὅ ἐστι Λεπτά εἰκοσι. Here again is the very same error, that the Copyers of *Pollux* committed, τειάκοντα instead of Τειάντα. For this and Ἐξᾶς being Foreign Words, and not commonly understood in *Greece*, had the common Fate of all words of that sort, to be corrupted by Transcribers.

ΟΥΓΚΙΑ. So the MS has it, instead of Οὐγγία, and that's the truer Reading, though its written both ways in the Books of the *Greek Physicians*,

in the time of the *Roman Empire*, when they speak of *Weights and Doses*. *Photius* in his *MS Lexicon*; Οὐγκία, ἢ σαδμόν, Σώρων κ' Επ'χαρμῶς. *Suidas*: Οὐγκία, εἶδος μέτρου, ἢ σαδμῶς.

The ancient Writers were content to be moderately accurate in their comparisons of Moneys. They commonly reckon'd the *Roman Denare* to be equivalent to an *Attic Drachm*; though in strict examination they were not so. But they thought it better to neglect those Fractions, for the conveniency of expressing themselves in round Summs; and they consider'd they were *Historians*, and not *Masters of the Mint*. We have an Instance of this in the very thing that now lies before us: where the *Sicilian Money* is thus adjusted by *Aristotle*, to the Moneys of *Greece*: (c) *Pollux* p. 2.6.436. An Οὐγκία, says he, is one *Attic Chalcus*; and the Ημιλίτειον is six *Chalki*, and the *Litra* is an *Egeian Obolus*. Now if we examine this rigidly, the computation cannot be true. For the *Litra*, according to *Aristotle*, contain'd xii *Attic Chalki*, and yet was equal to an *Egeian Obolus*: so that by this reckoning the *Egeian Obolus* was equal to xii *Chalki*. But the *Egeian Obolus* was to the *Attic* as x is to vi; and the *Attic Obolus* had the Value of viii *Chalki*: therefore the *Egeian Obolus* was not equal to xii *Chalki*, for the Proportion of xii to viii is not the same with the Proportion of x to vi. But as I said before, such small Differences were neglected by the Old writers, and they were content, if their calculations were tolerably exact. *Diodorus Siculus* says, The Πεντηκοντάλσις of *Demareta*, was equivalent to x *Attic Drachms*: by which computation a Δεκάλσις was equal to xi *Attic Drachms*. But *Aristotle* computes that

α Δεκάλιτεν was equivalent to XII *Æginean* Oboli, which are more than II *Attic* Drachms. The same *Aristotle* assigns τρία ἡμοβόλια, an *Obolus* and a half as an equivalent to the *Sicilian* Νῦμμος: where he seems to mean the *Æginean* *Obolus*, and at that rate the Νῦμμος was the fourth part of an *Æginean* Drachm. But as the *Nummus* at *Rome* was the 14th of the *Denarius*, so the Νῦμμος in *Sicily* seems to have been the 14th of the Δεκάλιτεν. The Δεκάλιτεν therefore by this reckoning was equal to an *Æginean* Drachm, or to one *Attic* Drachm and  $\frac{2}{3}$ . And it's no great wonder, if *Aristotle* in different Books should make such different Computations; since in one and the same Paragraph his Accounts, as we have seen, are not consistent. But the Learned *Salmasius* and *Gronovius* instead of τρία ἡμοβόλια in *Pollux*, read it τρίτον ἡμοβόλιον, two *Oboli* and a half: and if this correction be admitted, the Calculation will be the juster. For a *Litra* being equal to an *Obolus*, the Νῦμμος, two *Oboli* and half will be exactly the 14th part of the Δεκάλιτεν; as the *Nummus* being two *As's* and half at *Rome*, and therefore call'd the *Sestertius*, was the 14th of a *Denare*. And indeed it must needs be own'd, whether we read τρία ἡμοβόλια or τρίτον ἡμοβόλιον, that as IV *Nummi* made a *Denarius*, so IV Νῦμμοι made a Δεκάλιτεν; as the Passage of *Festus* compared with *Pollux*, and the *Roman* Accounts compared with the *Sicilian*, make it plain beyond Controversie.

The *Roman* TRIENS signified a third part of an *As* or of XII Ounces, the QUADRANS a Fourth, and the SEXTANS a Sixth. This is certain, and needs not now to be proved. But yet among the *Sicilians*, from whom the *Romans*



borrow'd those words, a ΤΡΙΑΣ is said to mean three parts of the Αίτεα, or three Ounces, not the third part of it or four Ounces: and so ΤΕΤΡΑΣ to be four Ounces, and ΕΚΤΑΣ to be six Ounces: which makes a very wide difference between the accounts of the two Nations. Τρεῖς

(d) Pollux, Χαλκοῖ, (d) says Pollux, ὅπερ τριᾶντα; and again, p. 2, 6, 436. Τριᾶντα ὅπερ τρεῖς χαλκοῖ, that is, A ΤΡΙΑΣ means three Ounces. Τετραῖς δηνόϊ τέσσαρες χαλκοῖς, says

Hesychius, a ΤΕΤΡΑΣ stands for four Ounces. And in another place, Τριᾶντα, ὅπερ Λεπτά εἴκοσι, a ΤΡΙΑΣ is xx Lepta. Which is the same again with three Chalci or Ounces, one Chalcus containing vii Lepta. What shall we say to this matter? must we disbelieve these Grammarians? or suppose their Copiers have done them wrong? or must we take it at their words, that the Sicilians reckon'd so, though we do not know why:

(e) Scalig. Jof. Scaliger supposes, (e) that the Sicilians took those words in the same sense as the Romans did: and that the Grammarians were mistaken, though, p. 5, 6.

says he, it is not so much a mistake, as an Idiotism; for the Vulgar used to call a Division into iv parts, Tetrantes, and into viii, Octantes, as we may see in Vitruvius. On the contrary, Salma-

(f) Sal- sius maintains, (f) That the Grammarians are in mas. De the right, and that the Sicilians took τριᾶς, and Modo Usur. τετραῖς, and δεκάς for iii, iv and x parts of xii Ounces or Litra; and that the Romans were to blame, p. 254, &c.

for changing the meaning of those words; and that Vitruvius's sense of them is not an Idiotism, but the true and proper Notion. If so mean a Writer as I am may have the liberty to interpose in the Controversie of such great Men; I am persuaded the thing was thus. Both Sicilians and Romans had the same Notion and Use of the Words;

Τριᾶς

*Teiās* and *Triens*, *Tetēās* and *Tetrans* or *Quadrans*, *Eξās* and *Sextans* meant the <sup>1</sup>/<sub>12</sub>, <sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub>, and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> part of any Whole whatsoever was spoken of; so that when they were applied to a Pound weight of XII Ounces, they must signifie IV, III, and II Ounces. Thus far I agree with *Scaliger*; and I think *Salmasius* was quite out when he espoused the other opinion. For the words themselves refute him; all we have of them of this Form in the Division of the Litra being only these three, *εξās*, *τεiās*, and *τετεās*: but if *εξās* meant six Ounces, and so the rest; then we should have had other such Divisions of the Litra, *επiās* for VII Ounces, *οκtās* for VIII, *εννεās* for IX, *δεxās* for X, *ενδεxās* for XI. On the other side, if *εξās* signifie the <sup>1</sup>/<sub>12</sub> part of the Pound, that is II Ounces; and the other two words in like manner; then the reason is plain why we have no more Divisions of it than those three: because they are the only Divisions of XII, that make even Numbers, all the rest producing Fractions; as *πνtās* a <sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub>th of XII Ounces would be II Ounces and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub> of an Ounce, *επiās* a <sup>1</sup>/<sub>7</sub>th would be I Ounce and <sup>5</sup>/<sub>7</sub>, *οκtās* an <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>th would be I Ounce and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, *εννεās* a <sup>1</sup>/<sub>9</sub>th would be I Ounce and <sup>2</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, *δεxās* a <sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub>th would be I Ounce and <sup>2</sup>/<sub>10</sub>, *ενδεxās* a <sup>1</sup>/<sub>11</sub>th would be I Ounce and <sup>1</sup>/<sub>11</sub>. These being all Fractions, the *Sicilians* would not coin any Money of these several Divisions; because instead of being usefull they would puzzle and confound all reckonings. But if *Salmasius*'s opinion were true, we should certainly have had *πνtās* for a Coin of v Ounces: for we are sure they had Money of that weight; but then they did not call it *πνtās* but *πνtύχιον*, as in the Fragment of *Epicharmus*;

— ΕΞ ἄντων τε καὶ πεντέγχιον.

This single word πεντέγχιον is a Demonstration against *Salmasius*. For as the *Romans* taking Quadrans for a 14th part of 12 Ounces, could not express the notion of a 5 Ounce piece by Quintans, but by Quincunx; so by the way of Reverse, the *Sicilians* expressing a 5 Ounce piece by πεντέγχιον could not mean 14 Ounces by τετρεῖς, but the 14th part of 12 Ounces. Again, we are told by *Pollux*, that the *Sicilians* took ἐξ ἄντα for 11 Ounces; but according to *Salmasius*, ἐξ ἄς must mean a 6 Ounce piece, which is utterly improbable upon another account; because ἐξ ἄς would then be the same with ἡμιλίτειον. But as the *Romans* used Semissis to denote a piece of 6 Ounces, and had therefore no such word as Sexunx; so the *Sicilians* having the word ἡμιλίτειον or 6 Ounces, as appears from *Epicharmus*, *Aristotle*, and *Pollux*, had no need to say ἐξ ἄγχιον or ἐξ ἄς for the same weight. 'Tis true in some MSS of *Pollux* 'tis not ἐξ ἄντα but διξ ἄντα; and *Salmasius* is pleas'd to prefer that Reading, as a *Doricism*, from διξός. But it's only in one place of *Pollux*, that the MSS have it διξ, in the other they all read it ἐξ. And with submission, they were not the *Dorians*, but the *Ionians*, that used διξός for δίωός, as we see in xx places of *Herodotus*. And if the *Sicilians* used διξ ἄντα in *Salmasius*'s sense, why did they not say τεξ ἄντα, but τεῖ ἄντα? for *Herodotus* has τεξοὶ for τεῖωοὶ as well as διξοὶ for δίωοὶ. Upon all accounts then I espouse the opinion of *Scaliger* against that of *Salmasius*: but in the remaining part of the Dispute, I humbly conceive they are both mistaken; the one, while he excuses the use of τεῖ ἄς and τετρεῖς for 11 and 14 parts of 12, as an *Idiotism*, which



which may be justified by *Vitruvius*; the other, while he thinks *Vitruvius* must be taken in that sense, which he esteems the true notion of the words. The Passage of *Vitruvius* is thus; (g) *Dividuntur Circinationes tetrantibus in partes quatuor, vel octantibus in partes octo ductis lineis.* (g) *Vitruvius, x, 11.*

*Scaliger* interprets these *Tetrantes* and *Octantes* to be a Square and an Octagon inscribed in a Circle: which mistake is so palpable, that it needs no refutation. *Salmasius* says, *Tetrans* here means a thing with iv parts, and *Octans* a thing with viii. On the contrary to me it seems evident, that *Vitruvius* takes *Tetrans* for a Quadrant, or the ivth part of a Circle, and *Octans* for the viii th part. A Circle, says he, must be divided into iv parts *Tetrantibus*. If *Tetrans* had meant all the iv parts, he would not have said *Tetrantibus* but *Tetrante*. But there's another place that plainly shews what he understands by *Tetrans*.

(h) *Ducatur rotunda Circinatio, & in ea catheto respondens diametros agatur. Tunc ab summo sub abaco inceptum in singulis Tetrantorum actionibus dimidiatum oculi spatium minuat, donec in eundem Tetrantem, qui est sub oculo veniat.* (h) *Vitruvius, iii, 3.*

Here he supposes a Circle to be divided by two Diameters at right Angles; that is, into iv equal parts; and these iv parts he calls *Tetrantorum*, and one ivth he calls *Tetrantem*. So that *Vitruvius's* Notion of *Tetrans*, and *Octans* does not differ from the received Notion of *Quadrans* among the Romans, as *Scaliger* and *Salmasius* thought. They were taken by *Vitruvius* and every body else for the ivth and viii part of any Whole whatsoever; and all the words of that Form, that could be applied to the Divisions of the *As* or *Libra*, have the very same meaning,

Sextans

*Sextans* the viith part of the whole *As*, *Triens* the iiid, *Quadrans* the ivth : and so among the *Sicilians* ἑξᾶς, τετράς, τρίτης. *Octans* indeed was not used as a division of the *Libra*, because as I observ'd before, it would have made a troublesome Fraction : but it was used in the Division of other things whether Magnitude or Number, as here by *Vitruvius* for the viiith part of a Circle. So ΔΕΚΑΣ a *Sicilian* word mention'd by (1) *Salmas.* *Arcadius*, (i) Τὸ Δεκάς πρὸς πάντα, ὅτε ὀνὶ πρὸς ἡμέ-  
 P. 256. τέρωνται, though it was no Species of Money for the reason above named, yet it was a name of Measure and Quantity, and denoted the xth part of any thing. It appears then from the whole account, That the ancient *Romans* had all their Names and Species of Money from the *Dorians* of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and continu'd every word in its original Sense. And because Money was first coin'd at *Rome* by *Servius Tullius*, who began his Reign Olymp. L, 4. and died Olymp. LXI, 4. and consequently was contemporary with *Phalaris*; 'tis a plain case, that in *Phalaris's* time as well as afterwards, the *Sicilians* had those Species of Money.

After I had prepared this Defense of my account of the *Sicilian* Talent, I observ'd that Mr. B. in his Second Edition had made some few Additions to his Remarks upon this Article. At first he told us, It would not perhaps be difficult to offer some Emendations of Pollux, that might set these things right : but it seems for some secret Reasons he would not oblige us with them. But in his 2d Edition being in better Humour, Not to be too reserv'd, says he, with  
 P. 81. the Dr. I shall now offer what may set Pollux right, and I wish the Dr. himself were as capable of E-  
 Ibid. mendation.

*mendation.* I thank the Gentleman for his good  
 Wish; but if he can give Me no better *Emenda-*  
*tion*, than this that he has given *Pollux*; he  
 would be no better a *Director* to Me, than some  
 body has been to Him. His first *Conjecture* is,  
 that (k) ἐξ πάλαντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύο χαλκοῖ, is an Error (k) *Pollux*  
 of the Copyists for ἐξάλιτερον: A profound Conje- p. 436.  
 cture indeed! 'tis but borrow'd from the other  
 (l) place of *Pollux*, where the Text has it ἐξάλι- (l) *Id.* p.  
 τερα, and I have prov'd above, that both places 216.  
 are corrupted, and that the true Reading is  
 Εξᾶντα. Which ἐξάλιτερον, says Mr. B. signified  
 the viith part of a *Litra*: and so the rest of the  
 Compounds of ἄλιτερον in the same manner. Here  
 our *Emendator* makes Εξάλιτερον mean the viith  
 part of a *Litra*, which by all Analogy and all  
 Examples of Authors must needs mean vi whole  
*Litræ*: so that he's out of his reckoning no less  
 than six times six. What thinks he of ἐξά-  
 μνηθ, ἐξαήμεθ, ἐξαήμες, ἐξάπηγες, ἐξαδύκλυθ,  
 ἐξάδεσχυμθ, ἐξάσιγες, and xx more? Must these  
 signify the viith of a *Month*, *Day*, or *Year*, &c.  
 or as all the World has yet suppos'd, must they  
 mean vi *Months*, vi *Days*, vi *Years*, and so on?  
 According to Mr. B's wise computation the  
 Δεκάλιτερον must not be ten *Litræ*, but the Tenth  
 of a *Litra*; which is a Hundred times less,  
 than *Aristotle* and *Pollux* dream'd of. The  
 Πενήκοντάλιτερον must not be 1 *Litræ*, but the  
 1th of a *Litra*; which is 2500 less than  
 poor *Diodorus Siculus* thought it, who values it  
 at x *Attic Drachms*. The Prisoner's Chains,  
 that *Diphilus* calls (m) Τετρακοντάλιτεροι, must not (m) *Pollux*,  
 be xl Pound weight, but the xlth part of a p. 215.  
 Pound, which would not be quite so heavy,  
 as some of those in *Newgate*. But of all Men  
*Aristophanes*



(n) *Aristophanes* in  
Pace.

*Aristophanes* (n) is in the most dangerous condition with his

Πῶθεν αὖν λάβοιμι ῥῆμα μυριάμορον ;

for he wish'd here for something, *that would hold the measure of 10,000 Casks* : but Mr. B. can tell him, that it means no more *than the 10,000th part of a Cask* ; so that either the Poet or Mr. B. are mistaken a Hundred Millions in the reckoning. After so glorious a beginning, Mr. B. tells us in the next Sentence, *that the Sicilian Talent was a piece of Silver, that answer'd to LX Litra of Brass*. It seems he cannot open his Mouth without mistaking ; for the Talent was no *piece of Silver*, nor a single Coin, but a *Summ*, as a Pound Sterling is in *English* : and 'twas reckon'd a Talent, whether it was paid in Silver or Brass ; whether with vi Silver Δραχμίταια, or xxiv Νύμμοι, or lx Λίτρας, or cxx Ημιλίταια ; or all in Εξάτης or Οὐγκίας of Brass ; just as a Pound here is the same, whether it be paid in Crowns, or Shillings, or Half-pennies, or Farthings. His very next Sentence acquaints us, *That this LX Pound weight of Brass was then divided into xxiv pieces call'd Νύμμοι, each νύμμο being equal to two Pounds and a half, which the Romans would have call'd Nummus Sestertius, as they would have call'd iv of them a Decussis*. Here are three mistakes in the compass of one Proposition ; so very fruitful is Mr B. in those happy Productions. The *Sicilian Νύμμο* he makes to be a *brass piece* of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; which was a small piece of Silver, about the weight of Three Pence *English*. *Aristotle* says, the *Tarentine Νύμμος* had stamp'd upon it ΤΑΡΑΣ astride upon a Dolphin ; and there are several Silver ones of that sort yet preserv'd, but nothing like

like it in Brass. And indeed the absurdity of the Examiner's Notion is visible at first view: for who would stamp any Species of 2 pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$  weight? the heaviest Coin was but one pound, and higher than that they did not go. He mistakes again, when he teaches us, that the Romans would have call'd that Brass piece of 2 Pound and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , a *Nummus Sestertius*. For the Roman *Sestertius* was, like the Sicilian, of Silver: *In argento*, says *Varro*, *Nummus*, *id à Siculis*. There was no such Coin as *Sestertius*, till the second Punic War, when Silver Money came into use. Then he says, they would have call'd Four of those Brass pieces, a *Decussis*. Here he imagines that *Decussis* was a particular Coin; which was a Summ of XII Asses, or of XII pound weight of uncoin'd Brass; so were *Tressis*, *Quinquessis*, *Octussis*, and so on to *Centussis*, all Summs and not Species: though some Learned men have maintain'd these to be Coins, and the *Sestertius* to be Brass too; and so might lead Mr. B. out of the way. In the next place he proceeds, to give an account how the Sicilian Talent of XXIV Νύμμοι came to sink so low, as XII Νύμμοι: but his Suppositions, being bottom'd upon those two Mistakes, that the Talent was a single Coin of Silver, and the Νύμμος a Coin of Brass, they must needs be all Mistake too; and the Superstructure be like the Foundation. If the Readers be not yet tir'd with his endless Blunders, they may see what work he makes of this in Pag 81.

But the strangest thing of all, if any thing besides being in the Right can be now thought strange in our Examiner, is the flat Contradictions between this new Addition and what Mr. B. had said

- said here before. The Old part is to prove, that the Low *Sicilian Talent* is a mere Figment; the New is to make it probable, that there was a Low Talent, and to shew how it came to be so: the Old decries the passage of *Pollux*, as *so obscure and interpolated*, that nothing can be made on't; the New offers to clear it up, and to *set the thing right*, to make way for the Low value of the Talent: The Old undervalues *Festus*, and corrects it 3000 Denares instead of 3: the New espouses the present Reading 3, and would reconcile it with other Writers; in the Old the *ἐξάλιτεον* is interpreted vi Litrae, in the New it's but ii: in the Old *he has good reason not to admit that the Sicilian Νῦμμος was the same with the Roman Sestertius*; in the New he readily admits and plainly supposes it: in the Old *a Talent may be Brass, and equal to a Litra*; in the New *the Talent is a piece of Silver, and answers to LX Litrae*. Now if the old Text had been cashier'd, and struck out, we might allow this New Addition as the Examiner's Second Thoughts, and give him the common Right of changing his former Opinion upon better consideration. But, as if it were on purpose to amaze and astonish his Readers, the Old Text stands still as it did, and the New Piece is clap'd into it, as if they both consisted very well, and suited together.
- (o) See We have had one Instance before, (o) where his Text and his Margin, like the two Faces of *Fanus*, look quite contrary ways: but in This place not only the Margin is at war with the Text, but the very Text (p) too by another Addition has a Civil War within it self. Now the Readers perhaps may be inclin'd to suspect, that some Assistant was over officious here, and that
- Mr. B.

(o) See  
here p.  
168.

(p) ? 89.



Mr. B. himself would not blow hot and cold with the same Breath; but I would advise them not to be too rash, but to learn by my (q) example, how feeble all such Arguments from p. . .

Reason are in things that concern the Examiner. However, if there was any such Assistant, that put in a Finger here, I must own my self oblig'd to him: for though he bungled grievously in his Work, yet his Design was wholly on my side, To account for the Low Sicilian Talent, and to void all that Mr. B. had written about it before. And I am the more confirm'd in my opinion, That he was against Mr. B. because I find him playing meer Booty with him; Suppose, says he, *there was a Sicilian Talent of this low value; yet when a Talent was simply mention'd, it must mean the Common Talent, made up of 60 Minæ, and those divided each into 100 Drachmæ, and these into Oboli.* This looks now like a Salvo to come off with Mr. B. and to reconcile the New Piece and the Old together; but it's perfectly a Banter upon him, and seems design'd for a Piece of Nonsense: for the meaning of it is exactly thus: *Though a current Talent in Sicily was but worth about Half a Crown; yet when a Talent was mention'd in Sicily, it must mean 180 Pound Sterling.* But we may expect to have this Passage clear'd, when Mr. B. and the Assistant next see one another: and then too he may please to resolve, whether he will still oppose my Account of the Sicilian Money; or, if not, renounce, as he promises, not some particular Epistles only, but the whole Set of them.

P. 89.

## XV.

**B**UT to let pass all further arguments from Words and Language ; to me the very Matter and Business of the Letters sufficiently discovers them to be an Imposture. What force of Wit and Spirit in the Stile, what lively painting of Humour, some fanſie they discern there ; I will not examine nor dispute. But methinks little Sense and Judgment is shown in the Ground-work and Subject of them. What an improbable and absurd story is that of the LIV Epistle ? *Stesichorus* was born at *Himera* ; but he chanced to die at *Catana*, a hundred miles distance from home, quite across the Island. (ρ) There he was buried, and a noble Monument made for him. Thus far the Sophist had read in good Authors. Now upon this he introduces the *Himerenses*, so enraged at the others for having *Stesichorus's* Ashes, that nothing less will serve them, than denouncing War, and sacking their City. And presently an Embassy is sent to *Phalaris*, to desire his assistance : who, like a generous Ally, promises them what Arms and Men and Money they would : but withal, sprinkles a little dust among the Bees, advising them to milder coun-

fels,

\* *Suidas*  
*Πάντα ὁ*  
*κτεν. &c*  
*Στασιλ.*

fels, and proposing this expedient, That *Catana* should have *Stesichorus's* Tomb, and *Himera* should build a Temple to him. Now was ever any Declamator's Theme so extravagantly put? What? to go to War upon so slight an occasion? and to call in too the assistance of the Tyrant? Had they so soon forgot *Stesichorus's* own counsel? † who, when upon another occasion they would have asked succour of *Phalaris*, dissuaded them by the Fable of the *Horse* and his *Rider*. Our Sophist had heard, that Seven Cities contended about *Homer*; and so Two might go to Blows about another Poet. But there's a difference between that Contention, and this Fighting in Earnest. He is as extravagant too in the Honours he would raise to his Poet's Memory; nothing less than a Temple and Deification. *Cicero* tells us, that in his days there was his Statue still extant at *Himera* (then called *Thermæ*,) which, one would think, was Honour enough. But a Sophist can build Temples in the Air, as cheaply and easily as some others do Castles.

† *Aristot.*  
*Rhet. l. 1.*

What an inconsistency is there between the LI and LXIX Epistles? In the former he declares his immortal hatred to one *Python*, who, after *Phalaris's* flight from *Astypalæa*, would have persuaded his Wife



*Erythia* to a second marriage with himself; but seeing her resolved to follow her Husband, he poison'd her. Now this could be no long time after his banishment; for then she could not have wanted Opportunities of following him. But in the LXIX Epist. we have her alive again, long after that *Phalaris* had been Tyrant of *Agrigentum*; for he mentions his \* growing old there. And we must not imagine, but that several years had passed, before he could seize the Government of so populous a City, that had † 200,000 Souls in it, or, as others || say, 800,000. For he came an indigent Stranger thither, according to the Letters; and by degrees rising from one employment to another, at last had opportunity and power to effect that design. Besides, in the LXIX Letter, she is at *Crete* with her Son; and in the LI, she is poison'd (I suppose) at *Astypalæa*: for there her Poisoner dwelt; and 'tis expressly said, she design'd, but could not follow her Husband. Which seems an intimation, that the Sophist believed *Astypalæa* to be a City in *Crete*. 'Tis certain, that the Editors of *Phalaris* by comparing these two passages together, made that discovery in Geography: for it could not be learnt any where else; and 'tis an admirable token, both that the Epistles are old and genuine, and that

\* Διὰ τὸ  
ἐμὸν γῆ-  
ρας. Ep 69.

† Diod. Si-  
cul p 205.  
|| Diog.  
Laert. in  
Empedoc.

that the Commentators are not inferior to, nor unworthy of their Author.

What a scene of putid and senseless formality are the LXXIIX, LXXIX, and CXLIV Epistles? *Nicocles a Syracusan*, a Man of the highest rank and quality, sends his own Brother an hundred miles with a request to *Phalaris*, That He would send to *Stesichorus* another hundred miles, and beg the favour of a Copy of Verses upon *Clearista* his Wife, who was lately dead. *Phalaris* accordingly sends to *Himera* with mighty application and address, and soon after writes a second Letter of Thanks for so singular a Kindness. Upon the same of this, one (II) *Pelopidas* entreats him, That || Ep. lxxv. he would procure the like favour for a friend of His; but meets with a repulse. Now, whether there was any Poem upon *Clearista* among the Works of *Stesichorus*, whence our Sophist might take the Plot and Ground-work of this story; or whether all is entirely his own invention and manufacture; I will not pretend to guess. But let those believe that can, that such stuff as this busied the head of the Tyrant: at least they must confess then, though the Letters would represent him as a great admirer and judge too of Poetry, that he was a mere *Asinus ad Lyram*. For, in the LXXIX Epist. he calls this Poem upon *Clea-*

*rista μέλα* and *μελῳδία*, which must here (as it almost ever does) signifie a *Lyric Ode*, since it is spoken of *Stesichorus* a Melic or Lyric Poet. But in the CXLIV he calls it an *Elegy*, ἐλεγίον; which is as different from μέλα, as *Theognis* is from *Pindar*, or *Tibullus* from *Horace*. What? the same Copy of Verses both an Ode and an Elegy? Could not some years acquaintance with *Stesichorus* teach him the very Names? But to forgive Him, or rather the Sophist, such an egregious piece of Dulness; why, forsooth, so much ado, why such a vast way about, to obtain a few Verses? Could not they have writ directly to *Stesichorus*, and at the price of some Present have met with easie success? Do not we know, that all of that String, *Bacchylides*, *Simonides*, *Pindar*, got their Livelhood by the *Muses*? So that to use *Phalaris's* intercession, besides the delay and an unnecessary trouble to both, was to defraud the Poet of his Fee.

Nay certainly, they might have employ'd any hand rather than *Phalaris's*. For, begging pardon of the Epistles, I suspect all to be a Cheat about *Stesichorus's* friendship with him. For the Poet, out of common gratitude, must needs have celebrated it in some of his Works. But that he *did not*, the Letters themselves are,





sole kindness to his fellow Poet, would have forborn so vile a character. *Plato*, in his Second Epistle, recounts to *Dionysius* some celebrated friendships of learned Men with Tyrants and Magistrates; *Simondes's* with *Hiero* and *Pausanias*, *Thales's* with *Periander*, *Anaxagoras's* with *Pericles*, *Solon's* and others with *Cræsus*. Now, how could he have mis'd, had he ever heard of it, this of *Stesichorus* with *Phalaris*? being transacted in *Sicily*, and so a most proper and domestic Example. If you say, the infamy of *Phalaris* made him decline that odious instance: in that very word you pronounce our Epistles to be spurious. For if They had been known to *Plato*, even *Phalaris* would have appeared as moderate a Tyrant as *Dionysius* himself. † *Lucian*, that feigns an Embassy from *Phalaris* to *Delphi* for the dedication of the Brazen Bull, makes an Oration in his Fraise, as *Isocrates* does of *Busiris*; where, without doubt, he has gathered all the stories he knew for Topics of his commendation: but he has not one word of his friendship with *Stesichorus*. Nor, indeed, has any body else. And do not you yet begin to suspect the credit of the Letters?

† in Phalar. prior.

'Twould be endless to prosecute this part, and shew all the silliness and impertinency

pertinency in the Matter of the Epistles. For, take them in the whole bulk, they are a fardle of Common Places, without any life or spirit from Action and Circumstance. Do but cast your eye upon *Cicero's* Letters, or any States-man's, as *Phalaris* was : what lively characters of Men there ! what descriptions of Place ! what notifications of Time ! what particularity of Circumstances ! what multiplicity of Designs and Events ! When you return to these again, you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming Pedant with his elbow on his desk ; not with an active, ambitious Tyrant, with his Hand on his Sword, commanding a Million of Subjects. All that takes or affects you, is a stiffness and stateliness and operoseness of Stile : but as that is improper and unbecoming in all Epistles, so especially it is quite aliene from the character of *Phalaris*, a man of business and dispatch.

**M**R. B. begins the Examination of this Article, with a Pedantic Digression and common Place about *Pedantry* ; which I will not now meddle with, but reserve for a more proper place ; that I may not, as He has done, interrupt the Business of this Section with an impertinent Excursion, that has no manner of relation to't.



The first Absurdity that I noted in the Matter of the Epistles, was *the Himeræans going to War with the Catanæans about Stefichorus's Ashes, and calling in Phalaris to their Assistance, against Stefichorus's own Advice in a Case exactly like it.* Now the Examiner pretends to answer this; but with greater Craft, than Ingenuity, he drops the principal part of it. *What is there, says he, in this Story either absurd, or improbable, that the Himeræans should be so concerned to get the Ashes of Stefichorus, and the Catanæans to keep them?*

P. 100.

(a) Ep. 54.

ΕΛΘΟΝ  
 ὑμῶν πόλιν  
 ἐν Σιχα-  
 λία.

What I, from the (a) Epistles, call'd a *War* and *sacking of a City*, and a dependance upon the most Brutal of Tyrants; our Honourable Examiner styles a *Concern*, and says not one word about the *going to War*. But he tells us, *This very thing happen'd afterwards in the Case of Euripides, whose Bones the Athenians sent a solemn Embassy to Macedonia to retrieve, but their request was denied.* And is this the *very thing*, and the same Case with that in the Epistles? It's so far from being the *very thing*, that one can hardly pick out a more proper Instance to refute the Epistles. For as the *Athenians* met with a Denial, when they demanded *Euripides's* Ashes, and yet declar'd no *War* upon that account, nor committed the least Hostilities; so likewise the *Himeræans* would never go to War upon so slight an occasion, especially against a powerful City, that had the same Original with their own, both Colonies being founded by the *Chalcidians* of *Eubœa*. After this he informs us from *Pausanias*, *That the Athenians built a Noble Monument to Euripides*: but neither *Pausanias* nor *Themos Magister*, who are the only Authors, I suppose, that speak of it, say a word of its *Nobility*;

P. 102.

bility; but the (b) one calls it barely Μνήμα (b) *Pausan*  
*Euerpida* κενόν, and the other (c) Κενοτάφιον, with- *P. 2.*  
 out a word in its Commendation. Then he tells *(c) Thom.*  
 us out of *Plutarch*, That the Orchomenians endea- *Mag. vita*  
 your'd all they could to get *Hesiod's Bones*, but the Lo- *Eurip. p.*  
 crians that had'em would not be prevail'd upon to part *100.*  
 with'em. And here again he puts a force upon his  
 Author, and makes him say more than he really  
 does: but though the Case were so, as he repre-  
 sents it, it would be, as the most of His are, a  
 good Argument against Himself. For as the Or-  
 chomenians did not go to War upon't, though the  
 very Oracle advised them to fetch *Hesiod's Bones*;  
 so the *Himeræans* would not have run that ha-  
 zard for the sake of *Stesichorus's*.

I had blam'd the Epistles for raising (d) a *(d) Ep. 54.*  
 Temple to *Stesichorus*; which the Examiner justi- *Νεώς ἱστῶ-*  
 fies from the several Temples erected to *Homer* at *δω Σμσι-*  
*Smyrna* and in other Places: which the Doctor, *χέρ.*  
 says he, knew nothing of, though it be no secret *P. 101.*  
 even to the first beginners of Learning. 'Tis a  
 good proof indeed, that the First Beginners may  
 know this thing, because our Examiner knows  
 it. But there's another thing, that I perceive even  
 He knows nothing of, that *Homer's* case and *Stesicho-*  
*rus's* have no relation to one another. For I pray,  
 at what time were the Temples built to *Homer*?  
 'Twas a long time before he was honour'd with  
 so much as an Epitaph. (e) He was buried, says *(e) Herod.*  
*Herodotus*, in the Island *Ios*, ἔνθεν πολλῶ χρόνῳ, *vita Ho-*  
 and a LONG TIME after, when his Poems became *peri.*  
 famous, they made an Epitaph upon him. As for  
 his Temple at *Smyrna*, which *Strabo*, *Cicero*, and *Strabo p.*  
 others mention, it must needs be as recent as the *646.*  
 City it self, and that was built by *Antigonus*  
 and *Lyfimachus* six or seven hundred years after  
 the

*Ælian.*  
xiii, 22.

the Poet's time, the old City having been ruin'd and desolate for 400 years together. And then the Temple at *Alexandria*, that *Ptolemee Philopater* erected to his Memory, was later than that at *Smyrna*: and the Marble of *Homer's Apotheosis*, which is publish'd with an ample Commentary by the very Learned *Cuperus*, may be reasonably supposed to be later than them both. What has the Examiner got therefore by his Instances of *Homer's* Temples? They are all near ccc years younger than *Phalaris* and *Stesichorus*; and if a Custom obtain'd in this Latter Age, will he infer, that it was used too in the Former? Or will he compare the Fame of *Stesichorus* with the Glory of *Homer*? Or will he suppose that *Stesichorus* could immediately obtain those Honours; which *Homer* did not, 'till his Books had lasted vi Centuries, when he was numbred among the ancient Hero's? This is so poor an Excuse for the Sophist, that it's a further Detection of him. For, since He lived after *Ptolemee's* time, and had heard of *Homer's* Temples at *Alexandria* and *Smyrna*, it might easily come into His head to build the like for *Stesichorus*: but the true *Phalaris*, in whose days even *Homer* himself had no Temple erected to him, would never have thought on't.

P. 101,  
102.

(f) *Diod.*  
p. 280.

But what a morose piece of Critic is that, where he will not give Me leave to say, as others have done, *That Himera was afterwards call'd Thermæ*? Because forsooth *Diodorus* and *Cicero* say, they were not built upon the same spot of Ground. And yet *Diodorus* himself (f) expressly calls the Inhabitants of *Thermæ*, *Himeræans*: and *Scipio*, when he gave them the Statues that formerly belong'd to *Himera*; and *Cicero*,  
when



when he tells that story of *Scipio*, do both as good as declare, that they look'd upon them as the same City. *Polybius* therefore joins both words together, and calls them (g) *Θερμῶν καὶ Ἰμερῶν* (g) *Polyb. μερῶν*; and so *Ptolemy*, *Θερμαὶ Ἰμερῶν πόλεις*, P. 24. which *Cluverius* corrects *Ἰμερῶν*; and so an Inscription in (h) *Gruter*, COL. AUG. HIME- (h) *Gruter* RÆORUM THERMIT. And if I may not say P. 433. *Himera* was called *Thermæ*, because they were not upon the same Spot; I must not say neither, what every body has said, that *Naxos* was call'd *Taurominium*, nor that *Sybaris* was call'd *Thurii*; no, nor that *Smyrna* was call'd *Smyrna*, nor *Magnesia* call'd *Magnesia*; for the new Towns of those Names were as remote from the old ones, as *Thermæ* from *Himera*.

I had charg'd the Letters with an *Inconsistency*; because the list makes *Phalaris's* Wife to have been poyson'd at *Astypalæa*, soon after her Husband's Flight, but the *lxxixth* makes her alive in *Crete* many years after, when *Phalaris* was grown old in the Monarchy at *Agrigentum*. Mr. B. is pleas'd to reply, That here I make an unreasonable Supposition, that the Letters must have been written in the same Order that they now stand; for if that do not take place, there's no manner of Inconsistency between these two Epistles. Now what Name ought to be given to such a Writer as this is, who prevaricates so notoriously in a case as plain as the Sun? Did I ever make such a Supposition, that the Letters were written in the order they are Printed? Had I not expressly suppos'd in the *ivth* Article, that the *lxxxvth* Letter might be written before the *lxxxivth*, nay before the *xxth*, nay before the very First of all? And is it not visible and plain to any man of Sense, that

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103

See here  
p 146

that I place the *Inconsistency* here, not upon the order of the Epistles, but upon the differences of Place and Time? I would ask him now in his own Language, *Was the pleasure of forging this imaginary Supposition, which is worthy of himself, and none of mine, an equivalent to the shame of being told on't?*

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But he tells me, *I make Four other Suppositions; which have not the least Countenance from the Epistles, or any other History.* What the Examiner will grant or deny, to me is indifferent: but I appeal to Others, if every Particular that I said there may not be fairly gather'd from the Letters themselves. (i) *Phalaris fled from Astypalæa; His Wife (k) endeavouring to follow him was poison'd by Python, who courted her to a second Marriage.* Again, (l) *His Wife is alive in Crete, when Phalaris had long possess'd the Government of Agrigentum.* All this is plainly affirm'd in the Letters. Now if *Astypalæa* was not a Town of *Crete*, but an Island of the *Sporades*, as I have prov'd already against *Phalaris's* Editors; then if she was poison'd at *Astypalæa*, she could not afterwards be alive in *Crete*. And if she was poison'd for endeavouring to follow her Husband, which cannot reasonably be suppos'd to be very long after his Flight: she could not be yet alive, when he was grown old in *Sicily*. I must confess, that these two Accounts are still in my opinion *Inconsistencies*. But Mr. B. and I may have very different Notions of what deserves to be called by that Name. For his Examination flatly contradicts his own Index to *Phalaris*; and his Margin in more places than one is directly opposite to his Text; and yet he seems not to apprehend them to be *inconsistent*  
one

one with another: for he has made no retraction of his Index to *Phalaris*; and has made his Margin keep company with his Text, as if they were very good Friends.

My other Exception against the Epistles was the Sophist's absurd Conduct about *Nicocles's* Address to *Phalaris*, to obtain by his Intercession a Copy of Verses from *Stesichorus*. But the Examiner protests, *he can see no harm, nor any thing unnatural in't*. Now this being a matter of mere Judgment, and no Controversie of Fact, I am not surpriz'd to see Mr. B. and my self have such different opinions about it. And when a thing is once brought to that Issue, 'tis in vain to dispute further about it; but we must refer the whole matter to the Readers, that have Taste and Skill. I shall only take some short notice of the Particulars, that his Argument is built on. He says, *Phalaris was not successfull in a second Attempt upon Stesichorus, at the instance of a Sicilian Gentleman*. But it's plain from the Epistle it self, that *Phalaris* refus'd to make a second Attempt; so that the *Gentleman* was unsuccessful with *Phalaris*, not *Phalaris* with *Stesichorus*. Mr. B. it seems, does not know his own *Favorite* Book; and yet if I, that despise it, and believe it not worth the Reading, had made such a mistake about it, as this is: he would have given us two whole Pages in aggravation of the Fault, and have pour'd out his *Grimace* and *Banter* profusely upon so worthy a Subject.

But he finds I have high Thoughts of *Phalaris*, because I said, *That such Stuff as Stesichorus's Verses did not busie his Head*. They were not high Thoughts of his great Monarchy, but hard ones of his Cruelty and Barbarity, that made me suppose,

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Ep. 65.

P. 104.



suppose, such matters did not busie his head. Mr. B. then might have sav'd that diminishing Character that he gives here of *Phalaris's* power. One may guess it was much against his Mind, to depress his *Sicilian Prince*: but his Anger against his Antagonist was stronger here than his Sense of Loyalty. But let us see how he manages? *He was only a petty Prince*, he says, *of one Town in Sicily*. I perceive, he has not lost all his former respect for him; he'll make him a *Prince* still, though it be but a *Petty* one. But why so ill-natur'd as to allow him but one single Town, *Agrigentum*; and in that single Town too to take away Half of his Subjects? What will he do therefore

(m) *Suid.*  
Φάλ. πυ-  
ρανήσας  
Σικελίας  
ἅλης.

(n) *Diog.*  
Παρι-  
μίων ii, 50.  
Καλαπο-  
λεμύσας  
τὸς Λεον-  
τίνους.

(o) *Polyæ-*  
*nus*, v, 1.

(p) *Diod.*  
p. 741.

(q) *Epist.*  
85.

with (m) *Suidas*, who makes him *Tyrant of all Sicily*? or with (n) *Diogenianus*, who affirms, *That he subdu'd the City and Country of Leontini*? or with (o) *Polyænus*, who makes him conquer the *Sicanians* and take *Ouessia* (or rather *Inessa*) their *Capital City*? or with (p) *Diodorus*, who informs us, that he had two Castles, *Ἐκνομος λέφρος*, and *Φαλαργιον*, in the Territories of *Gela*, a days Journey from *Agrigentum*? or lastly, what will he do with the *Epistles* themselves, (q) which pretend he vanquished the *Leontini*, and the *Tauromenites* and *Zancleans* their Allies? If Mr. B. pleases to take all these into the account, he may allow his *Prince* to have been Master of a *Million of Subjects*; though *Agrigentum* should not be so populous, as *Laertius* represents it. And why now would Mr. B. deal so unkindly with him, to make him a *Petty Prince of one City only*, when such *Credible Authors* assign him many more? Is there not, as I have often observ'd, a certain *Fatality* in this *Gentleman's Errors*, so that whether he talks for *Phalaris* or against him, on both sides he is always mistaken? He

He goes on and tells me, *That there have been Tyrants with many millions of Subjects that have employ'd themselves about Poems. Has not the Dr. seen, says he, the Fragments of Augustus's Letters to Horace, pressing and obliging that Poet to write?* Never was piece of History more aptly applied: I can heartily now forgive him all he has said about Me, when I see how judicious and exact he is in bestowing Names and Characters. *Phalaris* is a *Sicilian Prince* with him, and *Augustus* is a *Tyrant*. Methinks that *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Syracuse* had been a nearer and properer Comparison; for he was so concern'd with Poets and Poems, that he not only had several Poets in his Court, but himself made several Tragedies. Though even this or any other such Instance had been wholly impertinent; for as I said, 'twas not *Phalaris's* Greatness, but his Barbarity and Ignorance (being an illiterate Publican, before he usurp'd the Tyranny) that makes his Dealings with *Stesichorus* for Copies of Verses, to be so improbable and absurd.

But a *Present*, he says, had been an improper means to obtain Verses of *Stesichorus*; for *he was one of the Greatest Men of Sicily*. This is a new piece of History, and to be sure he takes care to make it out well. Yes by two very good Arguments, First, *because, as Suidas tells him, his Brother Helianax was Nomodetes, a Lawgiver*. Ay, no doubt on't, if he was a Lawgiver, he must consequently be a Member of Parliament. But it falls out unfortunately, that the Legislative Power was not always in such Great Hands, as it's now a-days: *The best Law-makers, says (r) Aristotle, were of the MIDDLE Rank of Citizens; for Solon was such a one, as appears by his Poems;* and

P. 105.

P. 105.

106

(r) Arist.

Polit. iv,

11.

- and Lycurgus, for he was no King; and Charondas and most of the rest. Even Aristotle himself, whose Nobility was not (f) extraordinary, made Laws for the Abderitans. Zaleucus, as we have seen above, was but a Shepherd and a Slave.
- (j) *Laert.* (t) Eudoxus the Cnidian made Laws to his own  
*Plutarch.* Citizens; and yet (u) he was so poor, that  
*c. Colotem.* Theomedon a Physician bore his Charges at Athens; and his Friends made a Purse for him, when he was to travel to Egypt. And (x) Protagoras was Lawgiver to the Thurians, and yet at first he was no better than \* a Porter to carry Burdens. Why then must Stesichorus be one of the Greatest Men in Sicily, because he had a Brother a Lawgiver? The Examiner, we see, will still be true to his old way of Reasoning: for one may fairly infer the very contrary from it, that he was but of Middle and ordinary Quality. Well, but he must needs be one of the Greatest men there; because he made an Apologue to the Himeræans against Phalaris, (y) About the Horse and his Rider, and the Stag. And is that such a proof of his Wealth and Greatness above the low temptations of Money and Presents? (z) Menenius Agrippa made such another Apologue to the Romans, and yet he was so very poor, that he left not enough to bury him. There's another Apologue too of Æsop's, mention'd by Aristotle in the very place where he tells Stesichorus's: and if Æsop a poor Slave could make Apologues at Samos, relating to Public Affairs; why must Stesichorus's Apologue at Himera prove him one of the Greatest men in Sicily? The Arundel Marble gives us a Date, when Stesichorus the Poet ἦλθε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι, went into Greece. Now εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι means to travel into Greece

\* *Bajulus,*  
*Φορτωφί-*  
*γος. Gellius,*  
*v, 3.*

P. 106.

(y) *Arist.*  
*Rhet. ii, 2.*

(z) *Livy, ii.*



Greece to get Money, as his Brother Poets did, who were to make their Fortunes by their Pen. When Homer was very poor, (a) says Herodotus, (a) Herod. some persuaded him *eis tēn Ellādā amīdas* to *Vita Ho-* go into Greece; and he design'd it, but died in *meri.* Ios, before he began the Voyage. And the Readers will be apt to suspect, for all the Greatness that Mr. B. dreams of, that Stesichorus had no other Errand to Greece, than Homer had before him, and Simonides and others after him.

I had made another Censure upon the Epistles for calling the same Copy of Verses both *Μέλιον* and *Ελγυῖον*. The Examiner replies, That by the P. 106, different cast of his Head, he should have reason'd 107. c just the other way, and have infer'd something in favour of the Letters. First, he says, a Sophist would not have confounded the words. True; a learned Sophist would not have writ such sorry Epistles, as a judicious Man would not have publish'd them: but our Mock Phalaris is a Sophist of that size, that no kind of Blunder is below his Character. But a Prince, says Mr. B. might not think himself oblig'd to write with all the exactness of a Scholar. This is just the Second Part of his (b) Complement to Queen E- (b) Sec here p. 223. lizabeth: he's resolv'd, it seems, to stand up for Princes, and maintain for them a Royal Prerogative of speaking improperly. But let Mr. B. be as good a Courtier as he pleases: I am now to consider him only in his Capacity of a Critic. I shall procede therefore to his next Remark, P. 107. That Phalaris call'd it an *Ελγυῖον*, when he ask'd it of Stesichorus, and knew not what Measure it would be in: but when he had it, and saw it was Lyric, he then call'd it *Μέλιον*. Who can deny now, but this is sharply observ'd? but there's

P. 107.

P. 105.

P. 26.

(c) Herod.  
Vita Ho-  
meri.

(d) Suid. v.  
Ομηρος.

one inconvenience in't, that while he's careful of the *Prince's* Reputation, he betrays the *Poet's*. For if an *Elegy* in the proper Sense of the word (as this Excuse supposes) was bespoken of *Stesichorus*; why should he make a *Lyric Poem* instead on't? This had been just like the *Sign-Painter*, that whatsoever was bespoken of him, whether a *Lion* or a *Dolphin*, always painted a *Rose*. But Mr. B. will prove, *That* Ἑλεγεῖον and Ἑλεγεῖον had a looser sense than what the *Grammarians* put upon them; because *Dion Chrysostom* calls *Heroic Verses* on *Sardanapalus's Tomb* Ἑλεγεῖον. But there's a *Figure of Rhetoric* here, call'd *Self-contradiction*, that's very frequent in our *Examiner's* Reasonings. For he had newly said, *A Sophist could not mistake* Ἑλεγεῖον, *the distinct Sense of which was so well settled before his Time by the Grammarians*: and now he produces *Dion Chrysostom*, (who as he tells us, was as errant a *Sophist* and *Declamer* as ever was) employing it in a looser meaning than what the *Grammarians* put upon't. But to let this pass; what he teaches us here about the *Distinct Sense* that the *Grammarians* settled upon't, is but a cast of his own loose and unsettled Sense. For the *Grammarians* knew well enough, that Ἑλεγεῖον was taken for *Epitaph*, even without a *Pentameter* in't. They could learn that out of *Herodotus*, among others, when he tells 'em, (c) *That the People of Ios* τὸ Ἑλεγεῖον τίθει ἐπὶ γράφειαν, wrote this *Elegy* on *Homer's Tomb*,

Ἐνθάδε τὸν ἱερὸν κεφαλὴν καὶ γὰρ καλὴν  
Ἀνδρῶν Ἡρώων κοσμήματα δῖον Ὀμηρον.

And (d) *Suidas*, one of those *Grammarians*, could not be ignorant of this; for he cites the very same *Epitaph*, and calls it Ἑλεγεῖον. The case

case is no more than this: In the old times they generally made their Epitaphs in a single Distich, Hexameter and Pentameter; whence in process of time an Epitaph at large came to be call'd Ελεγίον. (e) *The Ancients*, says the Scholiast (e) *Schol. Apollonii Rhodii*, used 'Ελεγεία for Inscip- ii, 784. tions upon Tombs. τὰ ἐλεγεία, (f) says Lycurgus the Orator, τὰ ἐπηγεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. τοῖς ἐλε- But what advantage is this now to Mr. B. and his Phalaris? An Ελεγίον of all Hexameters is as remote from a Lyric Song, as if it was mix'd with Pentameters. So that Ελεγίον and Μέλιον cannot yet be used for the same Copy of Verses, (f) *Lycurg.* p. 168. but by that Privilege of making Solécisms, that Mr. B. would vindicate to Princes.

But his next Proof perhaps may be better: for a Nightingale, he says, in Aristophanes's AVES, P. 107, is said to sing 'Ελεγοι, and by and by those very 108. 'Ελεγοι are called Μέλι. This indeed carries both Surprize and Demonstration along with it. What a strange reach of Fancy has our Examiner? Who but He could ever have thought on this pretty Argument from a Nightingale? Let us put it into a Syllogism, A Nightingale sings Μέλι, A Nightingale sings 'Ελεγοι, Ergo Μέλι and 'Ελεγοι are the same. Very quaint indeed, and out of the common way! but it has one little Fault, that if a Nightingale can sing more Tunes than One, his Syllogism must then be hush'd. Mr. B. seems to bring this Argument with a very serious Air; as if because the Poet metaphorically calls the Singing of a Bird by the several Names of Human Music, we may infer that all those Names may signifie one and the same thing. But in the very same Page *Aristophanes* says, that the Upupa, which we call the Hoopoe;



no very melodious Bird, chanted a Μέλῳ.

(g) *Aristoph.* p.  
376.

(g) Ὁ ὑποφ. μελωδεῖν αὖ ᾄδασκευάζει.

Mr. B. therefore by the very same Reasoning may give us another Syllogism, *The Nightingale sings a Μέλῳ, The Hoopoe sings a Μέλῳ, Ergo the Hoopoe sings like the Nightingale.* And by the same Argument Blackbirds will sing like them; for Their Notes too are Μέλῳ,

(h) *Anthol.*  
1. 20.

(h) Κόσσυφοι ἀχεῦσιν πελεκέτραυλα μέλῳ.

and so the *Cicada* too,

(i) *Ibid.* iii.  
24.

(i) Ἐσθλὴν ἐκ πτερυγίων αἰδοῦ κρέκκουσα μέλῳ.

Nay the very *Frogs* will croak like *Nightingales*;

(k) *Moschus.* id. iii.

(k) Ταῖς Νύμφαισι δ' ἔδωξεν αἰὶ τ' Βάτραχον ᾄδεν.

Τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἐ φρονέοιμι, τὸ γὰρ Μέλῳ ἐ καλὸν ᾄδει.

But what is still more extraordinary, the same *Nightingale* in *Aristophanes* a little after begins to chant a Lesson of *Anapaests*,

(l) *Aristoph.* p. 195.

(l) Ὑμνων σύνθετον ἀποδοῖ,

Ἄρχε τῶν ἀναπαίσεων.

So that by Mr. B's. powerful Argument both Μέλῳ and Ἑλεγεῖ and Ἀνάπαισι may be all used in the same signification. And if Mr. B. had but produc'd some *Anapaests* of *Nightingales* to confute my observation (m) about the Measures of that Verse, they might have done him perhaps much better service than those of *Aeschylus* and *Seneca*.

(m) See  
here p.  
134. &c.

I had declar'd, That I suspected all to be a Cheat, about the Friendship between *Phalaris* and *Stesichorus*; because the Poet himself never mention'd it, nor any other Writer; though several, had it been true, had fair occasion to speak of it. Now the Examiner accounts for *Lucian's* silence; because he had said enough, in naming *Pythagoras*, and to have added *Stesichorus's*

rus's name, would have made the Piece look stiff P. 109. and unnatural. Wonderfully nice and exact: he can tell you to a single Word, when a Treatise will be stiff; like the Gardiner that could determin to a Minute, when his Melons were ripe. *How many have I sav'd, says Phalaris in Lucian (n), who plotted against me, and were convicted, as Acanthus that stands here, and Timocrates, and Leogoras his Brother?* Now according to the Letters, *Stesichorus* too was taken Plotting, and yet the Tyrant saved his Life, and made him his Friend. But, says Mr. B, if *Lucian* here had added *Stesichorus* to the other Three, that single Name would have made the Discourse as stiff as any Buckram. And yet allowing, that *Lucian* himself had as nice a sensation of Stiffness as Mr. B. appears to have, and therefore would not put down Four names, but Three only; yet methinks he might have spar'd one of those Three, and put *Stesichorus* in his room; unless Mr. B. will shew, that *Timocrates* or *Leogoras* (whom no body ever heard of) were as famous as *Stesichorus*, and their Examples as memorable. But Mr. B. adds further, that if *Lucian's* silence be an Exception to *Stesichorus's* acquaintance with *Phalaris*, it is to *Abaris's* too: which yet (o) our Critic has before, for the sake of *Aristotle* and *Jamblichus*, been graciously pleas'd to allow. Now without the Examiner's telling us, we might guess, that he was not awake sometimes in his Work; for surely the Man that writ this, must have been fast asleep; or else he could never have talk'd so wildly. There is not one word in that place that his Margin refers to, about *Phalaris's* Friendship with *Abaris*. And how could I allow it for the sake of *Aristotle*, who says not the least Syllable

(n) *Lucian*  
1. *Phal* p.  
845.

(o) *Dissert.*  
p. 15.

P. 203.

P. 137.

of it; or if I should allow it for the sake of *Jamblichus*, What would that be to *Lucian*? For according to *Jamblichus*, the Tyrant was kill'd by *Abaris*'s means upon their first Acquaintance; how then could *Phalaris* in *Lucian* have magnified himself to the *Delphians* upon the past friendship of that *Hyperborean*? If *Lucian* had believed the story, as *Jamblichus* tells it, That the Tyrant was deposed by *Pythagoras* and *Abaris* at their first Visit; his mentioning *Abaris* or *Pythagoras* in *Phalaris*'s Speech at *Delphi*, had been very absurd. But *Stesichorus* had been a proper Instance, if the Letters be true; for he was XII Years the Tyrant's Friend, and died too before him. So that *Lucian*'s not mentioning Him shews he knew nothing of the Epistles; as on the contrary his mentioning *Pythagoras*, shews he knew nothing of that story of his deposing *Phalaris*.

P. 109.

In the next place *Mr. B.* accounts for *Plato*'s Silence about the Friendship of *Stesichorus* and *Phalaris*: because *Plato* mentions nothing there of the Acquaintance between *Pythagoras* and *Phalaris*. An admirable account indeed! *Plato* says *Mr. B.* might omit the mention of *Stesichorus*'s Friendship with *Phalaris*, and yet might believe it true; because he mentions not another Friendship, that in all probability is as mere a Fiction as that. Which is a just as if he reason'd thus; The Ancients in their Accounts of *Æsop*, say nothing of his Ugliness, and yet they might believe it: because they

(p) *Plat. Acad.* say nothing neither of (p) *Xanthus* the Philosopher with his Company of *Scholastics*. But says *Mr. B.* the *Pythagoreans* all agree, that their Master and *Phalaris* were acquainted; and *Dr. B.*

(q) See grants it. I granted they were Contemporaries; here p. 30. and by a familiar slight of hand, (q) he turns the



the word into *Acquaintance* ; as he once did before. But how knows he that *all the Pythagoreans agree* ; when the only men that speak a word of it are *Lucian* and *Jamblichus* ; and they were neither of them *Pythagoreans* ? or suppose the *Pythagorean* story true, as (r) *Jamblichus* reports it, *That Phalaris blasphem'd the Gods, despised Philosophy, and design'd to murder Pythagoras* ; would this have been as proper and domestic an Instance for *Plato*, as the XII Years Friendship with *Stesichorus* ? What a master of Decency is Mr. B, and what a Relish has he of dextrous management, who goes about to excuse *Plato* for not numbering *Phalaris's* and *Pythagoras's* Enmity (for so it's represented by those *Pythagoreans* he speaks of) among the Celebrated Friendships of Learned men with Tyrants ?

(r) Jambli.  
v. Pythag  
p. 184.

As for the argument from the silence of *Pindar*, *he will not attempt to answer it* ; which is a better sign of Discretion, than he usually shews. However he'll put me in mind of one false Colour that I have given to my Argument : For I said, *Pindar exhorts Hiero to be kind to Poets and men of Letters* : but, says he, *there's not a word of that in the Verses themselves, whatever guess the Scholiast may make at their remote meaning. So that the Doctor might as well prove his Point from "Αεισον ὡς ἔδωκε*. What shall we say now to such a hardy Writer, as this is ? who can deny with such an Air of Confidence, what every bodies Eyes can witness to be true ? The very words of *Pindar* immediately preceding the passage I cited, are

Καὶ λογιῶν καὶ ποιητῶν,

which by the nicest Translation means *Men of Letters, and Poets*. And to be kind to such the

Poet exhorts *Hiero* in the Paragraph just before,

Ἐὐανθεῖ δ' ἐν ὀργῇ παρμένων,  
Εἵπερ π φιλεῖς ἀκοᾶν ἀδύταν ἀ—  
Εἰ κλύειν, μὴ χέμενε λίαν δαπάναις:

that is; *Continue your generous Temper, and if you desire immortal Fame, do not be weary of being Bountifull.*

After he has denied that to be in *Pindar*, which is evidently and expressly there; the next and last advance he makes is to deny that to be in the *Letters*, which He himself once knew to be there, if it was He that translated them.

P. III. *The Letters*, he says, *do not imply, that there was any extraordinary dearneſs between Steſichorus and Phalaris; there's no proof from them, that Steſichorus lov'd him; His friendship was deſired, and be only out of prudence did not ſtand off.* This is ſpoken with a good meaſure of Assurance, let us ſee, with what meaſure of Truth. The Tyrant declares, (f) *that though he gave Steſichorus XII Years of Life, yet ſtill he was in debt to him; for He alone of all Mortals gave him Courage, and taught him to deſpiſe Death; and (t) that for the ſake of Steſichorus, he's ready to encounter certain Deſtruction.* And the Fame of *Phalaris's* kindneſs to him was ſo great, (u) *that the Tauromenites applied to Steſichorus to intercede with the Tyrant, that he would remit the Price of their Captives. Steſichorus dies, before he could do it for them; but he leaves it in command to his Daughters to aſk that favour in his Name.* The Tyrant upon the firſt notice of the requeſt immediately returns the Money, with this Proteſta-  
(f) Ep. 103.  
(t) 54.  
(u) 31.  
*tion, That he would not only do that for his ſake, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ π κ' ὅτι ἀδυνάτων ὄντι μείζον, but any thing elſe, though*

though 'twere more than Impossible. And yet it appears, from another Letter, (x) that the Sum (x) 85. he remitted here was no less than a Hundred Talents, or 18, 000 Pound Sterling, the greatest Sum by much that appears in the whole Set of Epistles, and six times as much as (y) in another (y) 118. Letter he was forc'd to borrow for himself. This I presume is a pretty good token of an *Extraordinary Dearness* on *Phalaris's* side: and this alone would be argument enough, to prove *Stesichorus* was not insensible on His part; for Mr. B. surely will not make such a Ninny of his *Sicilian Prince*, as to suppose him so prodigal of his highest Favours without suitable returns of Friendship. But besides this, the very Letters are as exprefs for *Stesichorus's* Love as for *Phalaris's*. For as the *Tauromenites* address'd to *Stesichorus*, to obtain favours of the Tyrant; so (z) *Pelopidas*, and (a) *Nicocles* apply themselves (z) 65. to the Tyrant to get favours of *Stesichorus*, which (a) 73. in His way were Copies of Verses. And the Argument that *Phalaris* uses to persuade the Poet to do that favour, is (b) *To confirm the* (b) 78. *receiv'd Opinion that the World had of their Friendship*. And he tells us both there and (c) (c) 146. once more; That *Stesichorus* desired leave to celebrate him in his Poems. But the Tyrant begs he would not do it, *Προς ἑταίρους Διός τε καὶ κοινῶς Ἑσίας*, by such Obtestations as are used among the Dearest Friends and Relations. And its sufficient, he says, for Him to be written ἐν αὐτοῦ Στήθεσσι in *Stesichorus's* own Heart. Now if these do not imply a Friendship on *Stesichorus's* part, as well as *Phalaris's*, let the Reader be Judge: and at the same time let him reflect, what an odd sighted Examiner I have to deal with;



with ; that at some times can see in Books what never was there ; but at other times cannot see the plainest things, not only in other Men's Books, but even in his Own.

## XVI.

**I**T must needs be a great wonder to those that think the Letters genuine ; how or where they were conceal'd, in what secret Cave, or unknown Corner of the World ; so that no body ever heard of them for a thousand years together. Some trusty Servant of the Tyrant must have buried them under ground ; and it was well that he did so. For if the *Agri-gentines* had met with them, they had certainly gone to pot. They that burnt alive both Him, and his Relations, and his Friends ; would never have spared such monuments of him, to survive Them and their City. And without doubt it was immortal Vellum, and stoln from the † *Parchments of Jove* ; that could last for ten Ages, though untouch'd and unstirr'd ; in spite of all damp and moisture, that moulders other mortal skins. For had our Letters been used or transcribed during that thousand years ; some body would surely have spoken of them. Especially since so many of the Ancients had occasion to do so : so that  
their

† Διόσι-  
γενε Δίος.

their Silence is a direct argument that they never had heard of them. I have just now cited some passages of *Pindar*, *Plato*, and *Lucian*; which are a plain indication, that they were unknown to those Three. Nay, the last of these, besides the proof above-named from his silence and prætermission, does as good as declare expressly, that he never saw our Epistles. For, not to mention other differences of less moment, he makes both \* *Phalaris*, and his Smith *Perilaus*, to be born at *Agri-*  
*gentum*; but the Letters bring one of them from *Astypalæa*, and the other from *Athens*. *Lucian* then knew nothing of them; or at least knew them, as I do, to be spurious, and below his notice. Much less could he be the Author of them, as *Politian* and his followers believe; for he would neither have been guilty of such flat Contradictions; nor have so forfeited all Learning and Wit, by those gross blunders in Chronology, and that wretched pedantry in the Matter. And whosoever those Authors were, that *Lucian* followed, in his Narrative of *Phalaris*; They too are so many Witnesses against the Epistles. One can hardly believe, indeed, that the Sophist should venture to fetch his Tyrant from *Astypalæa*, without the warrant of some old Writer. But yet *Lucian* and  
other

\* *Phalar.*  
 1. Ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἔφη αὐτοῦ  
 νῶν ἐν Ἀ-  
 κρόαντι  
 ἄν. & ibid.  
 Περὶ λαο-  
 ῶν τῶν ἡμε-  
 ρῶν.

\* De Polit.  
ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ  
ἀντίφρ.

† Epist.  
xlix.

other Authors compell us to think so. And we find him as fool-hardy on other occasions. \* *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, that liv'd within two Centuries of *Phalaris's* Age, says, the *Agrigentines*, when they recover'd their Liberty, burnt Him and his Mother: but our Sophist makes him an Orphan, † ὁ πατὴρ περὶ ἑνὶ; which if any one shall contend to mean the loss of his Father only, yet still He and *Heraclides* will not set horses together. For if *Phalaris* fled alone from *Astypalæa*, neither Wife nor Child nor any Relation following him, according to the Letters; how came the Old Woman to be roasted at *Agrigentum*? So little regard had the Sophist to fit his stories to true History: and I have had too much regard to him, in giving Him the Honour and Patience of so long an Examination.

P. 113,  
114.

THE Examiner, as if he design'd to make some amends for his former tedious Trifling, will give us very little Trouble upon this last Article. He would only parallel the Thousand Years, that *Phalaris's* Epistles lay in obscurity, with some Examples of other genuine Books, that had the same Fortune. *Velleius Paterculus*, he says, is not quoted till *Priscian's* time, 500 years after he wrote: and then we hear no more of him till *Aventinus's* time 900 years after *Priscian*. So *Phadrus* is first mention'd by *Avienus* (400 years after the Author's time)



time) and by none after him till *Pitheus* brought him to light. And *Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum* was not seen since St. *Jerom's* time, till after a Thousand years *Baluzius* publish'd it. But the Gentleman is out in his last Instance; for *Lactantius's* Book is mention'd by *Freculphus*, an Author of the ixth Century, and by *Honorius Augustodunensis* in the xiiith, as the very Editions of *Lactantius* might have inform'd him. But to pass that over, what are all these Examples in comparison of *Phalaris's* Case? *Paterculus's* Book was own'd within 500 years, *Phaedrus's* within 400, and *Lactantius's* within 100: and if they were not mention'd from those times till the Restoration of Learning, the reason is apparent, because the Western World in that Interval of time was so wretchedly ignorant and immers'd in Barbarity, that such Books as those were not read; or if they were read, the Readers of them were not Writers themselves, so as to let Posterity know that they read them. So that the Case of these Three Authors is common with most of the Rest: for there are several others of the Ancient Books, which we now have and acknowledge for Genuine, that are not mention'd by the Writers of those Barbarous Ages. But the Fortune of *Phalaris's* Epistles runs counter to all this: the Thousand years that follow'd that Tyrant's Age, was the greatest and longest Reign of Learning, that the World has yet seen or perhaps ever will: and in all that time these Epistles were never once heard of; but they first came into notice, when Learning decaying, in the very Dusk and Twilight before the long Night of Ignorance. Neither were they mention'd at 100, or 400, or 500 years after

P. 106.

ter the Date of them, and then forgot for some Centuries (as it happen'd in Mr. B's Instances) but they were never seen for the first Thousand Years after their pretended Writing; and when they once appear'd, they continu'd always in use. A man must have a very singular *Cast of his Head* that can think these Cases to be parallel. But the greatest Difference is yet behind; for though the Writers of the Barbarous Ages do not speak of *Paterculus*, nor *Phædrus*, nor *Lactantius*; yet they do not tell us any thing, that implies there were no such Books in being. If they say any thing amiss, that they might have corrected out of those Authors; 'tis to be imputed to their own Ignorance or Laziness, that they would not search into them; and cannot pass for a Negative Proof, that there were no such Authors. But the Writers for the first Ten Ages after *Phalaris*, being Men very inquisitive, and of universal Learning, and acquainted with all sorts of Books, some of them must needs have met with the *Epistles* in all that time; if the Book had been above ground: and yet they tell us several Particulars relating to *Phalaris*, which of necessity imply, that they never had seen the *Letters*.

As besides the Passages that I have already produc'd, there was a Controversie in those Ages about *Phalaris's* Bull: for *Timæus* the famous *Sicilian* Historian, who wrote about Olymp. cxxviii, said the whole story of the Bull was a mere Fiction, though it had been so much talk'd of by Historians as well as Poets. *Τίμαιος*

(a) *Polyb.* πόλει (Ακράγαντι) says (a) *Polybius*; Τὴν δὲ ταύ-  
*Εκκερσία*, εἶναι ὃν Τίμαιος, ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γε-  
 2. 58. γονέναι

γενέσθαι τὸ σύνολον, says (b) *Diodorus*. This I suppose is a plain Argument, that in the Age of <sup>(b) *Diod.*</sup> *Timæus*, (who was a Native of *Sicily* and the Son of *Andromachus* the Founder and Governour of of *Taurominium*, and wrote his Histories (c) at <sup>(c) *Plu.*</sup> *Athens*) the Epistles were neither known in *Sicily*, where they are suppos'd to be writ, nor at <sup>*tarch De Exilio.*</sup> *Athens*, the common Academy of Learned and Curious Men. For if *Timæus* had heard of these Letters, how durst he have call'd in question the common Tradition about the Bull, since these Letters, if they be genuine, are such an Authentic and Demonstrative Proof of it? Well; but *Polybius* and *Diodorus* endeavour to refute *Timæus*, and to prove, that there was really such a Bull. And pray how do they go about it? Do they appeal to the Tyrant's own Letters? the most certain and easy way of Conviction, if such Letters were then in the World? nothing like it; but the sole Argument that they go upon, is a Brazen Bull that *Scipio* found in *Carthage* with a Door in the side of it; which was therefore suppos'd to have been *Phalaris's* Bull, and to have been carried to *Carthage* Ol. xciii, 3. among the Spoils of *Agrigentum*. But could either of them have omitted to mention the Tyrant's Letters, if ever they had met with them? and yet the one of them was a *Sicilian* born, and both of them great Travellers, and great Scholars. The *Epistles* therefore were not heard of in *Polybius's* time cxx years after *Timæus*, nor in *Diodorus's* time cxx years after *Polybius*. I am aware, that the Scholiast of *Pindar* represents *Timæus's* Narrative quite another way; for he tells us, as from that Historian, <sup>(d) *Schol.*</sup> That <sup>(d) *Schol.*</sup> the Agrigentines cast *Phalaris's* Bull into the Sea; <sup>*Pind Pyth.*</sup> and <sup>1.</sup>





hardly pass for *Aristotle's* meaning; because he says there, that some of the Savage Nations about the *Euxine* were Eaters of Children; and yet he makes *Phalaris's* Inhumanity to be different from theirs. He seems to explain himself presently after, where he says, Φάλαρις ὀπίθουμι παῖδι φαγεῖν *Phalaris longing to eat a Child*: but his Paraphrast *Andronicus Rhodius* (as he's commonly suppos'd to be) says, it was *Phalaris's* own Son, that *Aristotle* makes him eat: 'Ο Φάλαρις ἐποίησε φαγεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα: and so *Aspasius* the Scholiast, (b) 'Ο Φάλαρις λέγειται φαγεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα, *Phalaris is reported to have eaten his own Son*. It appears I suppose sufficiently from these several Authors, That there was a prevailing Tradition about *Phalaris's* eating his own Son, when he was an Infant; and that alone will effectually prove, that in those Ages they had never heard of the Tyrant's Epistles. For we have Five there to his Son *Paurolos*, and Two to his Wife *Erythia* about his Son's Education; by all which it appears, that he was a very fond Father, that his Son was then grown a Man, and that he was his (i) Only Son. How then could he eat his own Son, while he was an Infant, according to that Tradition? Or how is't possible that such a story could obtain in the World, if the Authentic Letters of the Father could be produc'd to disprove it?

(b) *Aspasius ad Aristot. p. 154.*

(i) *Ep. 12. Ὡς πατρὸς ἑνὸς υἱοῦ φιλῶ. μὴ.*

I had observ'd, that *Lucian* in his Two Tracts about *Phalaris*, where he supposes the Tyrant to have sent the Brazen Bull to *Delphi* as a Donary to *Apollo*, and endeavours to persuade the *Delphians* to accept of it, has several Particulars, that contradict the Epistles; which is an Argument, that he either had never heard of them, or believ'd them to be a Cheat. Mr. B.

P. 115.

endeavours to answer this, by producing my own words, *That Lucian FEIGNS an Embassy from Phalaris to Delphi: so that if the whole, says he, be a Fiction, how can we argue from it seriously?* But if Mr. B. himself argue seriously here, he discovers no extraordinary Judgment. For the whole Story may be feign'd by Lucian, and yet the several parts of it may and ought to be agreeable to Truth.

Ψευδὲς μὲν αἶσιν, ὅτι καὶ πᾶσι δοκεῖ ἀληθὲς,

*If I tell Lyes, says Callimachus, I would tell such as are probable and plausible.* Ovid's Epistles of the Heroines are all Fictions of his own; but yet the Subject and Ground of them is taken from Ancient History; he does not confound Countries and Ages together. So Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead are nothing but Romances; but he takes care to represent the true History and Character of each Person; he does not make Cræsus a Cynic Philosopher, nor Diogenes a King. By the same reason, if Lucian had seen and believ'd these Epistles; he would not call Phalaris an Agrigentine, whom They declare an Astypalaean; nor Perillus a Sicilian, whom They represent as an Athenian; nor have mention'd such obscure names as Acanthus, Timocrates, and Leogoras for examples of the Tyrant's Clemency, when the Letters themselves would have furnish'd him with such an illustrious Instance of it in the story of Stefichorus.

P. 115.

But Mr. B. is pleas'd to say further, that Lucian's differing from the Epistles either proves nothing against them, or proves too much; *even that Lucian never saw Timæus, as Learned as he was, and as often as he mentions him. For Timæus relates, that the Agrigentines threw the Bull into the Sea, but Lucian says, Phalaris*

laris



laris sent it to Delphos. Now I'm afraid, he that consulted Books for the Examiner has deceiv'd him here; for I do not remember that *Lucian* ever quotes *Timæus's* Writings, much less mentions him so often, as Mr. B. here pretends. He names him indeed once in his *Macrobii*, That he liv'd xcvi years; but he could hardly have that from *Timæus* himself, but from the accounts of Others. But however I'll allow Mr. B. that *Lucian* had read *Timæus*: but I cannot by no means allow him, that this Argument of mine must, if it prove any thing at all, prove that *Lucian* never saw *Timæus*. That is such an Inference as I could hardly have believ'd, a Man that has dealt so much in Logic, could possibly be guilty of. For it's evident, that if *Lucian* had seen and approv'd the Epistles, he would never have departed from them in his account of *Phalaris's* Country; for the Letters had been an Authority above all Exception. But the case is very different with *Timæus*, who wrote his Histories ccxl years after *Phalaris's* Death. *Lucian* might have read those often enough, without giving as much credit to them, as to *Phalaris's* own Letters. Nay it's plain, he might have read this very account that *Timæus* has given of *Phalaris's* Bull; and yet might purposely contradict it. For he might read in *Polybius* and *Diodorus*, whose Passages we have cited above, that the very Bull was found at *Carthage* and restor'd to the *Aggrigentines* by *Scipio's* order; and so think *Timæus* to be both ways mistaken, whether he denied, as those two Historians say, that there ever was such a Bull; or affirm'd, as the Scholiast of *Pindar* says, that the Bull was sunk in the Sea. So very weak and absurd is Mr. B's Inference; that

if *Lucian* has receded from *Timæus*'s account, he might as well depart from the Epistles themselves, though he look'd upon them as Genuine. But besides all this, there is no Contradiction at all between *Lucian* and *Timæus*: so that the very Ground, that Mr. B. reasons from, is as fallacious as his way of Reasoning. For *Lucian* says no more than this, That the Tyrant sent the Bull for a Present to *Delphi*; and the *Delphians* demurring, whether they should accept it or no, he makes two Orations in *Phalaris*'s Name to persuade them to receive it: but that they really receiv'd it, there is not a word said. Nay one may rather infer, from the custom of *Lucian* and other Sophists to chuse the ἡπλω λόγον the weaker and paradoxical side of a Dispute, that there was some Tradition, that the Bull was sent to *Delphi*, and rejected by the Priests there. It might be return'd therefore to *Agrigentum*, and afterwards be either thrown into the Sea according to *Timæus*, or carried to *Carthage* according to *Polybius* and *Diodorus*.

In the next attempt Mr. B. would reconcile the Epistles with *Jamblichus*'s Story, about *Abaris*'s Conversation with the *Sicilian Prince*. In the former Edition of my Dissertation, I had allow'd that Story a place among the Historical Accounts of *Phalaris*'s; though even then I believ'd it a mere Romance of *Jamblichus*'s, but I had no room nor occasion to examin and refute it. But in this Second Edition, where the Exceptions of the Examiner has made it necessary to enquire into all those Particulars, (k) I have freely declar'd, and, as I humbly conceive, have fully made out my Opinion, That there's no credit to be given to that story about *Abaris*.

See here  
p 46. 47,  
48.

To

To go on then to the following Paragraph, where he endeavours to make *Heraclides* agree with the Epistles. He takes hold of a small P. 117. Handle I had given him, That the *ὀρφανία* of *Phalaris* may possibly mean the Loss of his Father only, not the Loss of both Parents. But then he ought to have retracted his own Translation of *Phalaris*, for there he renders it, (l) *A prima infantia PARENTIBUS fuisse orbatum.* But perhaps, (l) Phal. Ep. 49. as he says, he did not remember any such Epistle in his Edition of *Phalaris*: and indeed he seems, by the frequent Contradictions he makes to that Edition, to have quite forgot that He ever set it out. Though some have been so free as to make a Question, whether that proceeds from the Badness or the Goodness of his Memory. But That is no Question with Me: the Question here that I am concern'd in is, Whether it may be gather'd from the Epistles, that *Phalaris's Mother* did not follow him to *Agri- gentum*. Now the Reasons, why I think that she did not, are these. First the (m) Tyrant tells (m) Ep. 49. us, that he was an *Orphan in his Childhood*, which is likely to signify that his Mother was then dead: then he tells us in several Epistles, that he was forc'd to leave his Wife and only Son behind him; which is a shrewd sign, that the Mother too, if alive, was left with them. Besides this, there is not one Word in all the Epistles relating to the Old Gentlewoman, which Mr. B. will confess, a man of *Phalaris's* (n) Benevolence and Affection to his Family could (n) Index Phalar. hardly have omitted: and in the Letters to his Son, there's no mention made either of the Young Man's Duty to his Grandmother, or of Her Love to Him: and so in the Letters to his Wife,



there's as great a silence about the Mother's Kindness to her Daughter-in-Law. Now it can hardly be suppos'd, that in Familiar Epistles, as these are, and never intended for the Publick, the Mother should be quite forgot, when he writes to his Son and his Wife. In the xivth Book of *Tully's* Epistles, which are written to his Family, we have his Wife *Terentia*, his Daughter *Tullia*, and his Son *Cicero*, all that were then alive, mention'd in every Page: and if his aged Father or Mother had liv'd then, without question scarce a Letter would have escap'd him without some testimony of his Duty and Affection to them. If Mr. B. therefore will not take it ill, that we compare a *Roman Senator's* Epistles to his *Sicilian Prince's*; we may fairly infer from the Comparison, that *Phalaris's* Mother was dead before the Date of these Letters; and consequently that *Heracledes* contradicts them, where he says, That the Old Woman was burnt in the Bull, when her Son was deposed.

P. 117.

(o) See  
here p.  
188.

Mr. B. has two Exceptions still behind, which must briefly be consider'd. He denies that his Copy of *Heracledes* says, *Phalaris was burnt in his Bull*: but I have answer'd this (o) already, and no more needs to be said to't. Then he tells us, That his Copy of *Phalaris* has no such Epistle, as implies that the Tyrant fled alone from *Astypalæa*, but if there should be such an one in the King's MS, he'll answer this Objection, when the Library Keeper is in so good an Humor, as to favour him with a sight of it. Now in my Opinion, Mr. B's. own Edition of *Phalaris* sufficiently implies it; as I think I have newly prov'd. But there is no Epistle in the King's MS. but what is extant

extant in the common Copies: on the contrary there are several wanting. And if Mr. B. pleases to make tryal of my *Good Humour*, either for a sight of that MS, or of any thing else in my Power; he may then represent me to the World upon his own Knowledg; and not upon the Reports of those, that think to ingratiate with Him by calumniating Me, though they never knew me any more than He does.

I have now gone through all the Gentleman's Exceptions to my Dissertation about *Phalaris's* Epistles; and that I may oblige him at parting, I will help him to a rare Expedient, that will give a clear and plausible account, why the Tyrants Epistles were not known for about 1000 Years after his Death. It appears by the xxxivth Letter, That he began to be very apprehensive of some Conspiracies against him; 'tis very probable therefore, that he would provide against a sudden Stroke, and secure such things as he esteem'd most valuable. And because all other Monuments besides Letters are short liv'd and perishing, he must needs have a particular regard to his *Epistles*, those Monuments of his Wit and Learning and Virtues, which might do him right to Posterity, against the calumnies of Popular Hatred. We may suppose then that he would put these his Precious Remains into a Chest of Cedar, or Cypress, secur'd against Moisture with Pitch and other Bituminous Substances; and so bury it in the Earth, in a Case of Marble, where it might remain for a Thousand Years; till at last it was fortunately dug up; though the Manner and Circumstances of the Discovery of it are now quite extinct. We have a famous Instance, like this of our

(p) Liv.  
lib. xl  
Pliny xiii,  
13. Plut.  
Numa.  
Lactantius  
1, 22.

*Sicilian Prince*, in the Story of *Numa the Roman Prince*. (p) *Numa* order'd some Writings to be put up safely in a Coffin of Stone, and to be privately buried with Him; and they happen'd to be dug up, A. u. c. DLXXII, when they had lain in the ground cccxc Years. Here are very good witnesses of this matter of Fact, *Cassius Hemina*, *Lucius Piso*, *Valerius Antias*, all Roman Historians of great Antiquity and Reputation. 'Tis true indeed, that *Numa's* Books are not now to be had, for they were burnt by order of the Magistrate, because they contain'd something that was dangerous to the public Religion. But however the Story we see has three substantial Vouchers; and if the Years that these Books continued under ground do not reach to the number that *Phalaris's* lay buried; we must consider, what *Livy* tells us from the Historians named above, (q) *that the Writings were not only intire, but look'd as fresh as if they were newly writ*. If they lasted then near 500 Years, with all the freshness of a new Book, we may reasonably suppose, they would have been legible still, had they lain 500 Years longer. Now, to use the words of Mr. B. *what is there in this Story about Phalaris's burying his Letters either absurd or unnatural? what was really done at Rome, may be fairly presum'd to have been done too in Sicily*. Nay further as he judiciously observes, *This Supposition must be shewn IMPOSSIBLE, before any convincing Argument can be drawn from the silence of all the Ancients, to prove these Letters Spurious*. And if once he can bring his matters to That Point; he can ly so intrench'd there, that he may hold out for his *Phalaris*, as long as *Troy* did against the *Greeks*.

Nay

(q) Liv. xl.  
Non integros modo,  
sed recentissima  
specie.

P. 100.

P. 89.



Nay to leave the Gentleman still in better Humour, I'll oblige him with a further remark, and shew how all the objections against the Letters may be evaded by his single Supposition, That they were buried under ground. For as the Lives of the greatest Heroes have been attended with such extraordinary Events, as seem to be either miraculous or incredible: so the Writings, that have had the singular Fortune of lying some Ages under ground, have all of them had some remarkable Qualities, that cannot be found in vulgar Books. As the Writings of *Numa* for instance were (r) 11 *Latin* Books and (r) *Pliny.* 11 *Greek* Books; and yet they were (s) vii *La-* (s) *Livy.* *tin* and vii *Greek*, nay they were xii *Latin* and xii *Greek* (t). Now for the same Things to be 11, (t) *Plut.* vii and xii is no ordinary Case, but a peculiar Property of buried Writings. Again, those *Greek* Writings of *Numa's* were a System of the (u) *Pythagorical* Philosophy; and yet we (u) *Pliny.* know, that *Pythagoras* the Founder of that Phi- *Livy.* losophy liv'd iv or v Generations after *Numa's* time. And again, the Books of *Numa* were made of *Egyptian Papyrus*, which was not applied to the use of Writing, till a good while after *Numa* was Dead. But if *Numa's* Books could consist of *Egyptian Paper*, and contain the Præcepts of *Pythagoras*, so many Generations before Paper was made, or *Pythagoras* was born: what wonder is it, if the Epistles of *Phalaris*, which we suppose now to have been buried like *Numa's*, should have the names of several Towns and other things, that were not built nor heard of till long after the Tyrants Death? So the famous *Hetruscan* Monuments that *Curtius Inghiraminus* dug up in *Italy*, after they

they had been buried some Thousands of Years, were written upon Vulgar Paper, such as now is in use and made of Linen Rags, a very recent Invention : and which is still the more wonderful, upon every Sheet there was the Cypher of the Man that made it, who was either then alive or newly Dead, when the Monuments were found. 'Tis the Privilege therefore, of buried Books to have that Prophetic Quality of considering Future things as if they were present : which will fully account for all the odd things in Chronology, that the *Letters* are tax'd with. And then for the *Attic* Dialect that *Phalaris* has us'd there, we have a Salvo clear beyond Mr. B's. project of *Transdialec'ting*. For the *Revelation of St. James*, that was writ with the Apostle's own Hand, and lay buried in *Spain* from that time to the xvth Century, had some parts of it in modern *Spanish*, which was not in Being in the time of the Apostle. Now if the buried Writings in *Spain* can use Dialects that were no where spoken till many ages after the Date of them ; why might not the buried Epistles in *Sicily* use the New *Attic* Dialect, though it was first form'd and introduced some Generations after the Authors Death. 'Tis true, the (x) Learned *Aldrete* endeavours to account for the modern *Spanish* in the Apostle's writings from the Gift of Prophecy that he was inspired with ; by which he fore-knew when his buried Writings would be dug up, and therefore used the Language that would then be in fashion. But he needed not to have recourse to any Apostolical Gift, if he had but consider'd, that it's the General Property of all such Buried writings to speak Proleptically, and to anticipate those Things

(u) Bern.  
Aldrete,  
*Varias Antigüedades  
de España  
Africa, y  
otras Provincias.*

Things that are to happen in future Ages : So Numa did, so the *Hetruscan* Heroes of *Inghiraminus*, and so the *Sicilian Prince*.

## XVII.

**W**HEN I was to write my Dissertation upon *Phalaris* at the request of my Learned Friend ; I read the *Epistles* over, and the Passages that I remark'd as I went along, were the Topics of that Discourse. But having since been oblig'd upon the account of Mr. B. to read the *Epistles* over again, I observ'd three or four Places that then had escap'd me, which are as certain signs of an Imposture, as any I had produc'd before.

In the III<sup>d</sup> *Epistle* the Sophist uses the word ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ to express the notion of *God's Providence*, Εἰς τὴν τῷ δαίμονι πρόνοιαν ἀναφέρων τὰ περὶ ἐμῶ. And again in the CIV<sup>th</sup> he threatens the *Catanæans*, that he will never cease to be their Enemy, Ἔως ἂν ἡ διοικῶσα πρόνοια τὴν αὐτὴν ἀστυνίαν τῷ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ φυλάτῃ, as long as Providence sustains the Frame of the World ; and he presently adds, That they profaned the fire of *Ætna* ; if the Fire of that Mountain, like the other Elements of Nature, had any thing of Divinity in it ; Εἰγε θείας τύχης, says he, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς φύσεως  
ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ



- ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, ἡ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἀιτνὴν πῦρ  
 μεμοίεσται. Now here are no fewer  
 than Three words, ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ, ΣΤΟΙ-  
 ΧΕΙΑ, ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, that were never  
 taken in those Senses in the days of the  
 true *Phalaris*. For (a) *Laertius* acquaints  
 us out of the famous *Phavorinus's* viiith  
 Book Παντοδαπῆς Ἱστορίας of *Omniſarious*  
*History*, That *Plato* first applied Στοιχεῖον  
 Element, to a Philosophical Sense, and first  
 nam'd προνοία the Providence of God :  
 πρῶτον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὠνόμασε ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ-  
 ΟΝ ἡ Διαλεκτικὴν, ἡ δὲ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ.  
 So that προνοία before *Plato's* time did  
 not signify Divine Providence, nor was  
 ever ascrib'd to the Deity; but was used  
 only to denote Human Consideration and  
 Forecaſt. And so Στοιχεῖον seems to have  
 meant nothing else, but the Letters of  
 the Alphabet, till *Plato* first applied it  
 to signify the Elements of Natural Bodies.  
 Τα μὲν πρῶτα, says (b) *Plato*, οἷα περὶ  
 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς τε συγκείμεθα ἡ  
 πάντα, The first Elements, as it were,  
 whereof Men and all other Things consist :  
 and (c) in another place he says, Τὸν δὲ  
 κόσμον, ζῶον ἑμψυχον ἔννεντε, τῇ ἀλη-  
 θεῖᾳ διὰ τὴν τῆς θεῆς γένεσιν ΠΡΟΝΟΙ-  
 ΑΝ, The World, being an Animal endued  
 with Soul and Mind, was in reality  
 made by the Providence of God. Where  
 (d) *Proclus*

(d) *Proclus* in his Commentary tells us, (d) *Proclus*  
 Ὅτι δ' εἰ μεμνήσθης, καὶ ὧν ὁ χερωνεύς εἶπε περὶ in Plat. Ti-  
 τὴ Προνοίας ὀνόματι, ὡς Πλάτων. ἔγωγε πε- maum, p.  
 εἰ τὴν θεῖαν κελεύσαντι. For χερωνεύς we 126.  
 must read Χαιρωνεύς, that is, *Plutarch* who  
 was born at *Chæronea*; and the latter  
 part of the Sentence may thus be correct-  
 ed, ὡς Πλάτων. ἔγωγε πρώτῃ θεῖαν καλέσαν-  
 τι. We must remember, says he, what  
*Plutarch* says about the name of Πρόνοια,  
 that *Plato* was the first that applied the  
 word to signify Divine Providence. There's  
 little question to be made, but that this is  
 a true Emendation: though whether *Plu-  
 tarch* says this in any of his Books that  
 are now extant I do not now remember.  
 Well, since it appears from so good Au-  
 thority, who it was that first put these  
 new significations upon Πρόνοια and Στοι-  
 χεῖον; we may justly pronounce, that the  
 Epistles are a cheat; since they have used  
 the words in the Platonic Sense, and yet  
 pretend to bear Date above a whole Cen-  
 tury before *Plato*.

And now that I am speaking of Πρόνοια,  
 I cannot omit a very elegant Saying of *Hie-  
 rocles* the Stoic; which, as \* *A. Gellius* (e) *Gellius*  
 tells us, the Platonic Philosopher *Taurus* had ix, 5.  
 always in his Mouth, when *Epicurus* was  
 mention'd: Ἡδονὴ τέλει πόρνης δόγμα ἐκ  
 εἰς περὶ εἰς, εὐδὴν πόρνης δόγμα. which be-  
 ing

(f) Pear.  
son Prole-  
gomen. ad  
Hieroclem.  
p. 14.

ing manifestly corrupted, our most excellent Bishop Pearson corrects it thus, Ἡδονὴ τέλεια· πόνους δόγμα. i. e. *Pleasure is the Summum bonum: a Strumpet's Tenet. Providence is nothing: a Strumpet's Tenet.* Now the Emendation in the main is true and good; for Πορνεία is with great Sagacity chang'd by him into Περνεία, which is the Basis of the whole Sentence. But yet there's something harsh in the Syntax, that his Lordship has made there, Οὐκ ἔστι πορνεία ἔδεν: for the Author, if he had us'd ἔδεν, would have said Περνεία ἔδεν ἔστι. Besides that the same answer Πόνους δόγμα coming twice makes the Saying a little Flat, and scarce worthy to be us'd by *Taurus* so frequently; nor is it true, that all Strumpets deny Providence. I am persuaded, that the true Reading is thus; Ἡδονὴ τέλεια· πόνους δόγμα. Οὐκ ἔστι πορνεία· ἔδὲ πόνους δόγμα. Now it's impossible in our Language to express this Saying with the same Brevity and Turn, that the Original has; but the Meaning of it is, *Pleasure is the Summum bonum: a Strumpet's Tenet. There's no Providence: a Tenet too bad even for a Strumpet.*

In the Passage already quoted from the Letters we had ἀρμονία τῷ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ, *The Harmony and Frame of the WORLD.*

But



See here  
P. 352.

But I have sufficiently prov'd above by the Testimonies of Four or Five good Witnesses, that *Pythagoras* was the first, that call'd the Universe *Κόσμος*. And I humbly conceive, that very Few, when they have consider'd what I have said about the Ages of *Phalaris* and *Pythagoras*, will believe that the Tyrant was a Disciple of the Philosopher's. The word *ΚΟΣΜΟΣ* therefore is another detection of the Sophist's Imposture; and not *Κόσμος* only but *ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ* too; for That also is a *Pythagorical* Expression; and it was a Position of that Sect, \* Καθ' ΑΡ- (g) Laert.  
ΜΟΝΙΑ συνιστάναι τὰ ἔλα, That the U- in *Pythag.*  
niverse and all things in it consisted by HARMONY: which is the very notion here of the Sophist.

## XVIII.

**D***emosthenes* made the Oration *de Corona*, when *Aristophon* was Archon, Ol. CXII, 3. This we know from the famous Critic *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; but the Passage (a) where he tells this, wants E- (a) *Dionys.*  
mendation. Ὁ περὶ τῷ Στεφάνῳ λόγος, ἐπ' *Halic. de*  
'Αριστοφῶντος ἀρχοντοῦ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῷ *Demosth.*  
ἐν Χαιρωνεῖ μάχῃ, ἐκ τῷ δ' μετὰ τῷ Φι-  
λίππῳ τελευτῇ. Some Editions have in the  
Margin ἐν αὐτῷ instead of ἐν αὐτῶν: but the  
whole

whole passage is to be read thus: ἐπ' Ἀ-  
 ριστοφῶντος ἀρχοντοῦ, ἡ (i. e. ἐγδὲ) μὲν  
 ἐπαινὰς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην,  
 ἔκτω ᾧ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτίῳ: that  
 is, *The Oration about the Crown was made in*  
*Aristophon's Archonship, the VIIIth year*  
*after the battle at Chæronea, and the VIth*  
*after Philip's Death.* That the Numbers  
 here are agreeable to matter of Fact, ap-  
 pears from *Diodorus*, and from *Dionysius*  
 himself in his Life of *Dinarchus*. In that  
 Oration (b) the Orator has given us, the  
 Epitaph, that was made by Public Order  
 upon some of those that were slain in the  
 War against *Philip*; the last Distich of  
 which is this;

(b) De-  
 mosth. de  
 Corona, p.  
 187.

Μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ὅτι θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατορθύν-  
 'Εν βιοτῇ μίεραν δ' ἔπι ρυγὲν ἔπορυν.

*To miscarry in nothing, and to succede well*  
*in every thing, belongs only to the Gods.*

This part of the Epitaph became very fa-  
 mous in the following Ages, and was of-

(c) Themist.  
 Orat. iii.

ten cited; as by *Themistius*, (c) Ἐπεὶ ᾧ  
 τὸ μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ἔξω τ' εὐτυχίας καὶ ἀν-  
 δρωπίνης, &c. that is, *To miscarry in no-*  
*thing is above the Power of Human Nature;*  
*for I cannot believe there were ever such*  
*Men, as the Stoics describe and call Wise;*  
*and the Epigram, that was written upon the*  
*public Sepulchre at Athens seems to say*  
*true; for it makes the Miscarrying in No-*  
*thing*

thing to be the Attribute of the Gods alone;

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατὰ θεὸν ἀπολέγει. 'Tis cited too by an Anony-

mous Author in Suidas: (d) Ὁρθῶς γὰρ εἴρηται τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν θεὸς ὅτι καὶ πάντα κατὰ θεὸν ἀνδρωπῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐπιβδένει, ὅτι μὴ πείσεται τὸ δέ τι. (d) Suid. v. Συγγνώμῃ.

'Tis a good saying, That to miscarry in nothing, and to

succeed in every thing is the Property of

God: but a Man can say upon no occasion,

That such a thing shall not befall him. Ju-

stinian too seems to mean it, when he says, (e) *Omnium habere memoriam, & penitus in nullo peccare Divinitatis magis quam Mortalitatis est; quod & à Majoribus dictum est.* (e) Cod. lib. i. Tit. 17. leg. ii. S. 14.

But the strangest thing of all

is, that the Tyrant is introduc'd with

that very Saying in his Mouth, Τὸ μὴδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν εὐλόγως ἢ καὶ δικαίως θεὸς νομίζεται. Never to miscarry in any thing

is reasonably, perhaps, and justly accounted

to be the Privilege of God alone. And yet

the Tyrant himself had made his last and

fatal miscarriage above cc years before that

Epitaph was written.

# XIX.

There's nothing in the world more Liberal and Profuse than a Sophist: he can give Five or Six thousand pound  
M m Sterling



(a) Eurip.  
Epist. v.

Phal. Ep.  
70.

Sterling with as little concern, as another man would part with Ten Shillings. The first Present, that the Writer of *Euripides's* Letters gives the Poet, was no less (a) than XL Talents, which amounts to 7200*l. English*. But our mock *Phalaris* goes quite beyond him in Generosity; for he rewards *Polyclitus*, a Physician that had cured him of a dangerous Distemper, with IV Goblets of refin'd Gold, II Silver Bowls of ancient Workmanship not to be match'd in the present Age, x Couple of large Thericlean Cups, xx young Boys for his Slaves, and 50,000 Attic Drachms; besides an Annual Salary for Life, as great as was paid to the chief Officers of his Fleet and Army. Now this is a story credible enough, if we consider that a Sophist was the Pay-master; for as the Actors in Comedies paid all their Debts upon the Stage with Lupins, so a Sophist pays all his with Words. But if we consider the true *Phalaris* and real Physician of that Age; the whole is most improbable and absurd, both in respect of Him that gives, and of Him that receives.

First, it does not at all suit with the State of those times, that the Tyrant should so abound in Gold, as to give IV Cups of that Metal; which perhaps  
were

were more than he had in all his Possessions. We are assur'd by good hands, that in those days *Gold was a very scarce commodity in Greece* ; σπάνιον ὄντως τὸ παλαιὸν ἔδει τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ πάνυ, are the words (b) *Athen.* (b) of *Athenæus* ; who adds, that the first p. 231. Gold that shone among the *Greeks*, was that which was plunder'd from the Temple of *Delphi* by the *Phocæans* ; which happen'd Olymp. CVI, 3. Afterwards, says he, when *Alexander* had conquer'd *Asia*, there was plenty of it brought among them. But in *Phalaris's* time there was scarce any Gold to be found in all *Greece*, as appears by this story. (c) The *Spartans* (c) *Athen.* were commanded by the Oracle to gild<sup>232.</sup> the Face of *Apollo's* Statue with Gold ; and having in vain enquir'd in *Greece* for some of that Metal, they ask'd the Oracle, Where they might purchase any ? and he order'd them to go to *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, and buy some of Him ; which was accordingly done. This is told us by *Athenæus* out of two very ancient and credible Historians, *Theopompus* a Scholar of *Isocrates's*, and *Phanias* a Scholar of *Aristotle's*. Now *Cræsus*, we know, was contemporary with *Phalaris* ; so that in the Tyrant's time there was not Gold enough in *Greece* (except what was already consecrated in the Temples) to gild the

(d) *Athen.*  
*P.* 155, &  
 2, 1 *Pliny*  
*xxxiii.* 3.  
*Eustath.* 1-  
*liad.* p. 815.

Face of a Statue; and yet the Sophist gives away in one Letter more than would have gilt the whole Statue from Head to Foot. Nay even at or after the plundering of the Temple at *Delphi*, Gold was yet so scarce in Greece, (d) That *Philip* King of *Macedon*, having a little Golden Cup, *φιάλιον χρυσέον*, weighing no more than *L Drachmæ* or half a Pound Troy-weight, was so chary of it, and afraid it should be stoln from him, that every Night when he went to Bed, he put it under his Pillow. And yet we see the *Sicilian Prince* so abounded with it cc years before, that he could spare Four Golden Cups *φιάλας τέσσαρας*, of the very same Fashion, with King *Philip's*, only all of them larger for one Gift to a Favourite. But perhaps the Admirers of *Phalaris* will be ready to say, That Gold might be common in *Sicily*, though scarce in other Countries in *Greece*. But then another piece of History lies cross in their way: for the same *Theopompus* and *Phanias* tell us farther; (e) That when *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, who began his Reign above *Lxx* years after *Phalaris's* was ended, had purpos'd to make a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* of fine Gold, *ἀνέπεσε χρυσόν*, and present it to *Apollo* at *Delphi*; he sought a long time in *Sicily* for Gold, but none could be found;

(e) *Athen.*  
 222.



found. Whereupon he sent Messengers into *Greece*; who after a long search to no purpose, at last met with some at *Corinth* in the hands of one *Architeles*; who having for many years bought up Gold by little and little had amass'd a pretty quantity of it. But it's something strange, that *Hiero* should be forc'd to send out of *Sicily* for Gold, and yet *Phalaris* so long before him would have his very Physician serv'd in Gold Plate, ἀπέφθε χρυσῶς, of the very same Fineness that *Hiero* wanted. 'Tis true the same Historians tell us, (f) that a year or two before *Hiero's* (f) *Athen.* Reign, his Brother *Gelo* had dedicated a *Tripus* and a *Victoria* to *Apollo*. But of *Gelo's* Donary we have had occasion to speak already, and it appears there that the Gold, which *Gelo* then had, was the Spoil of the *Carthaginians*: so that it was not in *Sicily* in *Phalaris's* days; neither did it continue long there. For the *Carthaginian* Army brought it Olymp. LXXV, 1. and before the end of *Hiero's* Reign, Olymp. LXXVIII, 2. there was none of it to be found. See here  
p. 458,  
459.

In the next place, if we consider the Receiver of this vast Present, *Polyclitus* the Physician; the Reward will seem disproportion'd to the condition of the Man. It was the common practice of those Old

(g) *Strabo.*  
p. 181. *A-*  
*riftoth.* &  
*Schol. p.*

301.  
(h) *Diodor.*  
p. 80.

(i) *Herod.*  
iii, 131.

times to hire (g) Physicians by the Year for the service of a whole City, and to pay them out of the public stock: nay (h) some of the Lawgivers took express care of it in the very constitution of their Governments. The General Price of a Year's service we may learn from *Herodotus*; where he tells us, (i) how *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, who had the greatest reputation of all the Physicians of his time, which was a few Years after *Phalaris*'s death, was hired publicly a whole Year by the *Æginæans* for one Talent; and the next Year by the *Athenians* for a Hundred Minæ, i.e. a Talent and  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; and the next Year by *Polycrates* the *Samian* for two Talents. Now what proportion does this bear to the extravagant Present of the *Sicilian Prince*? where besides the Gold and Silver Vessels, and the Score of handsom Slaves, and the yearly Pension equal to an Admiral's, the very ready Money 50,000 *Attic Drachms* comes to VIII Talents and  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; which is more than *Democedes* could earn in Four whole years: and yet *Polycrates* excell'd *Phalaris* in Riches and Power, as much as *Democedes* may be suppos'd to excell in his Art this unknown *Polyclitus*. And if we take our measure from those Physicians, that were not hir'd by the Public, but practis'd privately

vately for Fees, as the custom is now : the disproportion will still be the greater. For the ordinary Fee of a Physician was very low in those days, and after ; as appears by those famous Verses of the Philosopher *Crates*, where he represents the Account-Book of some of the wealthy Men of that Age :

Τῷδε μαγείρῳ μναῖς δέκ', ἐλθρῷ δραχμῶν, Laert. in Cratete.  
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβέλλῳ καπνῶν,

Πόρῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τεμνίβολον.

i. e. To a Cook, 30 l. to a Physician Two Groats ; to a Flatterer 900 l. to a Counselor Nothing ; to a Whore 180 l. to a Philosopher a Groat. 'Tis true, the same *Democedes*, when he afterwards in *Persia* cur'd *Darius's* Foot, had a very rich Present of Gold by the Emperour's Wives ; but to argue from the Riches of the *Persian* Court, that the like might be done at *Agrigentum*, is truly, as the Mock *Phalaris* says, to compare an Indian Elephant to a Fly.

XX.

**T** *Atian* in the beginning of his Oration Against the Greeks gives a List of some Inventors ; and among the rest he tells us out of *Hellanicus* the Historian, That *Atossa* the Persian Empress was the



*First that wrote Epistles*; Ἐπιστολὰς συντάττειν ἐξέδρεν ἡ Περσῶν ποτε ἡγιστάμην γυνή, καὶ δ' ἄπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἀτοσσα δὲ ἐνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. The same thing is affirm'd by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and from the same

(a) *Clem. Alex Serm.* Ἀτοσσαν τὴν Περσῶν βασιλεύταστίην φησιν Ἑλλάνικος. Now that *Atossa* was younger than *Phalaris* by one or two Generations,

(b) *Herod.* appears several ways. (b) She was the Sister and Wife of *Cambyfes*, who began his Reign Olymp. LXII, 4. (c) She was afterwards married to *Darius*, and was alive at his Death, Olymp. LXXIII, 4. Nay she was still alive when *Xerxes* return'd from his Expedition, Olymp. LXXV, 1 as its evident from *Persæ* a Tragedy of *Æschylus*. The odd manner of her Death is told us by *Aspafius*; That her Son *Xerxes* in a fit of Distraction butcher'd

(d) *Aspafius* her and eat her; (d) Ἐξέρξης, says he, δ' αὐτῶν Περσῶν Βασιλεὺς μανεὶς ἐφαγε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ μητέρα κρεαζήτας. Now suppose him to have done this in the very Year of his Return; yet *Atossa* would survive *Phalaris* LXX Years; though we allow him by the most favourable account to have liv'd till Olymp. LVII, 1. And according to *Hippostratus* (e) and the Scholiast of *Pindar*, She is two Generations lower than *Phalaris*:

*Phalaris*

(c) See here p. 34. 35.

Phalaris---1 Telemachus.

2 Emmenides.

3 Ænesidamus. 1 Atossa.

Reign'd 4 Theron. 2 Xerxes. Reign'd

Ol. LXXIII, 1.

Ol. LXXIII, 4.

It is evident then, that if *Atossa* was the First Inventress of Epistles; these that carry the name of *Phalaris*, who was so much older than her, must needs be an Imposture. And that She really found out the way of Epistles, we have the most proper and competent Witness, that can possibly be had. For *Hellanicus* was a Contemporary of this *Atossa*; (f) being LXV Years old at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War: So that he was born at Ol. LXXI, 2. and was in the xvth Year of his Age at *Xerxes's* Expedition. But besides the Authority of *Hellanicus*, (g) *Clemens* tells us of Himself, that he took his Account of the several Inventors from *Scamon*, *Theophrastus*, *Cydippus*, *Aristophanes*, *Aristodemus*, *Aristotle*, *Philostephanus*, and *Strato*, in their Books (h) *About Inventions*: So that either All or at least Some of these must be suppos'd to have reported that Invention of *Atossa's*. And I conceive we have a double Argument here against our *Mock-Phalaris*;

(f) *Gellius*  
xv, 23.

(g) *Clemens*  
ibid.

(h) *Περὶ*  
*Ευρημάτων*  
τῶν.

*Phalaris*; a Positive one, That *Atossa* first invented Epistles; and a Negative, That the Epistles of *Phalaris* were not heard of in the days of those Writers.

The words of *Tatian* and *Clemens* are Ἐπιστολὰς συντάσσειν: now whether we take συντάσσειν in a general Sense for *Writing*, or more strictly for *Comprizing in a Volume, and Publishing*; 'tis either way sufficient to prove *Phalaris's* Epistles a Cheat. But it may be objected in their behalf, that *Epistles* were in use many Hundred Years before *Phalaris*, even before the *Trojan* Times; as appears from

(i) *Apollod.* (i) *Apollodorus* and *Zenobius* and others, who relate, how *Bellerophontes* carried Ἐπιστολὰς *Epistles* from *Prætus* to *Jobate*: and how then can *Atossa* be call'd the Inventress of Epistles? But in answer to this, we are to observe that those Authors speak not accurately there, but accommodate their Expression to the Manners of their own Times. For *Homer*, out of whom they all have it, does not call it an *Epistle*, but Πίναξ πίικτος:

(k) *Hom. II.* Πίναξ δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγροί, *Γεγραμῶς ἐν πίνακι πίικτῳ θυμοειδέσσι πολλά.* Now Πίναξ πίικτος is the same with δελτὺς, and in Latin *Tabellæ*, *Pugillares*, *Codicilli*; small Leaves of Wood, cover'd with Bees-Wax, and so written on by a Pen



Pen of Metal. So *Pliny* interprets this Passage of *Homer* (l), *Pugillarium usum* <sup>(l) Pliny.</sup> *fuisse etiam ante Trojana Tempora invenimus apud Homerum.* <sup>xiii, c. ii.</sup> And he expressly affirms, that the Writings that *Bellerophon* carried, were not *Epistles*, but *Codicills*:

(m) *Homerus Bellerophonti Codicillos datos,* (m) *Ibid.* *non Epistolas, prodidit.* Now it's evident, <sup>c. 13.</sup>

that these *Codicills* could never serve for a Volume of Letters, as *Phalaris's* are; for the use of them was only for a single Letter, which as soon as read was erased, and the Wax smooth'd anew; and so the *Codicills* were return'd with an Answer upon the same Wax where the former Letter was written. The occasion of *Pliny's* writing this last Passage is pleasant enough. *Licinius Mucianus* had reported

in his History, (n) *That when he was Governor of Lycia, Himself saw and read in a certain Temple there, a Paper-Epistle written from Troy by Sarpedon.* Now if this were true, *Hellanicus* and his Followers must be miserably out, when they make *Atossa* invent *Epistles* so many <sup>(n) Sarpedonis à Troja scriptam in quodam Templo Epistolæ chartam. Plin. ibid.</sup>

Hundreds of years after. But I wonder, says *Pliny*, at this (o) *Paper Letter of Sarpedon's; since even in Homer's time,* <sup>(o) Papyrus, Charta.</sup> *so long after Sarpedon, that part of Ægypt, which alone produces Paper, was nothing but Sea; being afterwards produced by the Mud*  
of

(p) In ipsa  
illa Lycia  
Codicillos  
datos, non  
Epistolas.

of the Nile: Or if Paper was in use in Sarpedon's time, how came Homer to say, (p) that in that very Lycia, where Sarpedon liv'd, not Epistles, but Codicills were given to Bellerophontes? So that Learned Naturalist refutes the pretended Letter of Sarpedon; though with humble submission he puts a false colour upon one part of his Argument: for the Epistle was not given to Bellerophontes in Lycia; but in Argos of Peloponnesus to be carried to Lycia. However without that needless Colour he has sufficiently confuted the credulity of Mucianus; who though he was Governour of a great Province, and General of a great Army, and three times Consul in Claudius's and Vespasian's time, and besides all that, a Learned and Inquisitive Man, was miserably impos'd on with a Sham Letter of Sarpedon's: a remarkable Instance, that not only the Title of Honourable, but even the Highest Quality and Greatest Experience cannot always secure a Man from Cheats and Impositions.

F I N I S.

## Addenda.

**P.** 35. lin. 25. *Antefion* ] In the Scholiast here it's Ἀντισίων, but the true reading is Αὐτισίων. See *Herodotus*, p. 350. *Apollodorus*, p. 142. *Pausanias* in several places ; and the Scholiast himself on *Pyth.* iv.

**P.** 42. l. 3. Λεωπρεπίθ ] A part of it is produc'd by (a) *Plutarch*; Ἐγὼ Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γήρα (a) *Plut.* χοροῖς ἐνίκα, καὶ τὸ πύγμα δηλοῖ πῶς τελευταίοις ἂν ἦν, ἔπειτα, &c.

Ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῶδθ

Ὀγδοκονταέτη παιδὶ Λεωπρεπίθ.

**P.** 52. v. 33. *Ephēbi* ] In the account of the *Ephēbi* I follow'd *Censorinus* and *Didymus*. But others in (b) *Harpocration* make the Ἐφηβοὶ begin (b) *Harpoc.* at xviii years of age, and continue so to xx, and v. Ἐπιδε- then they were called Ἄνδρες. Before the xviii τῆς, & Ἐ- year they were Παῖδες. And this account agrees πῶν υἱοῖς. better with the story of *Pythagoras*'s fighting at Παίδων πυγμῇ. He, and *Hyllus* the *Rhodian* mention'd by *Pausanias*, offer'd themselves to fight with the *Boys*, but being compleat xviii years old they were excluded ; because they were no longer Παῖδες, but Ἐφηβοί. Vex'd at this disappointment, they offer'd themselves to contend at the Match for *Men*, though they wanted two years of *Man's Age* : and being admitted, they carried the *Victory* from them all. This is that which



which made *Pythagoras's* Victory at *Olympia* so memorable.

(c) *Clem. Strom. vi. p. 268.* P. 58. l. 12. *Persian Forces*] So (c) *Clemens Alexandrinus* declares that the Expedition was not upon the *Lydians*, but the *Athenians*. Τὸ κρητὸς Επικουρίδης αἰ θυσιᾶς Ἀθηναίων τὸ Περσικὸν πόλεμον εἰς Λακεδαιμόνιον ὑπερέδεντο χερόν. He seems to have had this passage from *Plato*, whose words I have cited.

P. 63. l. 3. *Olymp. l. ii.*] The famous *Apolodorus* seems to favour this early beginning of *Polycrates's* Reign. (d) For he says *Anaximander* was *lxiv* years old at *Olymp. l. viii, 2.* and died soon after, having flourish'd most in the time of *Polycrates Tyrant of Samos*; καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι, ἀκμαίοντά τε μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸ Σάμου τύραννον. Now if we place the first year of *Polycrates* at *Olymp. l. iii, 3.* *Anaximander* at that time was in his *xlvi*th year, which seems old enough in all reason to begin his ἀκμή at.

P. 71. l. ult. After his own Description of *Ages*] (e) *Censorinus* says the very same thing about *Plato*, that he died at *lxxxix*, which he counted the legitimate extent of human Life. *Annum octogesimum & unum, in quo Plato finem vitæ & legitimum esse existimavit, & habuit.*

P. 78. fine. About *Theanor's* going to *Lysis's* Sepulchre.] *Olympiodorus* in his MS Commentary on *Plato's Phædon*, says it was *Philolaus*, one of those that escap'd ex incendio Cylonis, who came to his Master's *Lysis's* Sepulchre at *Thebes*. Τὸν λαὸν ἐφῆλθε πῦρ τοῦ διδασκαλείου, καὶ πάντες ἐκαύθησαν πλὴν δύο Φιλολάου καὶ Ἰππάρχου. Ἦλθεν ὅν οὗ Φιλόλαος εἰς Θήβας, ἰφαιλῶν χάς τοῦ οἰκείου διδασκαλείου τεθνεώτη καὶ ἐκεῖ πεθαμμένῳ ποιήσασθαι τοῦ Λύσιδι.

P. 79. l. 19. When he was XLVI years old] Pausanias says above XLVI. Φίλιππος μὲν ἔν περ-  
σωβιδούς ἐξ ἧς πατρὸς ἐγένοντο ἐπ'.

P. 80. l. 21. About Olymp. cxi.] At Olymp.  
cxi, 2. when Euænetus was Archon. Dionys.  
Halicarn. de Demosth.

P. 126. l. ult. Manufactures] So Plutarch in  
his life of Solon: Γενέσθαι πολίταις ἔ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς  
φεύγεσιν ἀποφυγῆναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἢ πανεστὸς Ἀθηναίων μετο-  
κισσομένων ἐπὶ τέχνη.

P. 156. l. 28. An 'Αμύν, or 'Charlot drawn  
by Mules.] (f) Pollux also speaks of Anaxilas's (f) Pollux,  
Victory with the 'Αμύν; and he adds, That at the v, 12.  
same time he brought a breed of Hares into Sici-  
ly, which before had none of those Animals; and  
in the Money of the Rhegians he stamp'd an 'Αμύν  
and a Hare. This Pollux tells us out of Aristo-  
tle; but he seems to have mistaken the Money of  
the Rhegians, for that of the Messanians. For a-  
mong the Rhegian Coins, that can now be heard of  
among Antiquaries, there are none of that Stamp;  
but of the Messanian Coins, there are VIII in Pa-  
ruta, with an 'Αμύν on one side, and a Hare on  
the other; II with an 'Αμύν without a Hare;  
and II with a Hare, and on the Reverse an O-  
lympic Crown.

P. 187. l. 22. Flaw in his Preface.] I was  
mistaken here, when I thought the Examiner  
had discover'd his own mistake: for he continues  
the Blunder about Dionysius Junior, p. 183 of his  
Examination: and is still so little sensible of  
it, that he tells me I borrow'd the Argument  
from him, without making the least Improve-  
ment.

P. 203. l. 9. *Ἀκύντε λισάς, Ο γες, or Ο γεζ.]* The  
 (g) *Acharn.* Attic Idiom has it 'Ἀκύντε λισά. (g) *Aristoph.*  
 p. 300. 'Ἀκύντε λισά. Κατὰ τὰ πέντεια τὰς χοὰς, &c.

And again,

(h) *Iren.* (h) 'Ἀκύντε λισά. Τὰς μεργὰς ἀπίναι, &c.

P. 454. P. 269. l. 14. *Phrynichus* Master of Dancing.]

(i) *Plut. Sympo.* We have part of an Epigram made by (i) *Phry-*  
*nichus* himself in Commendation of his own  
*Quest. viii, Dancing :*

9. Σχήματα δ' ὄρχησις τίσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ  
 Κύματα ποιεῖται χεῖμα πνύξ ὁλόη.

P. 355. l. 2. We cannot now tell] But we  
 may make a near guess at it from the accounts  
 we have of *Agatharchus* the Painter, who first  
 made a Scene, according to *Vitruvius*, whom I  
 cited above. *Ἀγάθαρχος*, says *Harpocration*, τέ-  
 τε μνημονεύει Δημοδένους ἢν δὲ ζωγράφος ἀπφανής,  
*Εὐδύμου υἱος*, τὸ δὲ γένος Σάμου. The very same  
 words are to be found in *Suidas*. Now the pas-  
 sage, where *Demosthenes* speaks of him, is in his  
 Oration against *Midias*, p. 360. But there's a  
 larger account of him in *Plutarch's* Life of *Alci-*  
*biades*, and the largest of all in *Andocides's* Ora-  
 tion against *Alcibiades*. The substance of all  
 their Story is, That *Alcibiades* forcibly detain'd  
*Agatharchus* in his house, and would not let him  
 stir out, till he had painted it. Now *Alcibiades*  
 died (k) Olymp. xciv, 1, when he was about  
 (l) xl years old. And we can hardly suppose  
 him less than xx, when he had this frolick upon  
*Agatharchus*. Especially if what *Demosthenes's*  
*Scholiast* says be true, that the reason of it was,  
 because *Agatharchus* was taken in bed with *Alci-*  
*biades's* Miss. *Agatharchus* then was by this ac-  
 count alive still about Olymp. lxxxix, 1. which  
 is

(k) *Diodor.*

(l) *Corn.*  
*Nepos.*



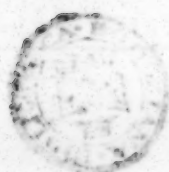
is xxxvi years after Olymp. lxxx, when *Æschylus*'s last Play was acted. It's plain then, he was but a young man, even at Olymp. lxxx; and if we consider he was αὐτοδίδακτος his own Master in Painting, and took it up of himself, we can scarce suppose, he could invent the Painting of Scenes, till very near that Olympiad.

P. 362 l. 2. Πυρρίχαις ὕμνῳ.] One may correct it also, Πυρρίχαις, which comes to the same thing.

P. 365, &c. About *Charondas*'s not being Law-giver to the *Thurians*] After this was committed to the Press, I recollected a Passage of *Laertius*, which at that time was quite out of my mind. This Author tells us from *Heraclides Ponticus*, That *Protagoras the Sophist* was Law-giver to the *Thurians*. Ἡρακλείδης, says he, ὁ Ποντικός, Θουρίοις νόμους γράψας φησὶ Πρωταγόραν ἔσθαι Ἀβδηρίην. The same Author tells us, that *Protagoras* flourish'd, καὶ ἔτετέκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι. at Ol. lxxxiv, the very time that the *Athenian* Colony went to *Thurii*. It's very probable he was then at *Athens*; for he was twice there: his second coming was between Olymp. lxxxix, 1. and lxxxix, 3. as *Athenaus* proves, p. 219 This, as I take it, is a great Confirmation of what I have said about the spurious *Charondas*.

*Laert. in  
Protag.*

F I N I S.



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A N

# I N D E X

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F I N I S.

# ERRATA.

## In the Preface.

PAG. v. lin. 11. *read is a Sword.* p. xiii. l. 12. of r. and. p. xxi. l. 9. *an r. any.* p. xxvi. l. 30. add, *For at that time I liv'd with the Right Reverend the Bishop of Worcester at a good distance from the Library.* p. xxxiii. l. 26. *is r. are.* l. 27. *borders r. border.* p. xxxviii. l. 26. *dele Comma.* p. liii. l. 29. *in f. licens r. infolion.* p. lxi. l. 10. *r. male for.* p. lxvii. l. 27. *Pupils r. Pupils.* p. lxxii. Marg. r. p. xl. p. lxxv. l. ult. r. *Birch.* p. lxxvi. l. 22. *there r. here.* p. lxxxvii. l. 17. *in. r. upon.* p. lxxxviii. l. 5. *Cato r. Plato.*

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